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BLACK & WHITE LIBRARY
COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY
ENGLAND

CIVIL AND MILITARY,
RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL, AND SOCIAL.
HENRY VIII.

Henry VIII., King of England, was born in 1491, and came to the throne in 1509. At eighteen he was noted for his beauty, strength, stature, and learning. In wrestling or at tournament, in the chase or with the bow, he approved himself a man, though he retained the freshness and the ingenuous looks of boyhood. He was also accomplished in languages, music, verse-making, and engineering. For many years he ruled in peace and was beloved by his people. Ultimately, however, he came into collision with the Pope in connection with the divorce of his wife, Catherine of Aragon. Thereafter he got parliament to declare that he was the supreme Head of the Church in England, and with this authority he proceeded to reform its institutions and suppress its monasteries. After having been married six times he died in January, 1547.

BLACKIE'S
COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND

CIVIL AND MILITARY,
RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL, AND SOCIAL.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD
TO THE JUBILEE OF VICTORIA, QUEEN AND EMPRESS.

*ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF FINELY ENGRAVED HISTORICAL PICTURES,
AND ABOVE 1000. ENGRAVINGS IN THE TEXT.*

DIVISIONAL-VOLUME II.

FROM THE REIGN OF EDWARD I. TILL THE DEATH OF HENRY VIII., 1290-1547.



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HE fatality which seemed to have pursued the royal family of Scotland for above a century past was certainly very remarkable. Within that period, it will be found, that William the Lion and his posterity

had made no fewer than ten marriages, and yet there was not now a descendant of that king in existence.

In this failure of the line of William, the heir to the crown was to be sought for among the descendants of his younger brother, David, Earl of Huntingdon. David, besides a son, who died without issue, left three daughters; the eldest, Margaret, married to Alan of Galloway; the second, Isabella, married to Robert Bruce; the third, Ada, married to Henry Hastings. Margaret's eldest daughter, Dervorgoil (she had no son), married John de Baliol, Lord of Bernard Castle, by whom she had a son, John Baliol; Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale and Cleveland, was the son of Isabella; John Hastings was the son of Ada. Baliol, therefore, was the grandson of the eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon; Bruce and Hastings were the sons of his two younger daughters. According to the rule of descent as now established, no question about who had the right of succession could be raised in such a case; the descendant of the elder daughter, however remote, would be preferred to the descendant of the younger daughter, however near; and, indeed, even in that age this rule, which flows directly and necessarily from the admission of the principle of primogeniture, seems to have been all but universally recognized by the authorities on this part of the law. Still the point was not so distinctly settled that a de-

bate might not be raised on it, or that, supported by popular or party zeal, the one claim might not be put forward, and asserted to be that of law and right, with as much plausibility to the general understanding, and as fair a chance of success, as the other.

When the death of the queen first became known, it was probably doubtful how many competitors might start up for the vacant throne, or to what extent the controversy might be entangled by their conflicting claims. It was certain, however, that a controversy there would be, and in all likelihood a long and fierce one; and, also, that a state of circumstances had arisen in which everything was to be feared for the national independence from the ambition of the English king, and the ascendancy in Scottish affairs, his artful management and the course of events had already given him. The news, therefore, spread universal grief and consternation throughout Scotland.

According to one account, it was now that the embassy to Edward, soliciting his advice and mediation, was sent by the estates of Scotland. From what immediately followed, it does appear probable that some such application may have been now made by the Scots. Upon this supposition we can most easily account for the invitation which Edward addressed to their nobility and clergy to meet him at Norham, a town on the English side of the Tweed, and the readiness with which they obeyed his summons. The conference took place on the 10th of May, 1291. Here Edward distinctly announced that he proposed to regulate the succession to the throne of Scotland as superior and lord paramount of that kingdom, and insisted upon their recognition of

his title as such, before any other business should be proceeded with. Little doubt can be entertained that many of the persons present were perfectly prepared for all this; but it took a part of the assembly by surprise; and at length one voice ventured to respond, that no answer could be made to the demand that had been addressed to them while the throne was vacant. "By holy Edward!" cried the English king—"By holy Edward! whose crown I wear, I will vindicate my just rights, or perish in the attempt!" At last the meeting was adjourned till the morrow, and from that day, on the Scots requesting a longer delay, it was further adjourned to the 2d of June. Edward had already issued writs to his barons and other military tenants in the northern counties, commanding them to assemble at Norham on the 3d of the same month, with horses, arms, and all their powers.

The meeting of the 2d of June took place on a green plain called Holywell Haugh, near Upsettlington, on the north bank of the Tweed, opposite to Norham Castle, and within the territory of Scotland. Among those present were no

Scotland? and whether he was willing to ask and receive judgment from him in that character?" Bruce, says the official record of the proceedings, definitively, expressly, publicly, and openly declared his assent. The other seven competitors afterwards did the same. Next day, John Baliol and another competitor, making ten in all, appeared and followed their example. "The whole form of this business," as Lord Hailes remarks, "appears to have been preconcerted." There were probably few of the assembled nobility and clergy that were not the sworn adherents of one or other of the competitors; they were divided into the Bruce party and the Baliol party; and they were of course severally ready to follow in whatever direction their chiefs might lead them. With regard, again, to the two great claimants of the crown themselves, if either consented to submit to the arbitration of Edward, it is obvious that his rival had no alternative but to acquiesce in the same mode of deciding the question, unless he were prepared to resign all hope and chance of success. The true explanation, however, of Baliol's absence on the first day of the

meeting probably is, that he sought by this piece of management, perhaps in concert with Edward, to throw upon his opponent the odium of taking the first step in the unpopular course of thus surrendering the national independence. There is reason to believe that, whether swayed by his view of the justice of the case or by other considerations, Edward had, from the first, determined that Ba-

liol should have the crown, and that all the anxious and protracted deliberation he affected to give to the subject, was merely so much hollow and hypocritical formality. Of the other claimants who presented themselves along with Baliol and Bruce, most seem to have been brought for-

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NORHAM CASTLE.—From a drawing by Buck, dated 1728.

¹ Norham Castle was built, or re-constructed, by Flambard, Bishop of Durham, in the year 1121. It is situated on the brink of a steep rock whose base is washed by the river Tweed. Camden, who had his information from Dr. Carleton of Norham, afterwards successively Bishop of Llandaff and of Chichester, describes this castle as being in his time "fortified with a ditch." "On the outer wall," he says, "which is of great compass, were many little towers in the angle next the river; within this is another circular wall, much stronger, in the centre whereof rises a loftier tower." This description furnishes a perfect idea of the figure of this fortress, after it had received repairs by Bishop Tunstall.

Towards the river the ruins now hang upon the very verge of the precipice, part of which, by the washing of the stream, has given way, and carried with it the superstructures on that side; and with the decay incident to the length of time, has occasioned a wide breach in the outward wall spoken of by Camden. The keep is a very heavy square building, vaulted underneath; part of the vaults or prisons remain entire, but all the interior parts of the tower above are laid open and ruined. The height of the great tower was about 70 ft., containing four stories or ranges of apartments.—Mackenzie's *History of Northumberland*.

ward only to throw a greater air of perplexity over the case, and to give some chance of dividing any opposition that might eventually be made to the successful candidate, or even, it may be, with the object of leaving the question of the succession to the Scottish crown still open, if any casualty should remove either of the two principal competitors before Edward's designs for the complete subjection of the country should be matured. The whole course of his conduct leaves no room to doubt that he intended to treat Scotland as he had treated Wales. This union of the whole island under one sceptre was evidently the grand scheme upon which he had set his heart, and which inspired and directed his whole policy. At first he hoped to accomplish his object, in so far as Scotland was concerned, by the marriage of his eldest son with the queen of that country; when the death of Margaret defeated this arrangement, he could not for the present proceed to the attainment of his end by so direct a path; but that end was still the same, and was never lost sight of for a moment. At this very meeting at Norham the English chancellor protested, in the name and in the presence of the king his master, "that, although he now asserted his right of *superiority* with the view of giving judgment to the competitors, yet that he meant not to relinquish his right of *property* in the kingdom of Scotland, acclamable hereafter in fit manner and time convenient."¹

The proceedings at Norham, on the 3d of June, were terminated by an unanimous agreement, that a body of 104 commissioners should be appointed to examine the cause, and report to Edward; forty being named by Baliol, the same number by Bruce, and the remainder by Edward himself, who was, moreover, empowered to add to the commission as many more persons as he chose. On the 11th of the same month, the regents of Scotland made a solemn surrender of the kingdom into the hands of the English king, and the keepers of castles made a like surrender of their trusts; in both cases, however, on the condition that Edward should make full restitution in two months from the date of his award in the cause of the succession.

Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, alone refused to deliver the castles of Dundee and Forfar, which he held, without an obligation to indemnify him from Edward and all the competitors. It was found expedient to comply with the terms thus insisted upon by "the only Scotsman," observes Lord Hailes, "who acted with integrity and spirit on this trial of national integrity and spirit." On the 15th of the same month, Bruce and his son, Baliol, and many of

the principal Scottish barons, swore fealty to Edward. One churchman only, the Bishop of Sodor, presented himself to perform the disgraceful ceremony. The peace of the King of England, as lord paramount of Scotland, was then proclaimed, and the assembly finally adjourned to the 2d of August.² Edward himself, in the meantime, made a progress through Scotland, in the course of which he visited Edinburgh, Dunfermline, St. Andrews, Kinghorn, Linlithgow, and Stirling—wherever he appeared, calling upon persons of all ranks, from bishops and earls to burgesses, to sign the rolls of homage as his vassals. Elsewhere officers were appointed to receive the oaths, whoever refused to take them being ordered to be seized and imprisoned.

When the commissioners met at Berwick, and proceeded to business in the presence of Edward, on the 3d of August, twelve claimants of the crown, in all, presented themselves. Soon afterwards a thirteenth was added, in the person of King Eric of Norway. All of them, however, with the exception of Baliol, Bruce, and Hastings, withdrew their pretensions before any decision was pronounced. The rest, in fact—some of them descendants from illegitimate daughters of William the Lion, others alleging a descent from some earlier king—had none of them any ground whatever on which to come in before the posterity of David, Earl of Huntingdon.

The final decision of the cause did not take place till the following year. On the 2d of June, 1292, the commissioners reported that there appeared to be a diversity of opinion among the fourscore Scottish members of their body, by whose advice, if unanimous, it would have been the duty of the king to have regulated his conduct; and they therefore declined to give any advice without hearing the better judgment of the prelates, nobility, and other wise men of England. On this the further consideration of the question was appointed by Edward to take place in a parliament, which he summoned to meet at Berwick, on the 15th of October. Here Baliol and Bruce were fully heard in defence of their respective claims; upon which the assembly came unanimously to the conclusion, "that by the laws and usages of both kingdoms, in every heritable succession, the more remote in one degree lineally descended from the eldest sister, was preferable to the nearer in degree, issuing from the second sister;" thus declaring, by implication, against the claim of Bruce as opposed to that of Baliol. In another meeting, on the 6th of November, Edward formally pronounced his decision, "that Bruce should take nothing in the competition with Baliol." Bruce and Hast-

¹ *Fœdera*, ii. 551.

² *Hailes*, i. 242-252.

ings now demanded each a third of the kingdom, on the ground that it was a divisible inheritance; but this doctrine the assembly unanimously rejected. Finally, on the 17th of the same month, in the great hall of the castle of Berwick, Edward gave judgment "that John Baliol should have seisin of the kingdom of Scotland." But again, at this the termination of these proceedings, as a year and a half before at the commencement, the English king solemnly protested, "that the judgment he had thus given, should not impair his claim to the *property* of Scotland." On the 19th, the regents of Scotland and the governors of castles were ordered to surrender their respective trusts to the new king; and the same day, the great seal that had been used by the regency, was broken into four parts, and the pieces deposited in the treasury of England, "in testimony, to future ages, of England's right of superiority over Scotland." The next day Baliol swore fealty to Edward at Norham. On the 30th (St. Andrew's Day), he was solemnly crowned at Scone. Soon after he passed into England, and on the 26th of December did homage to Edward for his kingdom at Newcastle: and thus finished the first act of this extraordinary drama.

Events that unexpectedly arose, now called away the English king to another scene. Edward's progress at home had not been viewed without serious alarm abroad. The subjugation of Wales and Scotland, by leaving him master of the whole island of Great Britain, rendered him most formidable to all his continental neighbours, and to none so dangerous as to France, where there was a source of dissension ever open, and where the English had a footing that enabled them at all times to carry the war into the heart of the country. On former occasions, several of the French kings had given countenance and encouragement (if little or nothing more) to both Scotch and Welsh, when up in arms against the Anglo-Norman sovereigns; but now Philip le Bel thought that the best thing to do was to exert all his strength, and drive the English from what was left of their continental dominion. The moment seemed favourable; Edward was absorbed by his great project; and as for the justice of the undertaking, had not Philip as good a right to gather up the scattered fragments of France, and to make of them a respectable whole—a united and powerful kingdom—as Edward had to seize and consolidate the ancient independent states of Great Britain in the same view?

The English sovereign, however, was too politic not to see and provide for these schemes: he had long watched Philip with a jealous eye, and while he wisely kept his own armies at home, he had courted alliances abroad, and laboured to raise barriers against Philip's ambition. In the south,

by means of presents and flattering assurances, he had won over the powerful Count of Savoy; in the north, he had a good understanding with the emperor, whom he afterwards subsidized; he had married his daughter Margaret to Henry, Count of Bar, whose territories gave an easy access into France on the east; and, at a later period, he made an alliance with Guy, Earl of Flanders. The French, moreover, accuse him of opening and maintaining a correspondence in the interior of France with the disaffected subjects of Philip, an accusation which Edward retorted. Matters were in this state when a paltry broil gave rise to sanguinary hostilities. Some English and some Norman sailors met at a watering-place in or near to the port of Bayonne, and quarrelled about which party should fill their casks first. An English mariner struck a Norman with his fist; the Norman drew his knife; his adversary closed with him, and, after a struggle, threw him: in the fall, the Norman, it was said, fell upon his own knife and was killed. The English sailor's comrades saved him from the fury of the opposite party, and, according to the French account, the authorities of Bayonne, which city belonged to the English, refused the Normans proper satisfaction. Burning with revenge—for they maintained that their companion had been foully murdered, the Normans put to sea, and, lying in wait, they seized the first English ship of inferior force they encountered, and taking from it a merchant of Bayonne, they hanged him at the yard-arm, with a dog hung to his feet. Reprisals soon followed, and the mariners of the Cinque ports pursued their vengeance with relentless fury, hanging nearly every Norman they could take upon the seas. The Normans called in the assistance of the Genoese and the French, for France was now beginning to have a considerable mercantile navy, and even a royal fleet—one of the immense advantages derived from expelling the English and clearing her sea-board. Our mariners at the same time procured the aid of those of Ireland, and Gascony, and Holland. Wherever these opposite parties met, they fought with deadly rancour, carrying on a war on their own account, without any commission from their respective governments. Thus the most vindictive feelings were excited between the two nations before the kings took any open part in the hostilities that were carried on.¹

But now Philip, enraged himself, and borne forward to the accomplishment of his favourite project by the universal wrath of the nation, declared his determined enmity. He pretended that he could punish Edward as Duke of Aqu-

¹ Walsingham; Hemingford; Holinshed.

taine, in which character he was a vassal of the French crown. He sent officers to seize some of Edward's estates, but these were driven back by John St. John, an English officer: he then caused a summons to be issued by his judges ordering the "Duke of Aquitaine" to appear at Paris after the feast of Christmas, and answer for his offences against his suzerain. Edward sent a bishop, and then his own brother Edmund, to negotiate. This Edmund appears to have been a very believing, simple personage; for, crediting Philip's assertion that he wanted no acquisition of territory, but merely a striking show of satisfaction to his own injured honour, he consented to surrender Gascony for forty days, at the end of which it was to be faithfully restored to the English king.¹ Upon this surrender, which in some cases gave Philip a military possession of the province, the summons against Edward was withdrawn, and the French king declared himself satisfied. When the forty days had elapsed, Edward demanded repossession, which, as a matter of course, was refused to him. Philip pleaded very triumphantly, in his own court, against some English advocates, and with a bold contempt of appearances and of the recent agreement, pronounced a judgment of forfeiture because Edward had not presented himself as a vassal ought. De Nesle, the constable of France, was sent to seize some of Edward's cities and towns; and he succeeded in several instances, because the nobles declared against the English. Soon after the feast of Easter, Philip again summoned Edward to plead as Duke of Aquitaine before his peers of France, and, upon his non-attendance, he declared him contumacious and dis-seised of all his lands in France.²

Edward now prepared to plead, but it was with the sword. Having formally renounced the homage of the French king, he got ready a powerful fleet and army; but he was detained for several weeks by contrary winds, and, while he lay at Portsmouth, the Welsh, who thought he was gone, broke out into a general insurrection, to which it seems probable that Philip was no stranger. Detained at home by this circumstance, Edward despatched a small force to Gascony, and gave commission to his ships to plunder the French coast, upon which a number of fierce sea-battles were fought, the victory falling almost invariably to the English. As for Edward himself, he turned

with his usual rapidity and vigour against the Welsh, who had taken many castles and towns, and driven the English across the marches with dreadful loss. It took him some months to suppress this bold struggle for independence: he carried on the war through all the severities of winter, suffering great hardships, and encountering many personal dangers; but in the following spring the Welsh once more fell beneath the mighty weight of his arms and policy: Madoc, their brave leader, surrendered to the conqueror; the most dangerous of the chieftains were thrown into dungeons for life; and after the sacred summits of Snowdon had been again invaded, and the country again wasted with fire and sword, a mournful peace was restored.

When Edward rode a conqueror from the mountains of Wales, he thought that he should at last be allowed to proceed to France, and punish what he considered the execrable perfidy of Philip; but the spirit of liberty was again awake in the mountains of Scotland, and he was once more compelled to forego his continental expedition. He, however, sent his brother Edmund with a small force to Guienne, where the barons, who could never remain satisfied for a year with either the English or the French, were already tired of Philip. Edmund died soon after landing; but the Earl of Lincoln, who succeeded to his command, drove the French from most of the towns they had occupied. These successes, however, were not lasting: Charles de Valois, Philip's brother, recovered those places; and the Count d'Artois, the king's uncle, taking the command of a numerous and excellent army, beat the English in several encounters, and finally expelled them from nearly all the country, with the exception of a few maritime towns. Edward's continental allies did nothing at the time in his defence.

Scarcely had Baliol been fairly seated on his vassal throne, when he was made to feel all the dependence and degradation of his position. Even before the year had expired, on one of the last days of which, as related above, he had done homage for his kingdom to his English lord paramount, Edward, in an angry altercation that arose out of an appeal brought by a citizen of Berwick against a judgment of the Scottish courts, to defend which he had compelled Baliol to appear with his principal prelates and nobles in

¹ "It must excite surprise that the King of England fell so easily into this snare. But he was actuated by another consideration, the accomplishment of a treaty of marriage between himself and Margaret, the sister of Philip. By that treaty the duchy of Guienne had been settled on his issue by the princess; and to carry this provision into legal execution, it was necessary that Guienne should be resigned into the hands of its lord, that by a new interment it might be settled on the king and his heirs by his second marriage. At the expiration of forty days,

Edmund reminded Philip of his engagement; but was requested to forbear till certain lords of the council should have departed from Paris. Some days after he repeated the demand and received a positive refusal. Philip took his seat in his court, rejected the arguments of Edward's advocates, and though the citation had been withdrawn, pronounced judgment against him for default of appearance. Such is the account given by Edmund himself."—*Lingard*, vol. ii. chap. vii.

² *Rymer*.

the royal chamber at Newcastle, frankly informed him that he should persist in hearing in England every cause regularly brought before him from Scotland, and that he would summon the King of Scotland to appear personally at the hearing of every such cause in which he should think his presence necessary. In the course of the following year, Baliol was repeatedly called upon to submit to the annoyance and intolerable indignity of thus appearing in the English courts to answer as a defendant in all sorts of causes. Such treatment could only have had one object, and, if it had been tamely acquiesced in, one effect—to make the menial king utterly contemptible in the eyes of his subjects. At the commencement of Edward's rough usage he bore it with all submission. Immediately after the declaration of the English king that has just been mentioned, he gave Edward a solemn discharge from all the obligations he had contracted by the treaty of Bridgeham in 1290, which treaty was now the sole remaining security to his country for the possession of any national rights, and by which, in particular, provision was made against the very grievance under which he was now made to smart, by one of the clauses which declared that no native of Scotland should be compelled to answer out of the kingdom in any legal cause, either civil or criminal. But the tyranny was so unrelentingly persisted in, and carried so far, that if he had the spirit of a worm it must have roused him at last. An appeal respecting the succession to some lands in Fife was the case in which his patience gave way. In the first instance he ventured to take no notice of the usual order to present himself at the hearing of the cause. But he did not persist in this bold course. On receiving a second summons, he yielded obedience so far as to make his appearance in the English parliament on the day named, the 15th of October, 1293. When asked what defence he had to make to the appeal, he said—"I am King of Scotland. To the complaint of the appellant, or to aught else respecting my kingdom, I dare not make answer without the advice of my people." "What means this?" cried Edward: "you are *my* liegeman; you have done homage to *me*; you are here in consequence of *my* summons." Baliol, however, would only repeat his first answer. The parliament then resolved that the King of Scots had offered no defence; that in his answer he had been guilty of a manifest contempt of the court, and of open disobedience; that the appellant should have damages of the King of Scots; and, finally, "because it is consonant to law that every one be punished in that which emboldens him to offend, that the three principal castles of Scotland, with the towns wherein they are situated, and the royal jurisdiction thereof, be taken immediately

into the custody of the king, and there remain until the King of Scots shall make satisfaction for his contempt and disobedience." On the prayer of Baliol, however, Edward, before this sentence was publicly intimated, consented to stay all proceedings till the day after the feast of the Trinity in the following year. Before that day arrived, war between England and France broke out; and in the new position of his affairs, Edward had his hands too full of work in defending himself against his own liege lord to have leisure for the further humiliation and oppression of the King of Scots.

The opportunity was too tempting a one not to be seized by Baliol for a strenuous effort to cast off the yoke. Hitherto the nation had lain, as it were, stunned and in despair. Its old spirit now began to awaken as a new dawn of hope appeared. The nobles themselves—those whose selfish or factious ambition had laid their country at the feet of the English king—had many of them by this time been roused to a sense of the bondage into which they had fallen. Their first measures, however, were cautiously taken. A parliament, which met at Scone in the latter part of the year 1294, on pretence of lightening the public burdens, directed that all the Englishmen maintained at the court should be dismissed; and then appointed a council of four bishops, four earls, and four barons, without whose advice the king was restricted from performing any public act. It is asserted, indeed, by English writers that Baliol was at this time kept by his subjects in a state very closely resembling captivity.

The suspicions of Edward were excited by these proceedings. He required that Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh should be delivered to the Bishop of Carlisle, to remain in his hands during the war between England and France. With this demand the Scottish government deemed it prudent to comply, although they were at the moment negotiating an alliance with the French king. This treaty—"the groundwork," observes Lord Hailes, "of many more, equally honourable and ruinous to Scotland," was signed at Paris on the 23d of October, 1295. By it the King of Scots, "grievously offended at the undutiful behaviour of Edward to the King of France, his liege lord," engaged to assist Philip in his wars with his whole power, and at his own charges. Towards the end of March, 1296, accordingly, a Scottish army, consisting of 40,000 foot soldiers and 500 cavalry, invaded Cumberland, and, laying waste the country as they proceeded, marched to Carlisle, and attacked that place. Here, however, they were repulsed. Another inroad, which they made into Northumberland, was not more successful. Meanwhile Edward himself, at the head of a great army, was already at the Borders.

A pardon had been proclaimed for all outlaws and malefactors who should join the expedition; and the force which now rolled on to pour upon the Scottish rebels the vengeance of their English master, consisted of 30,000 foot and 4000 horse. Its numbers were farther swelled on its arrival in the north by a body of 1000 foot and 700 horse, brought by Anthony Beck, the warlike Bishop of Durham. The royal army marched direct upon the town of Berwick, which either had never been delivered by the Scots to the Bishop of Carlisle, according to their late promise, or had freed itself again from his authority. A strong garrison, composed of the men of Fife, now defended the town, besides a smaller force that held the castle. The English king commenced the attack at once by sea and land: of his ships, three were burned and the rest compelled to retire; but all resistance soon gave way before the impetuous onset of the soldiery; Edward himself, mounted on his horse Bayard, was the first who leaped over the dike that defended the town. In the devastation and carnage that followed no quarter was given: the inhabitants, with the garrison, were indiscriminately butchered. The massacre was continued for two days.

Berwick was taken on the 30th of March. On the 5th of April, a bold ecclesiastic, Henry, abbot of Aberbrothock (otherwise Arbroath), arrived in the town, a messenger from the Scottish king, and delivered to Edward, Baliol's solemn renunciation of his allegiance and fealty. "What a piece of madness in the foolish traitor!" exclaimed Edward, when the message had been delivered; "since he will not come to us, we will go to him." A pause of a few weeks, to make the blow the surer, did not prevent this threat from being both speedily and effectually executed. Earl Warenne was first sent forward with a chosen body of troops to recover the castle of Dunbar, which the Countess of March had delivered to the Scots, while her husband, by whom it was held, served in the army of Edward.



CORONATION CHAIR, Westminster Abbey, containing the stone from Scone.¹

The Scottish army, in full strength, advanced to its relief, when they were engaged by Warenne, and completely routed, with the loss of 10,000 men. This action was fought on the 28th of April. The castle then surrendered at discretion. On the 18th of May that of Roxburgh was given up by James, the steward of Scotland, who at the same time swore fealty to Edward, and abjured the French alliance. The castles of Dumbarton and Jedburgh soon after surrendered. That of Edinburgh stood a short siege, but it also soon capitulated; no attempt was made to defend that of Stirling. Thus, in the space of about two months, all the principal strongholds of the kingdom were in Edward's hand, and the conquest of the country was complete. A message now arrived from Baliol, offering submission, and imploring peace. Edward, in reply, desired him to repair to the castle of Brechin, where the Bishop of Durham would announce to him the terms on which his surrender would be accepted. Soon after, Baliol laid down his kingly state in a ceremonial of the last degree of baseness and humiliation. The old accounts differ as to the exact date, and also as to the scene of this penance; but it was most probably performed on the 7th of July, and, as the tradition of the neighbourhood still reports, in the church-yard of Strathcathro, in Angus.¹ Edward was at this time at Montrose.² He proceeded northward as far as Elgin—the nobility, wherever he passed, crowding in to swear fealty, and to abjure the French alliance. It was on his return from this triumphant progress that he ordered the famous stone on which the Scottish kings had been wont to be crowned, to be removed from the abbey of Scone, and conveyed to Westminster, in testimony, says an English contemporary chronicler, of the conquest and surrender of the kingdom.³ He appears to have been at St. Johnstone's, or Perth, on Wednesday, the 8th of August. By the 22d he was once more at Berwick; and on the 28th he held a parliament in that town, at which

¹ See *Hailes*, i. 293; *Tytler*, i. 429, 430; and *Chambers' Picture of Scotland*, ii. 255.

² See a curious "Diary of Edward's Progress," published, with explanatory remarks, by Sir N. H. Nicolas, from a MS. in the British Museum, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. pp. 478-498.

³ *Hemmingford*.

⁴ This coronation chair was made for Edward I. It appears to have been formerly decorated with painting and gilding. Beneath the seat is the famous Stone of Destiny, which tradition has invested with solemn and remote associations. It was brought

to England as a trophy of victory by Edward I.; and by this removal he is thought to have intended to prostrate the confidence of the people in the continuance of their national independence, founded upon the possession of this stone, which, according to Fordun, bore a Latin inscription to the following effect:—

Except old saws do fail,
And wizards' wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reign
Where they this stone shall find."

The restoration of the stone was the subject of many treatises;

great numbers both of the Scottish laity and clergy presented themselves to take the oaths of fealty. He then proceeded to finish his work, by settling the government of the conquered country. Here his measures were characterized by great prudence and moderation. He ordered the forfeited estates of the clergy to be restored. He even allowed most of the subordinate civil functionaries who had held office under Baliol to retain possession of their places. He left the various jurisdictions of the country in general in the same hands as before. The chief castles in the southern part of the kingdom, however, he intrusted to English captains; and he also placed some of his English subjects in command over certain of the more important districts. Finally, he appointed John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, under the name of governor, Hugh de Cressingham as treasurer, and William Ormesby as justiciary, to exercise the supreme authority.

But although Edward had put down the rebellion of the Scots, he had not subdued their spirit of resistance. Within a few months the country was again in insurrection. The last and all preceding attempts to throw off the foreign yoke under which the kingdom groaned, had been made under the direction of the government; there was no longer any native government, but a great leader of the people had now stepped forth from their own ranks. This was the renowned William Wallace, the second son of a knight of ancient family, Sir Malcolm Wallace, of Elderslie, in Renfrewshire. Wallace had all the qualities of a popular hero—a strength and stature corresponding to his daring courage; and also, it cannot be doubted, from the known history of his career, as well as from his traditionary fame, many intellectual endowments of a high order—decision, military genius, the talent of command, a stirring though rude eloquence, and in every way a wonderful power of reaching the hearts of men, and drawing them along with him. Above all, an enthusiastic patriotism, and a fierce and unextinguishable hatred of the English dominion, were passions so strong in Wallace, that while he lived, be the hour as dark as it might, all felt that the cause of the national independence never could be wholly lost.

Wallace is first mentioned in the month of May, 1297. At this time he was merely the captain of a small band of marauders, most of them probably outlaws like himself, who were accustomed to infest the English quarters by predatory

attacks. Their numbers, however, rapidly grew as reports of their successful exploits were spread abroad. Suddenly we find the robber-chief transformed into the national champion, joined by some of the chief persons in the land, and heading an armed revolt against the government. The first person of note who joined Wallace was Sir William Douglas. He had commanded in the castle of Berwick when it was taken the preceding year by Edward; and after his surrender, had been liberated upon swearing fealty to the English king. Disregarding this oath, he now armed his vassals, and openly went over to Wallace. The united chiefs immediately marched upon Scone, the seat of the government. Earl Warenne was at this time absent in England, and Ormesby, the justiciary, was acting as his lieutenant. That functionary, with difficulty, saved his life by flight; but much booty and many prisoners fell into the hands of the insurgents, and the English government was, in fact, by this bold and brilliant exploit, for the moment overthrown.

Many persons of note now crowded to the once more uplifted standard of freedom and independence; the steward of Scotland and his brother, Robert Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, Alexander de Lindsay, Sir Richard Lundin, and Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, are especially mentioned. But no accession was more important, or more gladly welcomed, than that of the young Robert Bruce, the son of Robert Bruce who had married the Countess of Carrick, and the grandson of him who had been a competitor with Baliol for the crown. A few years before this Bruce's father had resigned the earldom of Carrick, which he held in right of his wife, to his son; and the latter, by the possession of this lordship, now commanded a territory reaching from the Frith of Clyde to the Solway. The course taken by Baliol had hitherto naturally determined the conduct and position of the rival family. So long as Baliol had stood, even nominally, at the head of the patriotic cause, the Bruces were almost necessarily on the other side. In the last days of Baliol's reign the Scottish government issued an order, confiscating the estates of all partizans of England, and of all neutrals, which was principally aimed at the house of Bruce; and a grant of their estate of Annandale was made to Comyn, Earl of Buchan, who actually took possession, in consequence, of the family castle of Lochmaben. This, of course, he did not long retain; but the wrong was not the less one, which in that fierce age never could be forgiven. Allowance must be made for these personal resentments and rivalries, and the opposition into which men were thereby thrown, in passing judgment upon the conduct of many of the actors in this turbulent

and a special conference was held on the subject between Edward III. and David I., and in consequence a mandate was issued for its restoration, but apparently not carried out. Afterwards the fulfilment of the prophecy was considered to have been realized by the accession of James I. to the throne of England. The "stone of destiny" measures 26 in. in length, 16½ in. in breadth, and 10½ in. in thickness.

and bewildering drama. Bruce, eventually the great liberator of his country and restorer of the Scottish monarchy, makes his first appearance on the scene, soon after the fatal fight of Dunbar, in the unpatriotic part of a commissioner empowered by the conqueror to receive into favour the people of Carrick.¹ He was at this time only in his twenty-second year. His heart, however, was probably already drawing him, through doubts and misgivings, to the cause which he was at a future day so gloriously to illustrate. Now that Baliol was removed, the time for Bruce to show himself seemed to have come. Edward, it would appear, was not without some suspicion of what his inclinations were. He, therefore, had summoned him to Carlisle, and made him renew, on the sword of Becket, his oaths of allegiance and fidelity. In the national enthusiasm, however, excited by the first success of Wallace, he could restrain himself no longer. "I trust," he said, "that the pope will absolve me from oaths extorted by force;" and so, breaking from his bonds, he joined the army of the patriots.

But, in that camp, jealousies and dissensions were already actively at work, and disorganizing everything. Edward was embarking for Flanders when he received intelligence of the new Scottish revolt. The military force of the kingdom to the north of the Trent was instantly called into array by the Earl of Surrey; and as soon as the men could be collected, Sir Henry Percy and Sir Robert Clifford were sent forward to meet the insurgents at the head of an army of 40,000 foot and 300 horse. They found the Scots in nearly equal numbers, posted in a strong position in the neighbourhood of the town of Irvine, in Ayrshire. But no acknowledged leader controlled the irregular congregation of chiefs who had crowded with their retainers to the standard that Wallace had raised; his authority was disowned, or but reluctantly submitted to, by many of the proud knights and barons, who never before had obeyed a plebeian general; and there were probably as many conflicting plans of operation as there were competitors for the supreme command. In this miserable state of affairs, it appeared to all who had anything to lose that the wisest plan was to make their peace with the government before it should be too late. All the chief associates of Wallace, accordingly, including Bruce, the steward of Scotland, the Bishop of Glasgow, Sir Alexander Lindesay, Sir Richard Lunding, and even Sir William Douglas, the first who had joined him, laid down their arms after a short negotiation, and, for themselves and their adherents, made submission to Edward. The instrument in which they ac-

knowledgeed their offences, and agreed to make every reparation and atonement that should be required by their sovereign lord, is dated at Irvine, the 9th of July.² Only one baron, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, continued to adhere to Wallace. Many of the vassals, however, even of the lords and knights that had deserted him, remained among his followers; and he withdrew to the north at the head of a force that was still numerous and formidable.

No further effort seems to have been made by the government to put down the insurrection for several months. In the meanwhile the army of Wallace was continually receiving accessions of numbers. By the beginning of September it appears that he had driven the English from the castles of Brechin, Forfar, Montrose, and most of the other strongholds to the north of the Forth, and was now engaged in besieging the castle of Dundee. While there, he received information that an English army was marching upon Stirling. Leaving the siege to be continued by the citizens of Dundee, he led his whole force, amounting to 40,000 foot and 180 horse, towards Stirling, and succeeded, by rapid marches, in reaching the banks of the Forth opposite to that town, before the English had arrived. He immediately drew up his army so as to be partly concealed behind the neighbouring high grounds. The English army, commanded by the Earl of Surrey, soon appeared on the other side of the river; it is said to have consisted of 1000 horsemen and 50,000 foot. On its being perceived how Wallace was posted, it was resolved to offer him terms before risking an engagement; but he refused to enter into any negotiation. That night no movement was made. Early the following morning (the 11th of September) the English began to pass over by the bridge—a narrow wooden structure—along which, even with no impediment or chance of interruption of any kind to retard them, so numerous a force could not have been led in many hours. The issue was what it is unaccountable should not have been foreseen. Wallace waited till about half the English were passed over; then, detaching a part of his forces to take possession of the extremity of the bridge, as soon as he perceived the communication by this means effectually cut off, he rushed down upon the portion of the enemy who had thus put themselves in his power, as they were still forming, and in a moment threw them into an inextricable confusion. Many thousands of the English were slain or driven into the water. No prisoners, indeed, seem to have been taken; and nearly all the English that had crossed the river must therefore have been destroyed.

¹ Hailes, *Remarks on the History of Scotland*, i. 292.

² Rymer, ii. 774.

One knight, however, Sir Marmaduke Twenge, putting spurs to his horse, gallantly cut his way back through the force that guarded the bridge, and regained the opposite side in safety. Surrey himself had not passed over; but, after the fortune of the day became clearly irrecoverable, charging Twenge to occupy the castle of Stirling with what remains of the army he could collect, he mounted his horse and rode, without stopping, to Berwick. Even the portion of the army that had remained on the south side of the river seems to have been in great part dispersed. The loss of the Scots was trifling; the only man of note that fell was Sir Andrew Moray. A large quantity of spoil was taken. But the great result of the victory was nothing less than the almost complete liberation of the country once more from the English dominion. The castles of Edinburgh, Dundee, Roxburgh, and Berwick, all immediately surrendered; and in a short time there was not a fortress, from one end of Scotland to the other, in the possession of the English king. Wallace soon after even invaded England, and for some time maintained his army in Cumberland; a movement to which he was partly induced by a severe famine that now arose in Scotland, where unfavourable seasons had conspired with the waste of war to afflict the soil.

Thus was Scotland again lost by Edward, even more suddenly than it had been won. He was still detained in Flanders by the war in which he had engaged with the French king for the recovery of Guienne, while his conquest nearer home was thus wrested out of his hands. It appears that strenuous efforts were made by Philip to have the Scots included in the benefit of the treaty of peace, the truce preliminary to which was agreed upon in October of this year.¹ But Edward would hear of no terms for those whom he called revolted subjects and traitors.

Edward returned to England about the middle of March, 1298, and instantly summoned the barons, and other military tenants, to re-assemble with their powers at York, on the feast of Pentecost. With this immense army Edward proceeded, in the first instance, to Roxburgh. From this point he advanced, in the beginning of June, along the east coast—a fleet with supplies for the army having been sent forward to the Frith of Forth; but for several weeks no enemy, scarcely even any inhabitants, were to be seen, and the invaders could only take a useless revenge in wasting an already deserted country. The Scots meanwhile, under the direction of Wallace, had been collecting their strength in the interior; and many of the chief nobility, including Bruce, were now assembled again around the great national

leader. Edward soon became involved in very serious difficulties; his ships were detained by contrary winds; and while he was waiting at Templeliston (now Kirkliston), a small town between Edinburgh and Linlithgow, till he should receive some intelligence of them before proceeding upon his design of penetrating into the west, an alarming mutiny broke out in the camp, originating in a quarrel between the English and the Welsh soldiers, the latter of whom were at one time on the point of withdrawing and joining the Scots. No news of the ships arriving, however, the scarcity of provisions soon became so distressing that a retreat to Edinburgh was resolved upon, when information was received that the Scottish army was encamped not far off in the wood of Falkirk. "Thanks be to God!" exclaimed Edward, "who hitherto hath delivered me from every danger; they shall not need to follow me; I will forthwith go and meet them." That night the army lay in the fields, the king himself sleeping on the ground. A kick from his horse, which stood beside him in the night, broke two of his ribs; and in the first confusion occasioned by the accident a cry arose that the king was seriously wounded or killed—that there was treason in the camp. Edward immediately, disregarding the pain he suffered, mounted his horse, and, as it was now dawn, gave orders to continue the march. The advanced guard of the enemy was first seen on the ridge of a hill in front, after they had passed Linlithgow. Soon after the whole army was descried forming, on a stony field, at the side of a small eminence in the neighbourhood of Falkirk.² Wallace divided the infantry of his army, which was greatly inferior in numbers to that of the English, into four circular bodies, armed with lances, which the men protruded obliquely as they knelt with their backs against each other; the archers were placed in the intermediate spaces; the horse, of which there were only 1000, were drawn up at some distance in the rear. Edward's cavalry were ranged in the front of his battle, in three lines. The attack was made at the same time by the first of these, led by Bigod, earl-marshal, and the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln; and by the second, under the leading of the bold Bishop of Durham. The shock was gallantly met by the Scottish infantry, and for some time they stood their ground firmly. The cavalry, however, whether dismayed by the immense disparity between the numbers of the enemy and their own, or, as has been conjectured, from treason on the part of their commanders, fled without striking a blow; and, thus left without support against the repeated charges of the English horse, the

¹ See *Rymer*, new edit. i. 861; and *Tytler*, i. 173 and 435.

² *Hailles*, i. 314.

lancers and archers also at length gave way, and the rout became complete. The battle of Falkirk was fought on the 22d of July, 1298. It is said that 15,000 of the Scots fell on this fatal day. On the English side the loss was inconsiderable. Wallace retreated with the remains of his army to Stirling, whither he was pursued by the English; but when they arrived he was gone, and the town was found reduced to ashes. The victorious invaders now carried fire and sword through the country in all directions. The whole of Fifeshire was laid waste and given up to military execution. The city of St. Andrews, which was found deserted, was set on fire and burned to the ground. Perth was burned by the inhabitants themselves on the approach of the English. Edward, however, was speedily obliged to leave the country from the impossibility of finding the means of subsisting his troops.

The expensive wars of Wales, Scotland, and Guienne, had caused Edward to oppress the English people with levies and taxes; in the raising of which he had not always respected the constitutional charter, while on some occasions he had recourse to artifices similar to those which had succeeded so badly with his father, Henry III. At one time he pretended that he had again taken the cross, and thus obtained the tenth of all church benefices for six years. A few years after this, he seized the moneys deposited in the churches and monasteries, and kept the greater part for his own uses, promising, however, to pay it back some time or other. His financial proceedings with the church show that times were materially altered, for the main weight of taxation was thrown upon that body. After obtaining a reluctant grant from the lords and knights of the shire of a tenth on lay property, he demanded from the clergy a *half* on their entire incomes. Here, for the first time, he encountered a stern opposition on the part of the bishops, abbots, and common clergy; but they were bullied into compliance, being told, among other harsh things, that every "reverend father" who dared to oppose the king would be noticed as one who had broken the peace. This was in 1294. In the following year, having obtained a very liberal grant from parliament, he exacted a fourth from the churchmen, who again were obstinate, and obliged him, in the end, to be satisfied with a tenth. Besides these burdens, the church was sorely racked by the king's purveyors and commissaries, who, particularly during the more active parts of the Scotch war, continually emptied the store-houses, granaries, farm-yards, and larders, and carried off all the vehicles, horses, and other animals, for the transport of army stores, insomuch that the poor abbots and priors complained that they had scarcely a mule left in

their stables upon which to go their spiritual rounds. At last they applied to the pope for protection, and Boniface VIII. granted them a bull, ordaining that the clergy should not vote away their revenues without the express permission of the Holy See. But the pope was engaged in many troubles; the bull, which applied equally to all Christian countries, was strenuously opposed in France by Philip le Bel; and in the following year, 1297, he found himself obliged to publish a second bull, which explained away and stultified the first; for it provided, that whenever the safety of the kingdom required it, churchmen must pay their aids; and it left to the king and his council the right of deciding on the necessity. Before this second bull arrived, the English clergy, fancying that they were well supported by the previous document, met, and boldly refused some of Edward's demands; upon which he outlawed the whole body, both regular and secular, and seized their goods and chattels, not leaving bishop, parish priest, abbot, or monk, so much as bread to eat or a bed to lie upon. As there were no Becketts in the land, these measures produced a general submission to the king's arbitrary will, even before the arrival of the explanatory bull.¹

It was far otherwise when the king laid his greedy hand on the trading classes; they had borne a great deal in the way of tallages and increased export duties; but when he seized all the wool and hides that were ready for shipping, and sold them for his own profit, a universal and loud outcry was raised, notwithstanding his assurances that he would faithfully pay back the amount. The merchants assembled—the rich burghers, the landed proprietors of all classes consulted together; and their consultations were encouraged by some of the greatest of the nobles, who were not so blinded by the career of conquest and glory in which the king was leading them, as to be neglectful of their more immediate interests, or indifferent to those violent inroads on the national rights.² Towards the end of February, 1297, Edward felt the effect of these deliberations. He had collected two armies, one of which was to go to Guienne, the other into Flanders; when the Earl of Hereford, the constable, and the Earl of Norfolk, the marshal of

¹ Rymer; Brady; Wykes; Knyghton; Heming.

² Mr. Hallam doubts whether the cities and boroughs continued to sit in parliament by their representatives under Edward I. "The revolutionary character of Montfort's parliament in the 49th of Henry III., would sufficiently account both for the appearance of representatives from a democracy so favourable to that bold reformer, and for the equality of power with which it was probably designed to invest them. But whether in the more peaceable times of Edward I., the citizens or burgesses were recognized as essential parties to every legislative measure, may, as I have shown, be open to much doubt."—Hallam's *Supplementary Notes*, Note 180.

England, both refused to quit the country. Turning to the marshal, the king exclaimed, "By the everlasting God, sir earl, you shall go or hang." "By the everlasting God, sir king, I will neither go nor hang;" and so saying, Norfolk withdrew with Hereford. Thirty bannerets, and 1500 knights immediately followed the marshal and the constable, and the king was left almost alone.¹ An incautious step at this moment might have cost him his crown or his life, but Edward was a wonderful master of his passions when necessary, and his craft and policy were fully equal to his merits as a warrior. He knew that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the clergy gave great weight to the present opposition, and these he detached by blandishments and promises. He knew that his brilliant exploits in war had endeared him to the unthinking multitude, and he also knew how to touch their hearts. The measure he adopted was singularly dramatic: he stood forth before the people of London, mounted on a platform in front of Westminster Hall, nobody being near him save his son Edward, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Warwick: he told the people that nobody grieved more than he did for the burdensome taxes laid upon his dear subjects, but this burden was one of absolute necessity to preserve not only his crown, but their blood, from the Welsh, the Scots, and the French. Then, in the proper place falling into the pathetic, he said, "I am going to expose myself to all the dangers of war for your sakes. If I return alive, I will make you amends for the past; but if I fall, here is my dear son, place him on my throne, his gratitude will be the rewarder of your fidelity!" Here he stopped, and let a few tears roll down his iron cheek. The archbishop wept; the spectators were tenderly affected, and, after a brief pause, the air was rent with shouts of applause and loyalty.² This display of enthusiasm gave the king great encouragement, and having issued writs for the protection of church property, and appointed his former opponent, the Archbishop of Canterbury, chief of the council of regency under Prince Edward, he went to embark for Flanders with such troops as he had kept together.

But a few days after he was brought to a halt at Winchester, by reports of the hostile spirit of the nobles; and while in that city, a remonstrance, in the name of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, the earls, barons, and commons of England, was presented to him. After stating in broad terms that they were not bound to accompany the king to Flanders—a country where neither they nor any of their ancestors had ever

done service for the Kings of England—and that even if they were inclined to take a part in that expedition, the poverty to which he had reduced them rendered them unable to do so: they went on to tell him that he had violated their charters and liberties; that his "evil toll" (so they called the export duty on wool) was excessive and intolerable; and that his present expedition to the Continent was ill-advised, seeing that his absence would leave the country open to the incursions of the Scots and Welsh. The king evaded any very direct answer, and, relying on the favourable disposition of the common people, he had the courage to depart in the very midst of these discontents.³ He landed near Sluis in the end of August: his plans were concerted with his usual sagacity; but coalitions are faithless and uncertain things, and he had in Philip le Bel an opponent as crafty, and, at the least, as unscrupulous as himself. These great kings had long struggled for possession of a young lady—Philippa, daughter of Guy, Count of Flanders. As early as the year 1294, Edward had concluded a treaty of marriage, which was to unite the fair Fleming to the Prince of Wales; but it was Philip's interest to prevent any close union between England and Flanders, and he resolved that the marriage should not take place. After many secret intrigues, which failed—as both the young lady and her father were bent on the English union—the French king invited Count Guy to meet him at Corbeil, that he might consult him on matters of great importance. The count, who was a frank, honest old man, went, and took his countess with him; he was no sooner in his power than Philip harshly reproached him with the English treaty—told him that no *vassal* of the French crown, however great, could marry any of his children without the king's license—and then sent him and his wife prisoners to the tower in the Louvre.

This arbitrary and treacherous measure excited great disgust, and the better feeling of the French peers, and the remonstrances of a Papal legate, forced Philip to liberate the old count and his countess. Before letting go his hold, however, he made Guy swear he would think no more of his English alliance. The count contracted the obligation; but this was not enough for the French king, who had broken too many oaths himself to have much reliance on those of other men: he demanded that Philippa should be placed in his hands as a hostage; and when that young lady was brought to Paris—and not before—her parents were liberated. As soon as Count Guy reached his own dominions, he made an affecting appeal to the pope; the church entered

¹ Heming.² Heming.; Knyghton; Rymer.³ Heming.; Wals.; Knyghton; Rymer.

with some zeal into the case; but notwithstanding repeated threats of excommunication, Philip le Bel persisted in keeping his innocent hostage, who was not more than twelve years of age. At last, the old count formally renounced his allegiance, defied his suzerain, and entered heart and soul into a league with the English king. It was in consequence of this treaty, which was sworn to in the most solemn manner, that Edward went to Flanders after preparing a formidable alliance. The other chief members of the coalition were, the emperor, the Duke of Austria—who had both been subsidized by Edward—and the Duke of Brabant and Count of Bar, who were his own sons-in-law, by their marriage with the Princesses Margaret and Eleanor of England. When the hired allies got Edward's money, they seem to have considered their part of the business as done; and no member of the coalition was very faithful or strenuous, except the unhappy Count Guy. But the whole expedition became a series of misadventures, some of which were sufficiently disgraceful to the English conqueror. He had scarcely landed at Sluis, when the mariners of the Cinque ports, and those of Yarmouth and other ports—between whom there were many rancorous old jealousies—quarrelled, and then fought as if they had been national enemies ranged under two opposite flags. On the Yarmouth side, five-and-twenty ships were burned and destroyed in this wild conflict. The king's land-forces were scarcely in a better state of discipline, owing, probably, to the absence of most of the great officers whom they had been accustomed to obey. The disorders they committed did not tend to produce unanimity in the country, which was already in "evil state, by reason that the good towns were not all of one mind." The rich and populous cities of Flanders were, in fact, as jealous of each other, and split into almost as many factions, as the little Italian republics of the middle ages. Philip le Bel had a strong party among them, and that active sovereign had greatly increased it, and weakened his enemies, by marching into the Low Countries at the head of 60,000 men, and gaining a great victory at Furnes, before Edward could arrive. The French occupied many of the towns; and Lille, Courtrai, Ypres, Bruges, and Damme were either taken, or given up to them soon after the landing of the English. Edward drove them out of Damme, and might have done the same at Bruges, had it not been that his English and the Flemings who were serving with them, fell into strife, and fought about the division of the spoils of the town, which they had not yet taken. Soon after this, he went into winter quarters at Ghent, and there deadly feuds broke out between the town's-people and his troops: seven hundred of

the latter were killed in a tumult, in which Edward's own life was endangered.

A.D. 1298. Spring approached, but it brought no news of the inactive members of the coalition; and as Edward's presence was much wanted at home, he eagerly listened to overtures from Philip, concluded a truce for two years, and, leaving Count Guy to shift for himself, sailed, somewhat dishonoured, for England. But his English subjects had not waited for this moment of humiliation to curb his power. As soon as he set sail for Flanders the preceding year, the constable and earl-marshal, with many other nobles, in presence of the lord-treasurer and of the judges, forbade the officers of the exchequer to exact payment of certain taxes which had been laid on without proper consent of parliament. The citizens of London and of the other great trading towns made common cause with the barons; and, after issuing some orders which the exchequer durst not obey, and making some fruitless attempts at deception and evasion, Edward was obliged to send over from Ghent instructions to his son and the council of regency¹ to bend before a storm which there was no opposing; and in the month of December, from the same city of Ghent, he was fain to grant, under the great seal, another confirmation of the two charters, together with a full confirmation of the important statute called "*De Tallagio non Concedendo*," declaring that henceforth no tallage or aid should be levied without assent of the peers spiritual and temporal, the knights, burgesses, and other freemen of the realm, which had been passed in a parliament held by Prince Edward in the preceding September. For many years parliament had exercised a salutary control in such matters; but this statute, for the first time, formally invested the representatives of the nation with the sole right of raising the supplies. In full parliament, which met at York in the month of May, some six weeks after the king's return, the Earl of Hereford, the constable, and the Earl of Norfolk, the marshal, demanded of him that he would ratify in person, and with proper solemnities, his recent confirmation of the charters. Edward said that it could not be now, as he must hasten to chastise the Scottish rebels; but he promised to do what was asked of him on his return from the north; and he pledged solemn oaths, *vicariously*, the Bishop of Durham and three lay lords swearing, by the soul of the king, that he would keep his promise.²

It will prevent confusion to bring these transactions to one point, without regard to the strict chronological order in which they occurred. In

¹ Several members of this council, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, were known to be favourable to the cause of reform.

² *Heming.; Walsing.*

March, 1299, Edward met his parliament again at Westminster. The bloody laurels of Falkirk were fresh on his brow: he had all the prestige of recent success; but, undaunted by his glory and might, the barons required the fulfilment of his promises. He endeavoured to gain time, and when the lords urged him, he withdrew from parliament and got out of London, secretly, and as if by stealth. But these earnest men would not be evaded: they followed him; and then the proud conqueror was compelled to make mean and debasing excuses. At last he granted the ratification so firmly demanded; but, with singular bad faith, he took parliament by surprise, and added a clause at the end of the document (a saving of the right of the crown) which utterly destroyed the value of the concession, and went to shake the very foundations of the Great Charter itself.

Upon this the mass of the barons returned suddenly to their homes. Edward was alarmed at their hostile countenance, but fancying he could delude the plain citizens, he ordered the sheriffs of London to call a public meeting, and to read the new confirmation of the charters. The citizens met in St. Paul's church-yard, and listened with anxious ears: at every clause, except the last, they gave many blessings to the king; but when that last clause was read, the London burghers cursed as loud and as fast as they had blessed before. Edward took warning: he summoned the parliament to meet again shortly after Easter, and then he struck out the detested clause, and granted all that was asked of him in the forms prescribed.¹ Hereford, the constable, died shortly after the ratification, but his principles had taken too deep a root to be much injured by the death of any one man, however great. In the course of three years, the king artfully contrived to punish, on other charges, and impoverish many of the barons who had most firmly opposed him; but this measure only convinced men more than ever of the vital necessity of restricting his power. In 1304, Edward arbitrarily sent to raise a tallage on all the cities and boroughs of his demesne; and in the following year he despatched secret envoys to the pope, to represent that the concessions he had made had been forced from him by a conspiracy of his barons, and to ask an absolution from his oaths and the engagements he had so repeatedly and solemnly contracted with his subjects. Notwithstanding Edward's instancing the case of his father, Henry III., who was absolved of his oaths to the Earl of Leicester, the answer of Clement V. was rather an evasive one. Thus, but slightly encouraged to perjury on the one hand

—awed by the unanimity of the barons on the other—and then, once more embarrassed by a rising of the patriots in Scotland, who never left him long in tranquil enjoyment of his usurpation, the mighty Edward was compelled to respect his engagements and the will of the nation. It required, indeed, an “intrepid patriotism” to contend with and finally control such a sovereign; and England never has produced any patriots to whom she owes more gratitude than to Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. Little did the Scottish patriots surmise, that while they were contending for their own national liberties, they were securing those of England also.

The vision of the splendid inheritance of Eleanor of Aquitaine still haunted Edward's imagination. With such an opponent as Philip le Bel, he could scarcely hope to recover all those states which the divorced wife of Louis VII. conveyed to Henry II. of England; but he was resolved to get back at least the country of Guienne. Having experienced the uncertainty of foreign coalitions, and having no great army of his own to spare for continental warfare, Edward determined to obtain his end by treating diplomatically with the French king, and sacrificing his faithful ally the Count of Flanders. In this he had more in view than the recovery of Guienne; for, as a price of his own treachery to Count Guy, he expected that Philip would be equally false to his treaty with the Scots, whom he had hurried into hostilities for his own purposes. Since Edward's campaign in Flanders, the arrogance and exactions of the French had almost destroyed their party in that country; and though they made a temporary conquest of it, the burghers of Ghent, Lille, Bruges, and the other free cities, gave them a signal defeat in the battle of Courtrai, which was fought in the year 1302. Philip's cousin, the Count of Artois, commanded the French on this occasion; and after his disgraceful defeat, all the Flemish towns threw off the French yoke, and elected John of Namur to be their governor-general, for Count Guy had been once more entrapped by Philip, who kept him a close prisoner. The French king was now as anxious to recover Flanders, as Edward was to keep Scotland and to get back Guienne.

It appears that the pope, who had been appealed to as mediator, first suggested, as a proper means of reconciling the two kings, that Edward, who had been for some years a widower, should marry Margaret, the sister of Philip; and that his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, should be affianced to Isabeau or Isabella, the daughter of that sovereign. This double marriage had been for some time under discussion, and had given scope to much mutual deception. Each of the

¹ Hemingford; Knyghton.

kings impudently affected a delicacy of conscience about abandoning his allies; and Edward stated (what was perfectly true) that he had pledged his soul and honour to the marriage between the Prince of Wales and Philippa, the daughter of the unfortunate Earl of Flanders—that he, King Edward, had sworn upon the gospels to make neither peace nor truce with France unless it were conjointly with his ally, the Earl of Flanders. Philip le Bel, on his side, spoke of his allies, the brave, the unfortunate Scots, and of the solemn obligations he had contracted with them; but each gracious king must have laughed at the other, and probably at himself, too, in making this interchange of scruples of conscience. Edward married Margaret of France, in September, 1299; and at the same time his son, who was thirteen years old, was contracted to Isabella, who was about six years old. A sort of congress, held at Montreuil, which preceded this marriage, had settled that there should be peace between the French and English crowns; that the King of England should make satisfaction for the many French ships which his mariners had taken at the beginning of the war; and that the King of France should place sundry towns in Gascony in the custody of the pope, to be by him held till the Guienne question should be adjusted by peaceful negotiation. This treaty, however, had not been properly ratified; Philip le Bel quarrelled with the arbiter, and even instigated Sciarra Colonna to arrest and ill-treat Pope Boniface. Other circumstances had prevented the accommodation; but at last, on the 20th of May, 1303, the treaty of Montreuil was ratified—a treaty of commerce was concluded between the two countries—and Edward recovered Guienne, for which the Earl of Lincoln swore fealty and did homage in his name. In this treaty the Scots were not even mentioned. Philip, indeed, had bargained with Edward to abandon Scotland if he would abandon Flanders. The fate of Count Guy and of his innocent daughter was sad in the extreme. After keeping him four years in close prison, Philip le Bel liberated the count in a moment of difficulty, and sent him into Flanders to induce his own subjects to convert a truce they then had with the French into a lasting peace. The count went, and not succeeding in his mission, he honourably returned, as he had promised to do in that case, to Philip, who again committed him to prison. The poor old man died soon after at Compeigne. But neither the battle of Mont-en-Puelle, nor a series of bloody engagements which followed it, could break the spirit of the free citizens of Flanders, whose wealth gave them many advantages over the miserably poor aristocracy of France, and whose numbers, considering the limited extent of the country they occupied, were

truly prodigious. “By St. Denis,” cried Philip, “I believe it rains Flemings!” At last he condescended to treat on moderate terms with the trading and manufacturing citizens; and, about a year after the ratification of the treaty with Edward, he agreed to a truce for ten years. Robert, the eldest son of Count Guy, was then liberated, and entered on possession of Flanders; the body of the octogenarian state-prisoner, which had been embalmed, was delivered up; and his younger son and many Flemish gentlemen recovered their liberty. But in this general enlargement, the fair Philippa—the, at one time, affianced bride of Prince Edward of England—was excepted; and she died of grief and captivity not long after, about two years before Edward of Caernarvon completed his marriage with Isabella of France. The events which rose out of this ill-fated marriage might have satisfied the manes of the most revengeful; and it could hardly happen otherwise than that they should be interpreted into a direct judgment of Heaven provoked by political perfidy.

All this while Edward had never ceased to be occupied with his design of completing the subjugation of Scotland. The four years that followed the battle of Falkirk were productive of no important results. Wallace disappears from the scene after his great defeat. In his room, the barons appointed William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, John de Soules, John Comyn the younger, and Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, guardians of the kingdom in the name of Baliol. This was indeed a strange union of all the great factions—Bruce acting in the name of Baliol, and associated in the same commission with Comyn, the only person who stood between him and the throne if Baliol should be set aside; for Comyn was the son of Baliol’s sister Marjory, and, failing King John and his issue, the heir of right to the crown. John Baliol, who had remained a prisoner in the Tower of London since his abdication in 1296, was liberated by Edward on the intercession of Pope Boniface, in July, 1299, and conveyed to his ancestral estate of Baillieu, in Normandy, where he lived in quiet till his death in 1314. Edward Baliol, who had been his father’s fellow-prisoner, accompanied him to France; but of him we shall hear more in the sequel. It was not till November, 1299, that the English king found leisure from his other affairs to set about preparations for the prosecution of the Scottish war, and the effort he then made ended in nothing; for after an army had been assembled at Berwick, in November, his barons, alleging his continued evasion of the charters, peremptorily refused to advance, and he was obliged to return home. The consequence was the capitulation of the castle of Stirling to a

Scottish force that had been for some time besieging it. In the summer of 1300, Edward made an incursion into Annandale and Galloway; but it was attended with no result except the devastation of the former of these districts, and the formal and useless submission of the latter. On the 30th of October, a truce with the Scots was concluded at Dumfries, to last till Whitsunday in the following year. Pope Boniface VIII. now claimed Scotland as belonging of right to the Roman See, and forbade Edward to continue the war; but the English parliament as well as the English king denied the right, and cared not for the prohibition. The truce having expired, Edward, in the summer of 1301, again marched into Scotland. This campaign, however, was still more unproductive than the last; the Scots, as the English king advanced, laid the country waste before him, till at last, an early and severe winter coming on, he was compelled to retire into the town of Linlithgow. In January, 1302, by the mediation of France, he was induced to conclude another truce with the Scots, to endure till the 30th of November (St. Andrew's Day). As soon as the truce had expired, he prepared to renew the war. This time, however, instead of proceeding to Scotland in person, he sent thither John de Segrave, at the head of an army of 20,000 men, mostly cavalry. The issue of this expedition was eminently disastrous. Segrave, advancing towards Edinburgh, was suddenly attacked early in the morning of the 24th of February, 1303, in the neighbourhood of Roslin, by the Scottish forces under the command of Comyn, the guardian, and Sir Simon Fraser, and sustained a total defeat.

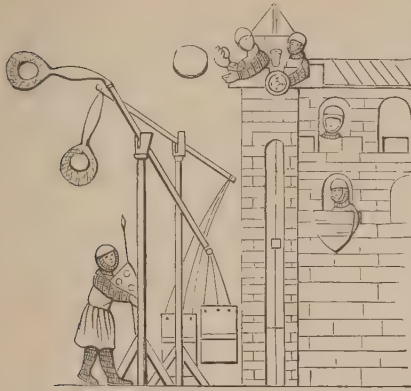
But the termination of the dispute with France now left Edward free to turn with his whole power to the Scottish war. The treaty of Montreuil was ratified at Paris, as above related, on the 20th of May; on the 21st of that month, the English king was with his army at Roxburgh, and, on the 4th of June, he had reached Edinburgh, his progress having been marked at every step by fields laid waste and towns and villages set on fire. From Edinburgh he appears to have pursued his unresisted and destructive course by Linlithgow and Clackmannan to Perth, and thence to Aberdeen and Kinloss in Moray. At the strong and extensive fortress of Lochendorb, built on an islet in the midst of a lake, he established his quarters for some time, while he received the homage and oaths of fealty of the northern barons. From this remote point he returned southwards in the latter part of October. Of all the places of strength to which he came, the castle of Brechin alone shut its gates against him. The garrison, however, capitulated the day after their brave commander, Sir Thomas

Maule, had been slain. Edward took up his winter quarters in Dunfermline in the beginning of December. The last remnant of the Scottish forces that kept the field now assembled in the neighbourhood of Stirling, with the view of protecting that fortress, the only place in the country that still held out. But the advance of Edward and his cavalry at once dispersed this little army. Shortly after, on the 9th of February, 1304, Comyn, by whom it had been commanded, and some other noblemen, made their submission to the commissioners of the English king at Strathorde,¹ in Fifeshire. It was agreed that they should retain their lives, liberties, and lands, subject only to such fines as Edward might impose. The capitulation was to include all other persons who might choose to take advantage of it, with the exception only of Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, the steward, and Sir John Soulis, who were to remain in exile for two years, and not to pass to the north of the Trent; of David de Graham and Alexander de Lindesay, who were to be banished from Scotland for six months; of Simon Fraser and Thomas Bois, who were to be banished for three years from all the dominions of Edward, and also to be prohibited from passing into France; and, closing the honourable list, the illustrious Wallace, to whom it was significantly accorded that, if he chose, he might render himself up to the will and mercy of Edward. Not long after, a parliament was assembled at St. Andrews, in which sentence of outlawry was pronounced against Wallace, Fraser, and the garrison of Stirling. All the persons above-named eventually surrendered themselves on the terms offered to them; even Fraser at length gave himself up: Wallace alone stood out.

Scotland, however, was not yet completely subdued so long as its chief place of strength, the castle of Stirling, remained unreduced. To the siege of this fortress, therefore, Edward now addressed himself. The operations commenced on the 22d of April. Thirteen warlike engines were brought to be used against the devoted walls; and the ample leaden roof of the cathedral of St. Andrews was torn off to assist in the construction of these formidable machines. Some of them threw stones of two and three hundred-weight. Edward himself directed everything that was done, and was several times struck by stones and javelins thrown from the castle. After the siege had continued nearly a month, without much progress having been made, the sheriffs of York, Lincoln, and London were commanded to purchase all the bows, quarrels, and other warlike weapons that could be procured within their districts, and to send them to Stir-

¹ This place, we believe, is not now known.

ling; and the governor of the Tower was also desired to send down immediately a supply from



ENGINE FOR THROWING STONES.—Royal MS. 16. G. VI.

London. All the efforts of the assailants were repelled for two months longer by Sir William Oliphant and his handful of gallant associates, who did not number more than 140 soldiers. They held out till their provisions were exhausted and the castle was reduced almost to a heap of ruins. Then, on the 20th of July, they surrendered at discretion. The governor and twenty-four of his companions of rank, all except two of them who were ecclesiastics, stripped to their shirts and under garments, were led forth from the castle, and presenting themselves before Edward on their bent knees, with their hair dishevelled and their hands joined in supplication, acknowledged their guilt with trembling and the semblance of shedding tears, and gave themselves up to his mercy. Their lives were spared, and they were sent to the Tower of London and other English prisons.

A few months after the fall of Stirling, the last enemy that Edward had to dread seemed to be cut off by the capture of Wallace. It appears that Edward had anxiously sought to discover his retreat, and that, tempted by the prospect of the rewards his baseness might earn for him, Ralph de Haliburton, one of the prisoners lately taken at Stirling, had proffered his services for that purpose. It is not clear, however, that it was by Haliburton's exertions that Wallace was actually taken; all that is certainly known is, that, upon being seized, he was conveyed to the castle of Dumbarton, then held under a commission from the English king by Sir John Menteith.¹ He was brought to London, "with great

numbers of men and women," says Stow, "wondering upon him. He was lodged in the house of William Delect, a citizen of London, in Fenchurch Street. On the morrow, being the eve of St. Bartholomew, he was brought on horseback to Westminster, . . . and in the great hall at Westminster, he being placed on the south bench, crowned with laurel—for that he had said in times past that he ought to bear a crown in that hall, as it was commonly reported—and being appealed for a traitor by Sir Peter Malorie, the king's justice, he answered, that he was never traitor to the King of England; but for other things whereof he was accused, he confessed them." Wallace was put to death as a traitor, on the 23d of August, 1305, at the usual place of execution—the Elms, in West Smithfield. He was dragged thither at the tails of horses, and there hanged on a high gallows, after which, while he yet breathed, his bowels were taken out and burned before his face. The head was afterwards placed on a pole on London Bridge; the right arm was sent to be set up at Newcastle, the left arm to Berwick, the right foot and limb to Perth, and the left to Aberdeen.

A few weeks after the execution of Wallace, ten commissioners, elected by a council of the Scottish nation, which Edward had summoned to meet at Perth, assembled in London, and there, in concert with twenty commissioners from the English parliament, proceeded to settle a plan of government for the conquered country. The whole arrangement, however, was overthrown ere it had been well established. Within six months from the death of Wallace, the Scots were again up in arms, around a new champion.

This was Robert Bruce. Bruce had again made his peace with England some time before the capitulation of Comyn and his friends at Strathorde, which he was enabled the more easily to effect, inasmuch as he had not been present at the battle of Falkirk, having previously shut himself up in the castle of Ayr, and refused to join the Scottish army. Edward had since sought to secure his adherence by treating him with favour and confidence. When his father, who had all along continued attached to the English interests, died, in the latter part of the year 1304, young Bruce was permitted to take possession of the whole of his estates both in England and Scotland. At the settlement of the latter kingdom, in the following year, while his great rival, Comyn, was heavily fined, Bruce was intrusted with the charge of the important fortress of Kildrummie, in Aberdeenshire, by commission from the English king. It is never to be forgotten that, up to this time, whatever his aversion

¹ There is a very able and spirited vindication of Sir John Menteith in Mr. Mark Napier's *Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston*, 4to, Edin. 1834, pp. 527, &c. See also *Tracts, Legal and Historical*, by J. Riddell, Esq., 8vo, Edin. 1835, pp. 145-149.

The admirable Hailes first pointed out the improbabilities and unfounded assumptions of the vulgar account, *Annals*, i. 343, 344.

to the English domination may have been, there had been repelling circumstances of the strongest nature to prevent Bruce from taking part entirely with the patriotic party, who, although they were contending against England, acted in the name, and chiefly under the conduct of the enemies of his house and person—of the family which he looked upon as having come between him and his splendid birthright. Wallace might fight for Baliol; Bruce scarcely could. And as little, after Baliol might be considered to be set aside, should he ally himself with Comyn, the near connection of Baliol, and the inheritor of his pretensions. Bruce, indeed, if he still retained a hope of seating himself on the disputed throne, must now have looked upon Comyn as the man of all others of whom it was most necessary for him to clear his path; and the same also no doubt were the feelings of Comyn in regard to Bruce. It is probable that the favour of Edward was courted by each with the object of depressing or destroying his rival. The circumstances, however, that led to the explosion of the inflammable elements which only required to be brought together to produce such a catastrophe, are involved in much uncertainty. It appears that in June, 1305, after his last submission to Edward, Bruce had entered into a secret league with William de Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, by which the parties mutually bound themselves to stand by each other against all persons whatsoever. This curious instrument is still preserved.¹ It is supposed that Comyn had obtained a knowledge of this agreement, and that thereupon a conference on the subject of their pretensions took place between him and Bruce, when Bruce is alleged to have proposed either that he should have the crown and Comyn his estates, or that he should have Comyn's estates and Comyn the crown. It was agreed that Bruce's title to the crown should be supported by both. With whatever views Comyn may have entered into this negotiation, he eventually (so proceeds the story) communicated all that had taken place to Edward. Bruce received the first intimation of his danger from Edward's son-in-law, the Earl of Gloucester. Early the next morning, Bruce set out for Scotland. On his way he met a person on foot, whom he found to be the bearer of letters from Comyn to Edward, urging his death or immediate imprisonment. He slew this man, and with the letters in his possession, pressed forward to the castle of Lochmaben. The adjuncts of this story, it must be confessed, are more like fiction than fact. It is certain, however, that on the 10th of February, 1306, Bruce and Comyn met alone in the convent of the Minorites at Dumfries, and

that there a passionate altercation having arisen between them, Bruce drew his dagger, and stabbed Comyn as they stood together beside the high altar. Hurrying from the sanctuary, he called "To horse!" and when his attendant, seeing him pale and violently agitated, inquired the cause—"I doubt," he replied, "I have slain Comyn." "You doubt?" exclaimed Roger Kirkpatrick; "I'll make sure." And with these words, he rushed into the church, and gave the wounded man his death-stroke.

Whatever might have been Bruce's previous plans, there was no room for doubt or hesitation now. He called his friends around him—they were few in number; but, desperate as the hazard looked, there were some gallant spirits that did not shrink from setting their lives upon another cast for the freedom of their country. The Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the abbot of Scone, Bruce's four brothers, Edward, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander, his nephew Thomas Randolph, his brother-in-law Christopher Seton, and some ten or twelve others, mostly young men, gathered at the summons. They met at Glasgow, and from thence rode to Scone, where Bruce was solemnly crowned on the 27th of March.

Edward was at Winchester when the news of this revolution was brought to him. He immediately sent forward the Earl of Pembroke, at the head of a small army, to check the insurgents; and, advanced in years as he now was, proceeded to make ready to follow in person. In preparation for the expedition, proclamation was made that the Prince of Wales would be knighted on the feast of Pentecost; and all the young nobility of the kingdom were summoned to appear at Westminster to receive that honour along with him. On the eve of the appointed day (the 22d of May), 270 noble youths assembled in the gardens of the Temple, in which the trees were cut down that they might pitch their tents; and there they watched their arms all night, according to the usage of chivalry. On the morrow Prince Edward was knighted by his father, and then conferred that honour on his companions. A magnificent feast followed, at which two swans, covered with nets of gold, being set on the table by the minstrels, the king rose and made a solemn vow to God and to the swans, that he would avenge the death of Comyn, and punish the perfidy of the Scottish rebels; and then addressing his son and the rest of the company, he conjured them, in the event of his death, to keep his body unburied until his successor should have accomplished this vow. The next morning the prince with his companions departed for the Borders; Edward himself followed by slow journeys, being only able to travel in a litter.

¹ See it printed in *Hailes*, i. 342.

Meanwhile, Bruce had acquired such strength, that in several parts of the country the officers of Edward had fled in terror. He now marched upon Perth, where the Earl of Pembroke lay. That same evening (19th of June) the English fell by surprise upon the Scots: it was rather a rout than a battle; Bruce himself was in the greatest danger, having been three times unhorsed; Randolph and others of his friends were taken; and he with difficulty made good his retreat into the fastnesses of Athole, with about 500 followers—the broken and dispirited remnant of his force. For many months after this, he and his friends were houseless fugitives; a price was set upon their heads: to make their difficulties and sufferings the greater, they were joined after some time by a party of their wives and daughters; and as they penetrated farther and farther into the depths of the Highlands, to avoid the English troops, their miseries became daily more pressing. At last Bruce's queen and the other ladies were conducted by his young brother Nigel to the castle of Kildrummie; and Bruce himself found means to pass over to the little isle of Rathlin on the coast of Ireland.

While the Scottish king lay concealed here, ruin fell upon almost all the connections and adherents he had left behind. The Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the abbot of Scone, had fallen into the hands of the English: they were taken clad in armour, and were immediately sent, so attired, and in fetters, to England, and there consigned to different prisons. Bruce's queen and his daughter Marjory, having taken refuge in the sanctuary of St. Duthac, at Tain, in Ross-shire, were seized there by the Earl of Ross. The knights who were with them were put to death; and they themselves were sent to England, where they endured an imprisonment of eight years. The youthful Nigel Bruce was compelled to surrender the castle of Kildrummie, and, being sent in irons to Berwick, was there hanged and afterwards beheaded, along with divers other knights and gallant men. Christopher Seton suffered a similar death at Dumfries, the Earl of Athole and Sir Simon Fraser in London, and many others there and elsewhere.

Bruce, however, had not been idle in his winter retreat; and early in the spring of 1307 he passed over from Rathlin to the Isle of Arran,

with a company of about 300 men, embarked in thirty-three galleys. Before venturing to the opposite coast, he despatched one of his followers to ascertain what were the dispositions of the people. When the Scots approached the landing-place, Bruce's emissary stood on the shore. He told them that the English were in complete possession of Carrick; that Lord Percy, with a numerous garrison, held the castle of Turnberry; and that there was no hope of a rising in favour of Bruce. Bruce hesitated what to do; but his brother Edward boldly declared for pursuing their enterprise. They immediately attacked a body of the English, and succeeded in putting most of them to the sword. Percy did not dare, in his ignorance of the numbers of the enemy, to come forth from the castle. After this exploit, Bruce sought shelter in the mountainous parts of the country. But the blow he had struck sufficed to rekindle the war, and it soon raged in different quarters. In the beginning of February, Bruce's brothers, Thomas and Alexander, with a band of 1100 adventurers from Ireland, were routed in



BRADLEY HALL, Northumberland, where Edward I. rested on his last invasion of Scotland.¹—H. G. Hine, from his sketch on the spot.

Galloway by Duncan MacDowal, a chief of that region, who immediately carried the two brothers, who had fallen into his hands severely wounded, to the English king at Carlisle. Edward ordered both to instant execution. Some weeks after this,

¹ Bradley Hall is situated on a knoll which overhangs the Bardon Burn, about six miles from Haltwhistle, in Northumberland. It has considerable local celebrity, from having been a resting-place of Edward I. on his last march to Scotland. The place is now converted into a farm-house, and many alterations have been made accordingly, but the masonry attests its antiquity. Its site lies just off the great Roman military way by which Edward must have led his army, and which is still one of the best highways in this country. The lofty hill of Borcom, distinguished by a cairn on its summit, and which bears some vestiges of a British camp, is shown in the view at a short distance from the hall.

Douglas Castle, which was held by Lord Clifford, was gallantly surprised by its former owner, Sir James Douglas, one of Bruce's most distinguished followers. It was some time, however, before Bruce was strong enough to show himself openly in the field; and he was frequently again in great personal danger as he skulked from one hiding-place to another in the wilds of Galloway. But at length he ventured to encounter the Earl of Pembroke at Loudon Hill, when, notwithstanding a great inferiority of numbers, he obtained a complete victory. This action was fought on the 10th of May. Three days after, he attacked another English force under the command of the Earl of Gloucester; and this, too, he succeeded in routing with great slaughter.

But here we must break off our account of events in Scotland for the present. King Edward all this while had advanced no farther than to Carlisle, having been detained all the winter and spring at Lanercost, by a serious illness. He had directed all the late operations of the war from his sick-bed; but now, incensed at the continued progress of the insurrection, he offered up the litter on which he had thus far been carried in the cathedral church of Carlisle, and again mounting on horseback, gave orders to proceed towards the Borders. It was the effort of a dying man. In four days he advanced about six miles, when, having reached the village of Burgh-upon-Sands, he there stopped once more for the night; and on the morning of the next day, the 7th of July, expired in the sixty-ninth year of his age,

and thirty-fifth of his reign. His last breath was spent in enjoining upon those who should succeed



TOMB OF EDWARD I., Westminster Abbey.¹

him, the prosecution of the great design of his life—the complete subjugation of Scotland.

¹ In 1744 the tomb of Edward I. was opened, and the remains examined in the presence of the Dean of Westminster. On lifting the lid of the tomb, the royal body was found wrapped in a strong thick linen cloth, waxed on the inside. The head and face were covered with the sudarium or face-cloth, of crimson sarsenet, wrapped into three folds—conformable to the napkin used by our Saviour on his way to his crucifixion, as we are assured by the Church of Rome. On flinging open the external mantle, the corpse was discovered in all the ensigns of majesty, richly habited. The body was wrapped in a fine linen cerecloth closely fitted to every part, even to the very fingers and face. The writs *De cera renovanda, circa corpus regis Edwardi primi* (*Archæologia*, vol. iii.) being extant, gave rise to this search. Over the cere-cloth was a tunic of red silk damask; above that a stole of thick white tissue crossed the breast, and on this, at 6 inches distant from each other, quatrefoils of filagree work, of gilt metal set with false stones, imitating rubies, sapphires, amethysts, &c., and the intervals between the quatre-

foils on the stole powdered with minute white beads, tacked down into a most elegant embroidery, in form not unlike what is called the true lover's knot. Above these habits was the royal mantle of rich crimson satin, fastened on the left shoulder with a magnificent fibula of gilt metal richly chased, and ornamented with four pieces of red and four of blue transparent paste, and twenty-four more pearls. The corpse, from the waist downward, was covered with a rich cloth of figured gold, which fell down to the feet, and was tucked beneath them. On the back of each hand was a quatrefoil like those on the stole. In his right hand was a sceptre with a cross of copper gilt, and of elegant workmanship, reaching to the right shoulder. In the left hand was the rod and dove, which passed over the shoulder and reached the royal ear. The dove stood on a ball placed on three ranges of oak leaves of enamelled green, the dove in white enamel. On the head was a crown charged with trefoils made of gilt metal. The head was lodged in the cavity of the stone coffin.—*Pennant*.

CHAPTER IV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

EDWARD II., SURNAMED OF CAERNARVON.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1307—DEATH, A.D. 1327.

Character of Edward II.—His inordinate attachment to Gaveston—He marries Isabella of France—Gaveston banished and recalled—The barons compel Edward to make certain reforms—Gaveston executed—Successes of Bruce in Scotland—He invades England—Recovers the castles in Scotland garrisoned by the English—Edward II. invades Scotland—Battle of Bannockburn—Prowess of Bruce—Signal victory of the Scots at Bannockburn—Edward Bruce makes war on the English in Ireland—He overruns the island—Is defeated and slain at Dundalk—Mutual invasions of the Scots and English—Edward II. finds a new favourite in Hugh Despenser—The Earl of Lancaster rebels against the king—He is defeated and executed—Queen Isabella goes on a mission to France—Refuses to return to England—Conspires with Roger Mortimer against her husband—She and Mortimer land in England—The Despensers executed—Edward II. deposed and imprisoned—His son Edward proclaimed—The Queen and Mortimer assume the government during the minority of Edward III.—Edward II. murdered in prison—Cruel abolition of the order of Templars in France—Mode of its abolition in England.



HE death of Edward I. was concealed in the capital for many days, and Ralph de Baldoc, Bishop of London and chancellor of the kingdom, continued to put his great seal to writs till the 25th of July. Edward II., however, had been peacefully recognized at Carlisle by the unanimous consent of the peers and magnates present with the army there, on Saturday, the 8th of July, the day after his father's death.¹ This prince had the outward appearance of many advantages; he was young, of an agreeable person, and cheerful disposition; but he had already betrayed weaknesses that might overthrow the strongest throne, and had incurred the suspicion of vices which, when once proclaimed, were sure singularly to irritate a manly nation. On his death-bed his father had implored him to eschew the company of favourites and parasites, and had forbidden him, under pain of his curse, to recal his chief minion, Gaveston, to England. Piers Gaveston was a handsome youth of Gascony, who had been brought up with the prince. The stern old king had driven him from England; but, forgetful of his dying injunctions, and his own solemn oaths, Edward's first thoughts on his accession were to recal this favourite, and confer upon him the earldom of



EFFIGY OF EDWARD II.²—From his tomb in Gloucester Cathedral.

Cornwall, with other honours and immense estates. He was obliged, however, to make a semblance of prosecuting the war in Scotland, and he marched as far north as Cumnock, on the borders of Ayrshire; but at this point he turned round and made his way back to England, without having performed anything. Meanwhile, Gaveston, who had hastily arrived from the Continent, joined him in Scotland, and had scarcely made his appearance when the whole body of the government was changed. The chancellor, the treasurer, the barons of the exchequer, the judges—all the officers who had been appointed by the deceased king, were deprived of their places, and in some instances stripped of their property and thrown into prison. Instead of fulfilling his father's solemn behest, Edward buried his bones in Westminster Abbey, at the head of Henry III., on the 27th day of October; and soon after, he gave the money which the old king had set apart for the holy war to his insatiable favourite. Indeed, the whole of Edward's care seems to have been to enrich and aggrandize Gaveston. The great earldom of Cornwall, which had been appanage enough for princes of the blood, was not deemed sufficient for this Gascon knight; and in addition to this, Edward married him to his own niece, Margaret de Clare, made

¹ Walsingham says he succeeded to the crown, "non tam jure hereditario, quam unanimi assensu procerum et magnatum."

² The effigy of the second Edward represents him royally crowned; he has had a sceptre in one hand, which is now removed; the other supports the mundus or ball.

him lord-chamberlain, and gave him an extensive grant of lands in Guienne.¹

When the infatuated Edward sailed for France, in January, 1308, to marry the Princess Isabella, to whom he had long been contracted, he left Gaveston regent of the kingdom during his absence, and intrusted him with more absolute powers than had ever been conferred in such cases. The Princess Isabella, daughter to Philip le Bel, was reputed the most beautiful woman in Europe—*une des plus belles dames du monde*, according to Froissart. But Edward from the first was rather indifferent to her person. They were married with great pomp in “our Lady Church of Boulogne,” on the 25th of January. Edward showed the greatest impatience to return to England: the usual rejoicings were cut short, and he embarked with his bride and a numerous company of French nobles and princes. Soon after their landing they were met by Gaveston, and by the flower of the English nobility, who came to salute their young and beautiful queen. At this moment, paying no attention to his wife, or his guests, or to the rest of his subjects, Edward threw himself into the arms of his favourite, hugged and kissed him, and called him brother. The whole court was disgusted at this exhibition. At the coronation, which was celebrated with great magnificence at Westminster on the 24th of February, nearly all the honours were allotted to the favourite, without any regard to the hereditary offices of the great barons. Four days after the coronation, the barons petitioned the king to banish Sir Piers Gaveston immediately. Edward promised to give them an answer in parliament, which was to meet after the festival of Easter, and in the meanwhile he did all he could to disarm their resentment. But the favourite himself had no discretion. When the parliament met, Edward was obliged to part with his minion. Gaveston took an oath that he would never return to England, and the bishops bound him to his oath by threats of excommunication. The king accompanied him to Bristol, where he embarked; but a few weeks after, it was ascertained that the exile had been appointed governor of all Ireland, and that he had established himself in that island with almost royal magnificence. From the time of his departure till that of his return—a space of thirteen months—the whole soul of the king seems to have been absorbed by this one subject: he employed every expedient to mitigate the animosity of his barons; he wrote to Rome for a dispensation for Gaveston from his oath; and having, as he fancied, removed all dangerous opposition to the measure, he sent to recall the favourite from Ireland. They met at

Chester, with a wonderful display of tenderness on the part of the king. The parliament assembled at Stamford, and the promises of the king, and the affected humility of Gaveston, obtained a formal consent to his re-establishment in England.

The king was now happy; his court was filled with buffoons, parasites, and such like pernicious instruments; and nothing was seen there but feasting and revelry. At the same time the upstart favourite became more arrogant and insolent than he had ever been before. Even the queen was so disgusted with this man's predominancy, that she sent complaints to the king, her father, and conceived an aversion to her husband, which was never afterwards removed. The barons, before voting supplies, had several times made Edward promise a redress of grievances; but when he summoned a parliament to meet at York, in October, 1309, three months after the favourite's return from Ireland, most of the barons refused to attend, alleging that they stood in fear of the power and malice of Gaveston. The urgency of the king's wants obliged him to repeat his summons, but still they came not. The favourite then withdrew; and at last the barons announced that they would assemble at Westminster. They met in the month of March, 1310; but every baron came in arms, and Edward was completely in their power. He was obliged to consent to the appointment of a committee of peers, who should have to reform not only the state, but also the royal household. The committee was appointed by the primate, seven bishops, eight earls, and thirteen barons, who acknowledged under their signatures that this grant was not to be considered as a precedent for trenching on the royal prerogative; and that the functions of the committee should cease at the feast of St. Michael in the following year. The committee, called “ordainers,” sat in London. The king was scarcely out of their sight when he was once more joined by Gaveston. The two passed the winter and the following summer at Berwick and the country about the Scotch borders, doing little or nothing, while Bruce was mustering his resources for a complete deliverance of Scotland.

In the month of August, 1311, Edward was obliged to meet his parliament at Westminster. The barons were in a worse humour than ever: they recalled all grants made by the king to his favourite; they decreed that all made thereafter, without consent of parliament, should be invalid; that Gaveston should be banished, on pain of death in case of return; that the king should not leave the kingdom or make war without the consent of the baronage; that the baronage, in parliament assembled, should appoint a guardian or

¹ De la More; Walsing.; Trivet.

regent during the royal absence; and that all the great officers of the crown, and the governors of foreign possessions, should at all times be chosen by the baronage, or with their advice and assent in parliament. The king had once more confirmed the Great Charter the preceding year, before going to the north, but now a new and important provision was introduced respecting the meeting of parliament:—"Forasmuch as many people be aggrieved by the king's ministers against right, in respect to which grievances no one can recover without a common parliament, we do ordain that the king shall hold a parliament once a-year, or twice if need be." More for the sake of his favourite, than from any other motive, Edward made a show of resistance, but he was compelled to yield, and he affixed his signature to all these ordinances in the beginning of October. On the 1st of November following, after many tears, he took leave of Gaveston, who retired to Flanders. The king then dissolved the parliament, and cautiously retired to the north, where he hoped to collect an army that would stand for him. At York, the castle-hall a hurried council, composed of the in less than two months from his last departure, Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, and Gaveston was again with his royal master, who made him a new grant of all his estates and honours. But the career of the favourite was now drawing to its close. The barons, headed by the great Earl of Lancaster, the king's cousin, fell suddenly upon the royal party at Newcastle. Edward had time to escape, and he sailed away on board a vessel with Gaveston, leaving his beautiful wife behind him with the greatest indifference. Lancaster caused the queen to be treated with all respect, and then marched to lay siege to Scarborough Castle, into which the favourite had thrown himself. The castle was not tenable, and the favourite surrendered on capitulation on the 19th of May, 1312, to the Earl of Pembroke, who pledged his faith that no harm should happen to him, and that he should be confined in his own castle of Wallingford. From Scarborough he travelled, under the escort of Pembroke, as far as Dedington, and here the earl left him to pay a visit to his countess, who was in that neigh-

bourhood. Gaveston appears to have had no foreboding of his fate: on the following morning he was ordered to dress speedily; he obeyed and descended to the courtyard, where, to his confusion, he found himself in the presence of the grim Earl of Warwick, who was attended by a large force. They put him on a mule, and carried him to Warwick Castle, where his entrance was derisively announced by a crash of martial music. In



WARWICK CASTLE.—From Graphic Illustrations of Warwickshire.



PLACE WHERE PIERS GAVESTON WAS BEHEADED.¹—J. W. Archer, from his sketch on the spot.

other chiefs, sat upon the prisoner. A proposal was made, or a hint was offered, that no blood should be shed; but a voice rung through the hall—"You have caught the fox; if you let him go you will have to hunt him again." This

¹ On Blacklow Hill, near Warwick, an indentation in the rock, where a man kneeling might place his neck, is indicated as the place of Gaveston's execution by the following inscription:—

death-note had its effect; the capitulation of Scarborough was foully disregarded, and it was resolved to put an end to the unhappy man in conformity with the ordinance passed by parliament for his last exile. He threw himself at the feet of the Earl of Lancaster, but there was no mercy there. They hurried him at once to Blacklow Hill, a gentle knoll a mile or two from the castle, and there, in view of the beautiful windings of the river Avon, they struck off his head.¹

This tragedy, unusual in England even in those turbulent times, threw the king into an agony of grief; but when he dried his tears he thought of revenge. For six months Edward and his barons were in arms against each other, but no battle took place, and a temporary reconciliation was effected at the end of the year. Two meetings of parliament (A.D. 1313) confirmed and completed this treaty. The barons knelt before the king in Westminster Hall, amnesties were published, and the plate and jewels of the deceased favourite were surrendered to Edward. But when they asked him to declare Gaveston a traitor, he resolutely refused.² This year Edward took the field in something like earnest, but he only marched to Scotland to add the disgrace of a defeat in regular war to the other reverses of his reign.

Ever since the death of Edward I., the English dominion in the greater part of Scotland had been little more than nominal. The progress of Bruce in liberating the country had been continued and steady. Edward, on returning home, in the autumn of 1307, had left the war to be conducted by the Earl of Richmond, who was supported by that part of the nation which was opposed to Bruce's assumption of the crown. The latter, therefore, had both an English and a Scottish, both a foreign and a domestic enemy, to contend with. The great body of his countrymen soon became warmly attached to his cause; but in some districts even the popular feeling was hostile, and a powerful faction of the nobility was arrayed in determined resistance to his pretensions. For the present, at least, and

until they should have attained their immediate object of putting him down, this party professed to be in the English interest, and acted in concert with Edward's officers. Most of the places of strength throughout the kingdom were also in the hands of the English. In these circumstances the course which Bruce appears to have laid down for himself was to avoid a general action, and in the meantime to overrun those parts of the country that refused to submit to his authority, and seize every opportunity of reducing the castles.

The severe bodily exertion and fatigue, and the still more trying accumulation of mental distresses to which he had been subjected since the commencement of his great enterprise, had been too much even for his heroic heart and iron frame, and had reduced Bruce by the spring of 1308 to a state of debility from which it had begun to be feared that he would not recover. On the 22d of May the royal army was encountered near Inverury, in Aberdeenshire, by a numerous force under the command of Mowbray, an Englishman, and John Comyn, the Earl of Buchan. Bruce, it is affirmed, was not able to rise without assistance from his couch, but he nevertheless desired to be set on horseback. In this state, and held up in the saddle by a man on either side, he led his soldiers to the charge, and gained the victory; the enemy being pursued with great slaughter for many miles.

Soon after this the people of Aberdeen rose and stormed the castle there, put the English garrison to the sword, and razed the fortress to the ground. An English force immediately marched against the town, but the citizens finished their exploit by encountering and defeating this new enemy also. The capture of the castle of Aberdeen was speedily followed by that of the castle of Forfar.

There were two districts of the kingdom where the opposition to Bruce was especially strong—that of Galloway, the turbulent inhabitants of which had never yet been thoroughly reconciled to the dominion of the Scottish kings, and were, besides, attached by a sort of national connection to the Baliol family through their ancient lords; and the country of Lorn in Argyleshire, the chief of which, Allaster (or Alexander) MacDougall (often called Allaster of Argyle), had married an aunt of Comyn, whom Bruce had slain. In the course of this summer both these districts were overrun, and for the present reduced to subjection.

Meanwhile the measures of the English government were characterized by all the evidences of distracted councils, and decay of the national spirit under the inefficient rule of the new king. Almost every quarter of the year saw the substi-

+ 1311
P GAVESTON
EARL OF CORNWALL
BEHEADED HERE

The cross on the brow of the hill was erected by one of the Greathead family of Guy's Cliff, to commemorate the event. On the base is inscribed:—

In the hollow of this rock
Was beheaded,
On the 1st day of July, 1312,
By barons lawless as himself,
Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall,
The minion of a pitiful king;
In life and death
A memorable instance of misrule,

¹ Rymer; *Walsing.*; *Knyghton*.

² Rymer; *Walsing.*; Statutes 7th Ed. II.

tution of a new guardian or chief governor for Scotland. The country, generally, was under subjection to Bruce; and whenever he encountered any military force, whether composed of Scots or of English, he was sure to put them to flight. At last, in the spring of 1309, a truce was arranged by the mediation of the King of France. Hostilities, however, were not long suspended. In the end of the year, by a second intervention of the French king, the negotiations were renewed, and another truce was concluded in the year 1310. But this also was soon broken by one party or by both. Edward II. at last prepared to proceed to Scotland, and take the field in person. He entered Scotland about the end of September; but, after leading his army about from place to place over the Border counties for some weeks without achieving anything, he returned to Berwick, and remained inactive for nearly nine months. Edward returned to England in the end of July, 1311, boasting that he had driven the Scots into their coverts like foxes, but as soon as he was gone, Bruce made an irruption into Durham, and suffered his soldiers to wreak their vengeance on that unfortunate district by a week of unrestrained plunder and merciless devastation. Bringing them back loaded with spoil, he next led them to attack the castle of Perth. After a siege of six weeks it was taken by an assault during the night, gallantly led by the king himself. Edward now attempted to negotiate another truce, and even solicited the intervention of the pope. But, instead of listening to these overtures, Bruce again invaded England, burned the towns of Hexham and Corbridge, and part of the city of Durham, afterwards penetrated to Chester, and, although he was repulsed in an assault upon Carlisle, only consented to return across the Border upon the four northern counties purchasing a truce from him by a payment of £2000 each. Not long after, he succeeded in making himself master of the castle of Dumfries, and of those of Butel and Dalswinton, in Galloway—the former a seat of the Baliols, the latter of the Comyns. On the 7th of March, 1313, the important castle of Roxburgh was suddenly taken by assault. On the 14th of the same month, that of Edinburgh, which had for some time been blockaded by Bruce's nephew, Randolph, now created Earl of Moray, was taken in a similar manner by a party of thirty men, whom Randolph headed, and who made their way at midnight up the precipitous rock on which the castle stands, by a secret path, along which they were guided by a man who had resided in the fortress in his youth, and had been wont to descend by that intricate and perilous access to visit a girl with whom he was in love. It appears to have been likewise about

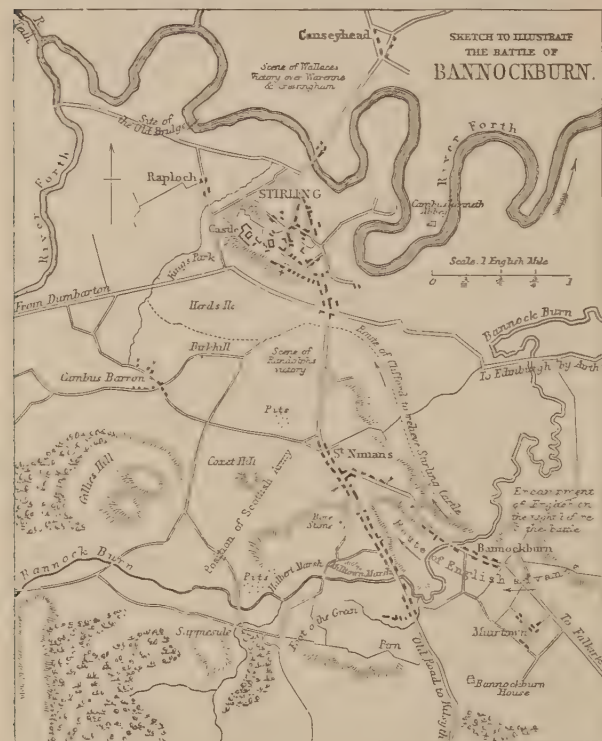
this time, although the event is placed earlier in the common accounts, that the castle of Linlithgow was surprised by a stratagem, which might almost be supposed to have been suggested by the classic tale of the Trojan horse, but of which the contrivance, as well as the conduct, is attributed to a poor countryman named William Binnock or Binny. This feat consisted in the introduction of armed men into the castle concealed in a waggon-load of hay. This same year Cumberland was again ravaged by Bruce, who then crossing over to Man, effected the complete reduction of the island.

While the Scottish king was absent on this expedition, Edward Bruce had made himself master of the castles of Dundee and Rutherglen; and he had been for some weeks engaged in besieging that of Stirling, now almost the only considerable place of strength which the English held in Scotland. After a gallant defence, the governor, Philip de Mowbray, offered to surrender, if not relieved, by the feast of St. John the Baptist (the 24th of June), in the following year; and this proposal Edward Bruce, without consulting his brother, accepted. Bruce expressed the highest displeasure when the treaty was made known to him; but he resolved, nevertheless, to abide by it. Every effort was now made on both sides in preparation for a crisis, which it was felt would be decisive. King Edward, besides ordering a fleet to be fitted out to act in concert with the land forces, summoned all the military power of England to meet him at Berwick on the 11th of June, and also called to his aid both his English subjects in Ireland, and many of the native Irish chiefs. That day, accordingly, saw assembled at the place of rendezvous perhaps the most magnificent army that our warlike land had ever yet sent forth; its numbers are asserted by the best authorities to have exceeded 100,000 men, including a body of 40,000 cavalry, of whom 3000 were clad in complete armour, both man and horse. At the head of this mighty array Edward took his course into Scotland, advancing by the east coast to Edinburgh, from which, turning his face westward, he proceeded along the right bank of the Forth towards Stirling. Bruce, meanwhile, had collected his forces in the forest called the Torwood, midway between that place and Falkirk; they amounted to scarce 40,000 fighting men, nearly all of whom were on foot. When the English approached, the King of Scots drew up his little army immediately to the south of Stirling, in a field then known by the name of the New Park, which, partly broken with wood, was in some parts encompassed by a marsh, and had running along one side of it the rivulet of Bannockburn, between woody banks of considerable depth and

steepness. He arranged his men in four divisions, three of which formed a front line facing the south-east—from which direction the enemy was approaching—so that the right wing rested on the brook of Bannock, and the left extended

On Sunday, the 23d of June, intelligence was received that the English were at hand. Barbour has painted the day as one bright with sunshine, which, falling upon the burnished armour of King Edward's troops, made the land

seem all in a glow, while banners right fairly floating, and pennons waving in the wind, added to the splendour of the scene. When he came within sight of the Scots, and perceived how they were planted, Edward, detaching 800 horse, sent them forward under the command of Sir Robert Clifford, to endeavour to gain the castle by making a circuit on the other side of some rising grounds to the north-east of Bruce's left wing. Thus sheltered from observation, they had already passed the Scottish line when Bruce himself was the first to perceive them. "Randolph!" he cried, riding up to his nephew, "a rose has fallen from your chaplet; you have suffered the enemy to pass!" It was still possible to intercept Clifford and his horse. Randolph instantly set out to throw himself, at every hazard, between them and the castle: to prevent this the English wheeled round and charged him; but he had drawn up his men in a circle, with



towards the town of Stirling. It was a position chosen with consummate skill; for while obstacles, partly natural, partly artificial, secured either flank from being turned, the space in front was, at the same time, so narrow and impeded, as to be calculated, in a great measure, to deprive a very numerous hostile force of the advantage of its numerical superiority. On his most assailable quarter, his left wing, or the north-eastern extremity of this line of battle, Bruce had caused a great many pits to be dug, about three feet in depth, and then to be covered over with brushwood and sod, so as not to be easily perceptible. Of the three divisions thus drawn up, Bruce gave the command of that forming the right wing to his brother Edward, of that forming the left to Randolph, Earl of Moray, of the centre to Sir James Douglas and Walter the steward; the fourth division, composed of the men of Argyll, the islanders, and his own vassals of Carrick, formed a reserve, which was stationed in the rear, and of which he himself took charge.

their backs to each other, and their long spears protruded all round, and they not only stood the onset firmly, but repelled it with the slaughter of many of their assailants. Still they contended against fearful odds; and, seeing the jeopardy of his friend, Douglas requested to be allowed to go and succour him. "You shall not move from your ground," replied Bruce; "let Randolph extricate himself as he best may." But at length Douglas could no longer restrain himself; and so, extorting from the king a reluctant consent, he hastened forward. But, as he drew near, he perceived that the English were giving way. "Halt!" he cried to his followers; "let us not diminish the glory of these brave men!" and he did not go up to his friend till the latter had, alone and unaided, compelled the English captain to retire in confusion. Meanwhile, before this affair had yet been decided, a brilliant achievement of Bruce himself, performed in full view of both armies, had raised the hopes of his countrymen. He was riding in front of his troops on a little

palfrey, but with his battle-axe in his hand and a crown of gold over his steel helmet, when an English knight, Henry de Bohun or Boone, mounted on a heavy war-horse and armed at all points, galloped forward to attack him. Instead of retreating from the unequal encounter, Bruce turned to meet his assailant, and dexterously parrying his spear, in the next instant, with one blow of his battle-axe, laid him dead at his feet.

Although the two armies were so near, the English did not venture upon the attack that night. But next morning, soon after break of day, their van, led by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, advanced at full gallop upon the right wing of the Scots, while the main body of the army followed in a long close column under the conduct of Edward himself. The shock did not break the Scottish line; and successive repetitions of the charge were more disastrous to the assailants than to the firm phalanx against which their squadrons were broken at every collision. From the advantages of their position, also, the other divisions of the Scots were soon enabled to take part in the contest. Randolph pushed forward with his men; Douglas and the steward also came up; and thus the battle became general along the whole length of the Scottish front line. Of the English army, on the other hand, the greater part appears never to have been engaged. A strong body of archers, however, did great execution, till Bruce directed Sir Robert Keith, the marshal, at the head of a small detachment of horse, to make a circuit and come upon them in flank. The bowmen, who had no weapons for a fight at close quarters, gave way before this sudden assault, and spread confusion in all directions. Bruce now advanced with his reserve, and all the four divisions of the Scots pressed upon the confused multitude of the English. The latter, however, still stood their ground, and the fortune of the day yet hung in a doubtful balance, when suddenly, on a hill behind the Scottish battle, appeared what seemed to be a new army. It was merely the crowd of sutlers and unarmed attendants on the camp; but it is probable that their sudden apparition was not made without the design of producing some such effect as it did, since they are said to have advanced with banners waving, and all the show of military array. The sight spread instant alarm among the English: at the same moment Bruce, raising his war-cry, pressed with new fury upon their failing ranks. His onset, vigorously supported by the other divisions of the Scottish army, was scarcely resisted by the unwieldy and now completely panic-struck mass against which it was directed; horse and foot alike gave way, and fled in the wildest disorder. Many, trying to escape across the river, were drowned; many

more fell under the battle-axes of their pursuers. Among the slain were twenty-seven of the rank of barons and bannerets, including the king's nephew, the Earl of Gloucester, and others of the chief nobility of England. Of knights there fell 200, of esquires 700, and of persons of inferior rank, according to some accounts, not fewer than 30,000. The slaughter in the fight and the pursuit together was undoubtedly very great. A vast amount of booty and many prisoners also fell into the hands of the victors. Edward himself with difficulty escaped, having been hotly pursued as far as Dunbar, a place sixty miles from the field of battle. But twenty-two barons and bannerets, and sixty knights were taken; and, according to one English historian, the chariots, waggons, and other carriages, loaded with baggage and military stores, that were obtained by the Scots would, if drawn up in a line, have extended for many leagues. On their side the loss of life, which was the only loss, was comparatively inconsiderable, and included only one or two names of any note.

This great victory, in effect, liberated Scotland. The castle of Stirling immediately surrendered, according to agreement. Bothwell Castle, in which the Earl of Hereford had shut himself up, capitulated soon after to Edward Bruce, when the earl was exchanged for the wife, sister, and daughter of the King of Scots, who had been detained in England for the last seven years, and also for the Bishop of Glasgow and the Earl of Mar. Edward Bruce and Douglas, then entering England, ravaged Northumberland, exacted tribute from Durham, and, after penetrating as far as Appleby, returned home laden with plunder.

Soon after, a still bolder enterprise was entered upon by the ardent and ambitious brother of the Scottish king. On the 25th of May, 1315, Edward Bruce landed at Carrickfergus with no less a design than that of winning himself a crown by the conquest of Ireland. The force which he brought with him consisted of only 6000 men; but he was joined, on landing, by a number of the native chiefs of Ulster, with whom he had had a previous understanding. The invaders and their allies immediately began to ravage the possessions of the English settlers; and no attempt to oppose them seems to have been made for nearly two months. At length Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, assisted by some of the Connaught chiefs, marched against them. The Scots at first retreated, but suddenly halting near Coyneers (on the 10th of September), they turned round upon their pursuers and put them completely to the rout. Soon after this a reinforcement of 500 men arrived from Scotland, and the invaders now proceeded to penetrate into the heart of the country. They advanced through

Meath into Kildare, and there (on the 26th of January, 1316), encountering the English army commanded by Edmund Butler, the justiciary of Ireland, gained another brilliant victory. A severe famine, however, now compelled them to return to the north. On their way they were met at Kenlis, in Meath, by Roger Lord Mortimer, who thought to cut off their retreat; but this numerous force also was defeated and dispersed, and Mortimer himself, with a few attendants, was glad to take refuge in Dublin. The Scottish prince now assumed the government of Ulster. On the 2d of May, 1316, at Carrickfergus, he was solemnly crowned King of Ireland; and from this time he actually reigned in full and undisputed sovereignty over the greater portion of the northern province. By this time the King of Scots himself had come over to take part in the war; the force which he brought with him is said to have raised the entire numbers of the Scottish army to 20,000 men. Thus strengthened, the invaders again set out for the south. They failed, however, in their attempt to reduce Dublin, and it is probable that the want of provisions compelled them to remove. As they had already, however, wasted the country behind them, they proceeded in their course southwards, till at length, plundering and destroying as they proceeded, they had penetrated as far as the town of Limerick. The difficulties of their position were now serious; they were a handful of foreigners, with many miles of a hostile country between them and the nearest spot on which they could take up a secure station; famine was staring them in the face; indeed they were reduced to feed upon their horses; and want and disease were already beginning to thin their ranks. Notwithstanding, however, that an English army of 30,000 men was assembled at Kilkenny to oppose their passage, they contrived to extricate themselves from all these perils and embarrassments, and, by the beginning of May, 1317, the two brothers had made their way back to Ulster, after having thus overrun the country from nearly one extremity to the other.

The English, however, had taken advantage of the absence of the King of Scots from his own dominions to make several attempts to renew the war there. In the south, the Earl of Arundel, a Gascon knight, named Edmond de Cailand, who was governor of Berwick, and Sir Ralph Neville, were successively defeated by Sir James Douglas. Soon after, a force, which had made a descent at Inverkeithing, on the coast of Fife, was driven back by the gallantry of Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld. The pope now interfered, and attempted to compel a truce between the two countries; but as he evaded giving Bruce the title of king, the latter would enter into no negotia-

tion. On the 28th of March, 1318, the important town of Berwick fell into the hands of the Scots. The castle also soon after surrendered to Bruce, who followed up these successes by two invasions of England.

In the latter part of this year, however, the career of Edward Bruce in Ireland was suddenly brought to a close. Scarcely anything is known of the course of events for a period of about a year and a half; but on the 5th of October, 1318, the Scottish prince engaged the English at Fagher, near Dundalk, and sustained a complete defeat. He himself was one of 2000 Scots that were left dead upon the field. Only a small remnant, consisting principally of the men of Carrick, made good their escape to Scotland.

In the summer of 1319, Edward determined to make another effort for the reduction of Scotland. Having assembled a numerous army at Newcastle, he marched thence upon Berwick, and, after much preparation, made his first attack upon that town at once by land and sea on the 7th of September. He was, however, gallantly withstood by the garrison and the inhabitants, under the command of the steward of Scotland, and, after a long and fierce contest, repulsed at all points. The attempt was afterwards repeatedly renewed, and always with the same result. Meanwhile, Randolph and Douglas, passing into England, made a dash at the town of York, with the hope of carrying off Edward's queen; but a prisoner, whom the English took, betrayed their scheme just in time to prevent its success. The Scots then ravaged Yorkshire with a fury as unresisted as it was unsparing, till, on the 28th of September, they were encountered by a very numerous, but in all other respects very inefficient force, mostly composed of peasantry and ecclesiastics, under the command of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely, at Mitton on the Swale. This rabble was routed at once—about 4000 of them being slain, including 300 churchmen; and in allusion to the presence of so many shaved crowns, this battle used to be termed the "Chapter of Mitton." The Scots then continued their devastation of the country unopposed. At length Edward, raising the siege of Berwick, marched to intercept them; but they succeeded in eluding him, and got back to Scotland in safety. On the 21st of December, a truce for two years was concluded between the two nations.

We now return to the course of domestic affairs. Edward could not live without a favourite, and soon after the death of Gaveston, he conceived the same unbounded affection for Hugh Despenser, a young man who was first placed about the court by the Earl of Lancaster. Hugh was an Englishman born, and the son of an Englishman

of ancient descent: he was accomplished, brave, and amiable; but all these circumstances, which, except that of his birth, Gaveston had held in common with him, did not rescue him from the deadly hatred of the barons when they saw him suddenly raised above them all. Edward married him to the daughter of the late Earl of Gloucester, and put him in possession of immense estates. Through the favour of the son, the elder Despenser obtained as much or more, and all the avenues to favour and promotion were stopped by this one family. In 1321, an imprudent exercise or abuse of authority, armed all the lords of the marches against the two Despensers, whose castles were taken and burned, and their moveable property carried off. Soon after this outbreak, the Earl of Lancaster, who, as a prince of the blood, had considered himself dishonoured by the promotion of Hugh, his poor dependant, marched from the north, and joined the Welsh insurgents with thirty-four barons and knights, and a host of retainers. Having bound them by an oath not to lay down their arms till they had driven the two Despensers beyond sea, the great earl led them to St. Alban's, whence he despatched a peremptory message to his cousin the king. Edward again made a show of resistance, upon which Lancaster marched upon London, and occupied the suburbs of Holborn and Clerkenwell. A few days after, a parliament having assembled at Westminster, the barons, with arms in their hands, accused the Despensers of usurping the royal power, of estranging the king from his nobles, of appointing ignorant judges, of exacting fines; and they pronounced a sentence of perpetual banishment against both father and son. The bishops protested against the irregularity of this sentence, but the timid king confirmed it.

Suddenly, however, the position of the two contending parties was reversed. The Despensers had been banished in the month of August. In October they returned to England, encouraged by a bold move of the king, who took and hanged twelve knights of the opposite party. The Earl of Lancaster retired to the north, and opened a correspondence with the Scots, who promised to send an army across the Borders to his assistance. This force, however, did not appear in time; but meanwhile the secret of the application for it transpired, and inflamed the hearts of the English against the earl, who now regarded him not as a patriot but a traitor.

In 1322, Lancaster and his confederates were suddenly met at Boroughbridge, by Sir Simon Ward and Sir Andrew Harclay, who defended the bridge, and occupied the opposite bank of the river with a superior force. The Earl of Hereford charged on foot to clear the passage; but a Welshman, who was concealed under the

bridge, put his lance through a hole in the flooring, and thrust it into the bowels of the earl, who fell dead. Lancaster then attempted a ford, but his men were driven back by the enemy's archers. Night interrupted the unequal combat, but in the morning the Earl of Lancaster was compelled to surrender. Many knights were taken with him; and besides the Earl of Hereford, five knights and three esquires were killed. Edward's opportunity for revenge had arrived, and he determined that many others, besides his cousin Lancaster, should perish by the hands of the executioner. A court was convoked at Pontefract, in the earl's own castle. It consisted of six earls and a number of barons of the royal party: the king presided. Lancaster was accused of many treasonable practices, and especially of calling in the Scots. He was told that his guilt was so well proved to all men that he must not speak in his defence, and the court condemned him, as a felon traitor, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. Out of respect to his royal blood, Edward remitted the ignominious parts of the sentence; but his ministers heaped every possible insult on the earl, and the mob were allowed to pelt him with mud as he was led to execution, mounted on a wretched pony. Fourteen bannerets and fourteen knights-bachelors were drawn, hanged, and quartered, and one knight was beheaded. In a parliament held at York, the attainders of the Despenser family were reversed: the father was created Earl of Winchester, and the estates of the attainted nobles were lavished on him and on his son.

Many of the partizans of Lancaster were thrown into prison; others escaped to France, where they laid the groundwork of a plan which soon involved the king, his favourite, and adherents in one common ruin.¹ The arrogance of the younger Despenser, upon whom the lesson of Gaveston was thrown away, the ill success of an expedition into Scotland, and then the inroads of the Scots, who nearly took the king prisoner, and who swept the whole country as far as the walls of York, kept up a continual irritation, and prepared men's minds for the worst. On the 30th of May, 1323, Edward wisely put an end to a ruinous war which had lasted for twenty-three years. He agreed with Bruce for a suspension of arms, which was to last thirteen years, and which was not to be interrupted by the death of either or of both of the contracting parties. Soon after the conclusion of this treaty—which the English considered disgraceful—the king was alarmed by a conspiracy to cut off the elder Despenser, and then by a bold attempt to liberate some of the captives made at Boroughbridge

¹ Rymer; Knyghton; Walsing.; Froissart; Speed; Palgrave, Chron. Abstract.

from their dungeons. This attempt failed; but the most important of those prisoners effected his escape by other means. This was Roger Mortimer, who had twice been condemned for treason, and who was then lying under sentence of death in the Tower of London. His adventure resembled that of Ralph Flambard, in the time of Henry I., for he escaped by drugging his keepers, and scaling the walls by a ladder of ropes. He rode with all speed to the coast of Hampshire, and there he embarked for France.

Charles le Bel, a brother to Isabella, Queen of England, was now seated on the French throne.¹ Differences had existed for some time between him and his brother-in-law Edward; and the intrigues of the suffering Lancaster party contributed to drive matters to extremities. The manifestoes of Charles scarcely merit attention—as far as the two kings were concerned, it was the quarrel of the wolf and the lamb; and after Edward had made apologies, and offered to refer matters to the arbitration of the pope, Charles overran a good part of the territories on the Continent that still belonged to the English, and took many of Edward's castles and towns. Isabella persuaded her husband that she was the proper person to be deputed to France, as her brother would yield to fraternal affection what ambassadors and statesmen could not procure from him. The simple king fell into the snare; and in the month of March, 1325, Isabella, accompanied by a splendid retinue, landed at Boulogne, whence she repaired to Paris.² The treaty she concluded was most dishonourable to her husband; but the weak Edward found himself obliged to ratify it, and to promise an immediate attendance in France, to do homage for the dominions he was allowed to retain on the Continent. A sickness, real or feigned, stopped him at Dover. At the suggestion of Isabella, the French court intimated that if he would cede Guienne and Ponthieu to his son, then that boy might do homage instead of his father, and everything would be arranged in the most peaceful and liberal manner. Edward again fell into the snare, or what is more probable, was driven into it with his eyes open by the Despensers, who dreaded the being separated from the king, and who durst not venture with him into France, where their enemies were now so numerous and powerful. Edward, therefore, resigned Guienne and Ponthieu, and the Prince of Wales went and joined his mother. The game on that side was now made up. When Edward pressed for the return of his wife and son, he received evasive answers, and these were soon followed by horrible

accusations and an open defiance of him and his authority. Isabella reported that "Messire Hugh" had sown such discord between her and her husband, that the king "would no longer see her, nor come to the place where she was."³ The modern historian can scarcely hint at certain parts of Isabella's complaints; but, to finish the climax, she accused the odious favourite of a plot against her life and the life of her son Edward. The king's reply was mild and circumstantial; but it did not suit the views of a vindictive party to admit of any part of his exculpation; and, making every rational abatement, we believe that it must remain undisputed, that the king had most justly earned the contempt and hatred of his wife; nor will the derelictions of Isabella at all plead in his excuse. During the lifetime of the Earl of Lancaster, the queen seems to have leaned on that prince for protection: the Lord Mortimer was now the head of the Lancastrian party; and when he repaired to Paris, the circumstances and necessities of her position threw Isabella continually in his society. Mortimer was gallant, handsome, intriguing, and not more moral than the generality of knights. Isabella was still beautiful and young—she was not yet twenty-eight years of age—and it was soon whispered that the intimacy of these parties went far beyond the limits of a political friendship. When Isabella first arrived in France, her brother promised that he would redress her wrongs; and he continued to protect his sister even after her connection with Mortimer was notorious. Hugh Despenser, however, sent over rich presents to the ministers of the French king, and even to the king himself, and thus prevented the assembling of an army on the French coast. He made his master, Edward, write to the pope, imploring the holy father to interfere, and induce Charles le Bel to restore to him his wife and son; and he sent, by "subtle ways," much gold and silver to several cardinals and prelates who were "nearest to the pope;" and so, by gifts and false representations, the pontiff was led to write to the King of France, that unless he sent his sister, the Queen Isabella, back to England and to her husband, he would excommunicate him.⁴ These letters were presented to the King of France by the Bishop of Saintes. When the king had seen them, he caused it to be intimated to his sister that she must hastily depart his kingdom, or he would drive her out with shame.⁵ This anger of

³ Froissart.

⁴ Ibid.

¹ In thirteen years, three brothers of Isabella occupied, in succession, the French throne—Louis X., Philip V., and Charles V., or Le Bel, who succeeded in 1322.

² Froissart.

⁵ Froissart. Charles le Bel was awkwardly situated. He and his two brothers, Louis and Philip, had, a few years before, shut their wives up in dungeons on suspicion of irregularity of conduct. Louis, on ascending the throne, caused his wife to be strangled privately in Château-Gaillard; Philip was reconciled to his; but the wife of Charles was still pining in prison. It

Charles le Bel was only feigned—it appears to have been a mere sacrifice for the sake of appearances; and when his vassal, the Count of Hainault, gave shelter to Isabella and the Lancastrian party, the count probably knew very well that he was doing what was perfectly agreeable to his liege lord. The more to bind this powerful vassal to her interests, the queen affianced the young Prince of Wales to Philippa, the second daughter of the count. But no one embraced Isabella's cause with such enthusiasm as John of Hainault, a young brother of the count, who would not listen to those who warned him of the dangers of the enterprise, and told him how jealous the English were of all kinds of foreigners. In a short time, a little army of 2000 men gathered round the banner of Messire John. The English exiles were both numerous and of high rank, scarcely one of them being less than a knight. The active and enterprising Roger Mortimer took the lead; but the Earl of Kent, King Edward's own brother, the Earl of Richmond, his cousin, the Lord Beaumont, and the Bishop of Norwich, all joined the queen in the Low Countries, though they had been sent by Edward as his trusty ambassadors into France. Nor had Isabella any want of partisans in England to make her way easy and straight. The leader of these was another bishop—Adam Orleton. After a stormy passage, Isabella, with her little army and her son Prince Edward, landed on the 24th of September, at Orwell, in Suffolk, and was received as the deliverer of the kingdom. The fleet had purposely kept out of her way; and a land force detached to oppose her landing, joined her banner, and hailed the young prince with rapturous joy. The queen and the prince stayed three days at St. Edmundsbury, where they were joined by many barons and knights. The Archbishop of Canterbury sent her money, and three bishops offered their services in person, being accompanied by the Earl of Norfolk, the other brother of the king.¹ Thus wife, son, brothers, cousin, were all in hostile array against Edward. Never was king so thoroughly abandoned and despised. When he appealed to the loyalty of the citizens of London, they told him that their privileges would not permit them to follow him into the field; and they added, that they would honour with all duty the king, the queen, and prince, and shut their gates against the foreigners. Upon this, Edward fled, and there were none to accompany him save the two Despensers, the Chancellor Baldock, and a few of their retainers. He had scarcely ridden out of London, when the

populace rose and tore to pieces in the street the Bishop of Exeter, whom he had appointed governor. They afterwards murdered a wealthy citizen, one John le Marshal, because he had been a friend of the king's favourite; and, falling upon the Tower, they got possession of it, and liberated all the state prisoners. Edward, who had offered a high price for the head of Mortimer, was soon reduced to such straits, that he knew not where to put his own head for safety. Even the Welsh, among whom he was born, rejected the hapless fugitive, who was at last compelled to take shipping with his favourite.² For a time, the views expressed among the nobles and prelates, who had all, with very few exceptions, joined the queen, were, that the wife ought to be reconciled to the husband—that the king should be compelled to govern according to the will of his parliament—and that measures of extreme rigour should be adopted only against the Despensers; but Adam Orleton, the Bishop of Hereford, had no difficulty in convincing them that the king was not entitled to the society of his wife or to the confidence of his subjects, and Edward was never again seriously spoken of as king.

The elder Despenser had thrown himself into Bristol; but the citizens rose against him as soon as the queen approached their walls; and in three days he was obliged to surrender. He was brought to a trial before Sir William Trussel, one of the Lancastrian exiles; and, as had been the course taken with the Earl of Lancaster, he was condemned to die the death of a traitor, without being heard in his defence. Old age had not moderated his eager grasping after the honours and estates of others; and his venerable gray hairs inspired neither pity nor respect. They dragged him to the place of execution, a little beyond the walls of Bristol: they tore out his bowels, then hanged him on a gibbet for four days, and afterwards cut his body to pieces and threw it to the dogs. As he had been created Earl of Winchester, they sent his head to that city, where it was set on a pole. From Bristol the barons issued a proclamation summoning Edward to return to his proper post, but without desiring or even expecting that he would comply. On the 26th of September, the prelates and barons, assuming to themselves the full power of a parliament, declared that the king, by his flight, had left the realm without a ruler, and that they therefore appointed the Prince of Wales guardian of the kingdom in the name and by the hereditary right of his father. In the meantime, the unhappy fugitive found the winds

was held monstrous that so rigid a moralist with respect to his wife, should be so tolerant with regard to his sister.

¹ *Knyghton; Walsing.; Heming.; De la More; Rymer; Proissart.*

² According to some accounts, he meant to escape to Ireland; according to others, merely to the Isle of Lundy, in the Bristol Channel.

and waves as adverse as his family and his subjects. After tossing about for many days, he was driven on the coast of South Wales. He concealed himself for some weeks in the mountains near Neath Abbey, in Glamorganshire; but an active and a deadly enemy was in pursuit of him; and the country people, if they did not betray him, betrayed his favourite and his chancellor, for gold. Despensers and Baldock were seized in the woods of Lantressan, and immediately after their arrest, Edward came forth and surrendered to his pursuer, who was his own cousin, but also brother to the late Earl of Lancaster. The wretched king, for whom not a banner was raised, not a sword drawn, not a bow bent in any part of his kingdom, was sent by way of Ledbury to Kenilworth, where he was put in sure keeping in the castle. Despensers found his doom at Hereford, where the queen was keeping the festival of All-Saints. He had the same judge as his father, and his trial was scarcely more rational or legal. William Trussel pronounced his sentence in a rage, ordering that, as a robber, traitor, and outlaw, he should be drawn, hanged, embowelled, beheaded, and quartered. The sentence was executed with a minute observance of its revolting details; and the gallows upon which the favourite was hung was made fifty feet high. His confidential servant was hanged some yards below his master. The Earl of Arundel, who was closely connected with the Despensers by marriage, was beheaded; two other noblemen shared the same fate; but here the task of the executioners ceased. Baldock, the chancellor, was a priest, and as such secured from the scaffold and the gallows; but he died not long after, a prisoner in Newgate.

On the 7th day of January, 1327, a parliament, summoned in the king's name, met at Westminster. Adam Orleton, the Bishop of Hereford, after an able speech, proposed this question:—whether, under circumstances, the father should be restored to the throne, or the son at once occupy that throne? The critical answer was deferred till the morrow, but no one could doubt what that answer would be. The citizens of London crowded to hear it, and they hailed the decision with shouts of joy. The king had now been a prisoner for nearly two

months, but not the slightest re-action had taken place in his favour; and when parliament declared that he had ceased to reign, not a single voice spoke in his behalf. His son was proclaimed king by universal acclamation, and presented to the rejoicing people. The earls and barons, with most of the prelates, took the oath of fealty; but the Archbishop of York and three bishops refused. The proceedings were followed by an act of accusation, which surely ought to have preceded them. Five days after declaring the accession of the young king, Stratford, the Bishop of Winchester, produced a bill, charging the elder Edward with shameful indolence, incapacity, cowardice, cruelty, and oppression. The young Edward was present in parliament, and seated on the throne, when the articles were read and admitted as sufficient grounds for a sentence of deposition. Again not a voice was raised for Edward of Caernarvon. The queen alone thought fit to feign some sorrow at this sentence of the nation. On the 20th of January a deputation, consisting of bishops, earls, and barons, with two knights from each county, and two representatives from every borough in the kingdom, waited upon the royal prisoner at Kenilworth, to state to him that the people of England were no longer bound by their oath of allegiance to him, and to receive his resignation of the crown. The king



GREAT HALL OF KENILWORTH CASTLE.—Britton's Architectural Antiquities.

appeared in the great hall of the castle, wrapped in a common black gown. At the sight of Bishop Orleton he fell to the ground. There are two accounts of a part of this remarkable interview, but that which seems most consistent with the weak character of the king is, that he, without opposition or protest, formally renounced the royal dignity, and thanked the parliament for not having overlooked the rights of his son.

¹ *Knights; More; Walsing.; Leland, Collect.; Rymer; Tyrrell, Hist.*

Then Sir William Trussel, as speaker of the whole parliament, addressed him in the name of the parliament, and on behalf of the whole people of England, and told him that he was no longer a king; that all fealty and allegiance were withdrawn from him, and that he must henceforth be considered as a private man. As Trussel ceased speaking, Sir Thomas Blount, the steward of the household, stepped forward and broke his white wand or staff of office, and declared that all persons engaged in Edward's service were discharged and freed by that act. This ceremony, which was one usually performed at a king's death, was held as an entire completion of the process of dethronement. The deputation returned to London, leaving the captive king in Kenilworth Castle; and three or four days after, being Saturday, the 24th of January, Edward III.'s peace was proclaimed, the proclamation bearing, that Edward II. was, by the common assent of the peers and commons, "ousted" from the throne; that he had agreed that his eldest son and heir should be crowned king, &c. The young Edward, who was only in his fourteenth year, was crowned on the 29th of January at Westminster.¹

As the new king was too young to take the

government upon himself, nearly the entire authority of the crown was vested in the queen-mother, who herself was wholly ruled by the Lord Mortimer, a man whose questionable position made him unpopular from the first, and whose power and ambition could not fail of exciting jealousy, and rendering him odious to many. The indiscreet zeal of certain preachers, and some plots which were at last formed, not so much in favour of Edward as against Mortimer, seem to have hurried on a fearful tragedy. The Earl of Lancaster, though he had the death of a brother to avenge, was less cruel than his colleagues; the spectacle of his cousin's miseries touched his heart, and he treated the king with mildness and generosity. The deposed king was therefore taken out of Lancaster's hands and given to the keeping of Sir John Maltravers, a man of a fiercer disposition, who had suffered cruel wrongs from Edward and his favourites. Maltravers removed the captive from Kenilworth Castle, and his object seems to have been to conceal the place of his residence, for he made him travel by night, and carried him to three or four different castles in the space of a few months. At last he was lodged in Berkeley Castle, near the



BERKELEY CASTLE.²—From a photograph.

river Severn; and the Lord Berkeley, the owner of the castle, was joined with Maltravers in the commission of guarding him. The Lord Berkeley also treated the captive more courteously than

was desired; but, falling sick, he was detained away from the castle at his manor of Bradley, and during his absence the care of Edward was intrusted, by command of Mortimer, to Thomas

¹ More; Walsing.; Knyghton; Rymer; Sir H. Nicolas, *Chron. of Hist.*

² Berkeley Castle appears to date from the time of Henry II. It is an irregular pile, still inhabited, consisting of a keep and various embattled appurtenances, which surround a court of about 140 yards in circumference, the chief feature being the baronial hall—

a noble apartment in fine preservation—adjoining to which is the chapel. Access to an outer court is obtained by a machicolated gatehouse. The keep is nearly circular, having one square tower and three semicircular towers. On the right of the great staircase leading to the keep is a small and gloomy apartment in which, it is said, Edward II. was cruelly murdered.

Gourney and William Ogle. One dark night, towards the end of September, horrible screams and shrieks of anguish rang and echoed through the walls of Berkeley Castle, and were heard even in the town.¹ On the following morning the gates of the castle were thrown open, and people were freely admitted to behold the body of Edward of Caernarvon, who was said to have expired during the night of a sudden disorder. Most of the knights living in the neighbourhood, and many of the citizens of Bristol and Gloucester went to see the body, which bore no outward marks of violence, though the countenance was distorted and horrible to look upon. The corpse was then carried to Gloucester, and privately buried in the abbey church.

It was soon rumoured that he had been most cruelly murdered by Gourney and Ogle, who had thrust a red-hot iron into his bowels through a tin pipe; and there were many who had heard with their own ears his "wailful noise" at the dead of night; but still the nation continued in its unrelenting indifference to all that concerned this most wretched king.² Edward was forty-three years old; counting from the date of his recognition to that of his deposition, he had reigned nineteen years and six months, wanting some days.

It was during this unhappy reign that the great order of the Knights Templars was abolished. These knights, from a very humble beginning in 1118, when nine poor crusaders took upon themselves the obligation of protecting the faithful at Jerusalem, had attained immense wealth and power. Their association included men of the noblest birth, natives of every Christian country. Their valour in battle—their wisdom in council—had long been the admiration of the world; but, after the loss of the Holy Land, they forfeited much of this consideration, for they did not, like the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John, secure an establishment in the East³—a real or fanciful bulwark to Christendom against the Mahometans. It was in France that the first blow was struck at their existence. Philip le Bel was involved in great pecuniary difficulties by his wars with the English and his other neighbours; and when he and Enguerrand de Marigni, a minister as unscrupulous as himself, had exhausted all other sources of revenue, they cast their eyes on the houses, and lands, and tempting wealth of the Red-cross Knights. Forthwith they proceeded to form a conspiracy—for such it really was—and in a short time the knights were accused of monstrous and contradictory crimes,

by a host of witnesses, whose depositions were either bought or forced from them by threats or imprisonment, or the actual application of the rack. On the 13th of October, 1307, Philip took possession of the palace of the Temple in his capital, and threw the grand-master and all the knights that were with him into prison. At the same time—at the very same hour—so nicely was the plot regulated, the Templars were seized in all parts of France. An atrocious inquisition forged letters of the grand-master to criminate the order, and applied the most horrible tortures to the knights: in Paris alone thirty-six knights died on the rack, maintaining their innocence to the last. Two years of a dreadful captivity, with infernal interludes of torture, and the conviction forced on their minds that Philip le Bel was resolved to annihilate their order and seize their property, and that there was no hope of succour from the pope or from any other power upon earth, broke the brave spirit of the Red-cross Knights. Even Jacques de Molai, the grand-master, an heroic old man, was made to confess to crimes of which he never could have been guilty. He afterwards, however, retracted his confession, and, in the end, perished heroically at the stake. The grand execution took place on the 12th of May, 1310, when fifty-four of the knights, who had confessed on the rack, and then retracted all they had said in their dungeons, were burned alive as "relapsed heretics" in a field behind the abbey of St. Antoine at Paris. Penal fires were lighted in other parts of France, and all the surviving knights who did not retract their plea of not guilty were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

After a show of dissatisfaction at Philip le Bel's precipitancy, the pope had joined in the death-cry; and in the course of the years 1308 and 1309, he addressed bulls to all the sovereigns of Christendom, commanding them to inquire into the conduct of the knights. He afterwards threatened to excommunicate every person that should harbour or give counsel and show favour to any Templar. Without waiting for these Papal bulls, Philip, as soon as he had matured his plans, had endeavoured to stimulate his son-in-law, Edward of England, to similar measures; but the English court and council, while they engaged to investigate the charges, expressed the greatest astonishment at them; and two months later Edward wrote to the Kings of Portugal, Castile, and Arragon, imploring them not to credit the accusations which had most maliciously been heaped upon the Red-cross Knights. He also addressed the pope in their favour. Our weak king, however, was never firm to any purpose except where his favourite was concerned, and the ruin of the order was resolved upon; but,

¹ *Holinshed.*

² *More; Knyghton; Rymer; Holinshed.*

³ The Knights of St. John, it will be remembered, got possession of the island of Rhodes, and when they lost Rhodes, in the fifteenth century, of Malta and Gozo

thank God! their suppression in England was unaccompanied by atrocious cruelties.

In 1308, in the second year of Edward's reign, one of the royal clerks was sent round with writs to all the sheriffs of counties, ordering each and all of them to summon a certain number of freeholders in the several counties—"good and lawful men"—to meet on an appointed day, to treat of matters touching the king's peace. The sheriffs and freeholders met on the day fixed, and then they were all made to swear that they would execute certain sealed orders which were delivered to the sheriffs by king's messengers. These orders, when opened, were to be executed *suddenly*. The same conspiracy-like measures were adopted in Ireland, and in both countries on the same day—nearly at the same hour—all their lands, tenements, goods, and all kinds of property, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, were attached, and the knights themselves arrested.¹ In the month of October, 1309, courts were constituted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at London, York, and Lincoln. Forty-seven of the knights, the noblest of the order in England, who were brought from the Tower before the Bishop of London and the envoys of the pope, boldly pleaded their innocence; the evidence produced against them amounted to less than nothing; but the courts were appointed to convict, not to absolve, and, in spite of all law, they sent them back to their prisons to wait for timid minds and fresh evidence. The pope then censured the king for not making use of torture. "Thus," he wrote,

"the knights have refused to declare the truth. O! my dear son, consider whether this be consistent with your honour and the safety of your kingdom." The Archbishop of York inquired of his clergy whether torture, which had hitherto been unheard of in England, might be employed on the Templars: he added that there was no machine for torture in the land, and asked whether he should send abroad for one, in order that the prelates might not be chargeable with negligence.² From the putting of such questions we may suppose that this archbishop was one who would not hesitate at cruelty; but it appears pretty evident that torture was *not* used on this occasion in England. The Templars were worn down by poverty and long imprisonment, and then the threat of punishing as heretics all those who did not plead guilty to the charges, produced its effect. The timid yielded first: some of the corrupt were bought over by the court, and finally (more than three years after their arrest), the English Templars, with the exception of William de la More, their grand-prior, and two or three others who shared his heroic firmness, made a vague confession; upon which they were sent into confinement in various monasteries, the king allowing them a pittance for their support out of their immense revenues. In the seventeenth year of Edward's reign it was ordained by the king and parliament that the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem should have all the lands of the *late* Templars,³ and hold them on the same tenure as their predecessors.⁴

¹ The number of Templars seized was about 250. Of these, about thirty were arrested in Ireland. It appears that only two knights were seized in Scotland.

² Hemmingford.

³ "The general current of writers in the eighteenth century was in favour of the innocence of the Templars; in England it would have been almost paradoxical to doubt it. The rapacious and unprincipled character of Philip, the submission of Clement V. to his will, the apparent incredibility of the charges from their monstrousness, the just prejudices against confessions obtained by torture and retracted afterwards—the other prejudice, not always so just, but in the case of those not convicted on fair evidence deserving a better name, in favour of assertions of innocence made on the scaffold and at the stake—created, as they still preserve, a strong willingness to disbelieve the accusations which come so suspiciously before us. It was also often alleged that contemporary writers had not given credit to these accusations, and that in countries where the inquiry had been less iniquitously conducted, no proof of them was brought to light. Of these two grounds for acquittal, the former is of little value in a question of legal evidence, and the latter is not quite so fully established as we could desire."—Hallam's *Supplemental Notes*, page 48. The learned author, after referring to M. Michelet's being overcome by the force and number of adverse testimonies, notwithstanding his desire to acquit the Templars, and by every ingenious device to elude or explain away the evidence, proceeds to say that "the great change that has been made in this process, as carried before the tribunal of public opinion

from age to age, is owing to the production of fresh evidence." This evidence is of a most unlooked-for and extraordinary kind, and is alleged to exist in sculptures of certain extremely obscene images and symbols found in the churches built by the Templars, and presenting, it is said, an absolute identity with the Gnostic superstitions in their worst form; as well as in the identification of certain Gnostic idols, or, as some suppose, amulets, though it comes much to the same, with the description of what are called Baphometic, in the proceedings against the Templars, published by Diepuy, and since in the *Documents Inédits*, edited by Michelet. Attention was first drawn to the sculptures by M. von Hammer, in the sixth volume of a work published by him at Vienna in 1818, and the design of which is to establish the identity of the idolatry ascribed to the Templars with that of the ancient Gnostic sects, and especially with those denominated Ophites, or worshippers of the serpent; and to prove also that the extreme impurity, which forms one of the revolting and hardly credible charges adduced by Philip IV., is similar in all its details to the practice of the Gnostics. French writers have attempted to refute M. von Hammer, Mr. Hallam thinks not quite successfully, but he professes himself incapable of forming a decisive opinion. The architectural evidence, it appears, is the most positive, and whether bearing against the Templars or their maçons, looks as if the evil one had sought to set his private mark on buildings professedly Christian, but to be desecrated by so much superstition and idolatry.

⁴ Raynouard, *Hist. de la Condamnation des Templiers*; Wilkins, *Concilia*; Rymer; Stow; Hemmingford.

CHAPTER V.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1327—1341.

EDWARD III.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1327—DEATH, A.D. 1377.

Earl of Lancaster appointed guardian and protector to Edward III.—Edward makes war upon the Scots—Invasion of England by the Scots under Douglas and Randolph—Their singular campaign—A treaty honourable to Scotland concluded—Edward's marriage to Philippa of Hainault—The Earl of Kent executed—Edward conspires against Mortimer—Mortimer apprehended, tried, and executed—War renewed with Scotland—Defeat of the Scots at Dupplin—Edward Baliol wins and loses the crown of Scotland—Scots defeated at Halidon Hill—Edward's ambition diverted from Scotland to France—His claims to the French crown—His preparations to maintain them—He invades France—His naval victory at Sluis—Indecisive results of the campaign—John de Montfort claims the dukedom of Brittany—He does homage to Edward III. as King of France for the dukedom—Brave defence of Hennebon by his countess—An English armament raises the siege—Wars between the French and English in Brittany—Edward III. repairs thither in person—A truce.



WHEN Edward was proclaimed king, parliament decreed that a regency should be appointed "to have the rule and government;" and to this end twelve of the greatest lords of the realm, lay and ecclesiastic, were named. The Earl of Lancaster was appointed guardian and protector of the young king's person. The same parliament reversed the attainders which had been passed in 1322 against the great Earl of Lancaster and his adherents; confiscated the immense estates of the Despensers; granted a large sum of money to Isabella, the queen-mother, to pay her debts; and voted her a jointure of £20,000 a-year—a most liberal allowance for those times, and which materially contributed to secure her ascendancy. Nearly the whole power of government was, indeed, monopolized by her and Mortimer.

Although Edward was excluded from political duties, he was not considered too young for those of war. It is said that his martial spirit had already declared itself; but it is probable that Mortimer at least would be glad to see him thus occupied at a distance from the court. The Scots had suffered too cruelly not to be anxious for revenge; and the existing truce was not sufficient to make

them resist the temptation of what they considered a favourable opportunity—the true King of England, as they deemed, being shut up in prison, and a boy intruded on the throne. In whatever way they might reason, the Scots acted with great vigour; and all nations in their circumstances would have been equally regardless of the

truce. About February they began to make inroads into England, and these Border forays were soon succeeded by the march of regular armies. Age and declining health had no effect on the valour and activity of Robert Bruce, who seems to have hoped that he should be able, under circumstances, to convert the truce into an honourable peace, if not to recover the northern provinces of England, which the Scottish kings had possessed at no very remote date. He summoned his vassals from all parts—from the Lowlands, the Highlands, and the Isles; and 25,000 men assembled on the banks of the Tweed, all animated with the remembrance of recent wrongs and cruel sufferings. Of this host about 4000 were well armed and well mounted; the rest rode upon mountain ponies and Galloways, which could subsist upon any-



EDWARD III.—From the Painted Chamber, Westminster.

thing and support every fatigue. Bruce intrusted the command of this army of invasion to Randolph, Earl of Moray, and the Lord James

¹ In this picture we have, in all probability, a tolerably accurate portrait of the king, taken soon after the year 1355, the date of the birth of his fifth son. The figure, if erect, would be in the original about 18 inches high. Edward is represented in full armour. His crown is embossed and gilt, the helmet silvered, with its rim gilt.

The mail, also, was embossed and gilt. To indicate his claims of sovereignty over the French kingdom, the surcoat is quartered with the arms of England and France, the lions being embossed and gilt on a red field.—*Shaw's Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages.*

Douglas. Crossing the Tweed, these chiefs marched through Northumberland and Durham, and penetrated into the richer county of York, without meeting any valid resistance. The mountaineers plundered and burned all the villages and open towns that lay on the road, and seized so many fat beeves that they hardly knew what to do with them. At the first breath of this invasion a powerful army, said to have amounted to 60,000 horse and foot, had gathered round the standard of young Edward; but his movements were retarded by a furious quarrel which broke out between the native English archers and the foreign troops of Isabella's knight-errant, John of Hainault. These allies fought in the streets and suburbs of York, where many lives were lost on both sides.¹ When these differences were composed, Edward marched to the north, and soon came in sight of the smoke of the fires which the Scots had lighted. Instantly the cry to arms ran through the English army, and horse and foot, knights and squires, with a tremendous body of archers, formed in order of battle, and so marched on, "even till the vesper hour." But the unequal force of the enemy retired, and not a Scot was to be seen anywhere, though the flames of burning villages, far, and then farther off, marked the line of their retreat. The English, fatigued by the pursuit, and in order to wait for their supplies of provisions, encamped for the night, and so lost all chance of ever coming up with the fleet Scots. After much useless labour, it was determined that Edward should move northward in a straight line, and, crossing the Tyne, occupy the roads between that river and the Tweed, by which, it was calculated, the enemy must return to their own country. But when the English got to the north of the Tyne they found the country so entirely wasted that they could procure neither forage nor provisions; and after staying there several days in vain expectation of intercepting the enemy, they re-crossed the Tyne, and retraced their steps towards the south, in a perplexing state of ignorance as to the movements of the Scots. Edward ordered it to be cried through camp and country that he would give a heritage worth £100 a-year, together with the honours of knighthood, to any man that would bring him certain information of the place where he might find the enemy. The prize was won by one Thomas of Rokeby, who came riding very hard to the king, and brought intelligence that the Scots, equally ignorant of the whereabouts of the English, were encamped on a hill not more than three leagues off. Edward confessed, ordered a number of masses, and then marching, soon came in sight of the enemy, who were advantageously

posted on the right bank of the Wear. The river was rapid and dangerous to pass, and there was no other way of getting at the Scots. As the latter showed themselves in order of battle, the young king sent a herald to challenge them to meet him like soldiers, on a fair and open field. The Scots were not so chivalrously inclined: the fiery Douglas, indeed, was nettled at the defiance, and would fain have accepted the challenge, but he was overruled by the better prudence of Moray. That night the English lay on the bare ground on the left bank of the river, facing the Scots, who lighted a prodigious number of fires along their strong position. Thus passed the night, which was the night of St. Peter ad Vincula, in the beginning of August; and in the morning the English lords heard mass. In the course of the next day a few knights and men-at-arms, who had strong horses, swam the river and skirmished with the enemy; but these were idle bravadoes, that cost many lives and produced no effect. For three days and nights the English lay on the river side. On the morning of the fourth day, when the English looked towards the hill on the right bank, they saw no army, for the Scots had secretly decamped in the middle of the night. It was presently ascertained that they had only moved to a short distance farther up the river, where they had taken up a position still stronger than the one they had left. Edward made a corresponding movement on the other bank, and encamped on another hill, immediately opposite, the river being between them as before. For eighteen days and nights the two hosts thus lay facing each other and doing nothing, but only suffering great discomfort. At last the Scots abandoned this second position, taking the English, it is said, again by surprise, and marching away, unheard and unseen, at the dead of night. If this account be true, the English were sadly wanting in proper military vigilance; but it appears more than probable that they were as anxious to be rid of the Scots as the Scots were to be quit of them, and that Edward's officers were glad to be able to cross the Wear without fighting at disadvantage for the passage. And soon after, fording the river, Edward marched straight to York, where the army was disbanded. The Scots got back to their own country with much booty. The young king, "right pensive," returned to London.² Both Mortimer and his mother were, for their own private interests, desirous of peace, and, soon after, they opened negotiations with Robert Bruce, who, on his side, labouring under his "heavy malady," and seeing that his son who was to succeed him was still an infant, was anxious to terminate the war by a definitive and honourable treaty.

¹ Froissart.² Froissart.

Before this treaty was concluded, young Edward was married to Philippa of Hainault, to whom his mother had contracted him during her escapade on the Continent, and who was brought over to England by her uncle, John of Hainault, a little before Christmas. She was received at London "with jousts, tournaments, dances, carols, and great and beautiful repasts;" and on the 24th of January (A.D. 1328) the marriage ceremonies were completed at York. A few months after, about the feast of Whitsuntide, the parliament met at Northampton, and there put the last hand to the peace with Bruce. The basis of this treaty was the recognition of the complete independence of Scotland. One of its leading articles was, that a marriage should take place between Prince David, the only son of Robert Bruce, and the Princess Joanna, a sister of King Edward. In spite of the tender age of the parties (for the bride was in her seventh and the bridegroom only in his fifth year), this part of the treaty was carried into almost immediate effect: the queen-mother Isabella carried her daughter to Berwick, where the marriage was solemnized on the day of Mary Magdalene, the 22d of July. With the princess, whom the Scots surnamed "Joan Makepeace," were delivered up many of the jewels, charters, and other things which had been taken out of Scotland by Edward I. In return for these and other advantages, Bruce agreed to pay to the King of England thirty thousand marks in compensation for the damages done by the Scots in their recent invasion. The great Bruce, who had raised his country from the depth of servitude to this glorious enfranchisement, did not long survive the peace, dying at his little castle of Cardross on the 7th of June in the following year.

In the month of October, parliament met again at Salisbury, and then Mortimer was created Earl of March, or Lord of the Marches of Wales. The council of regency was in a manner displaced, and the whole government seemed more than ever to be shared between him and the queen-mother. The Earl of Lancaster was the first to attempt to make head against this new favourite; but, though he was guardian of the young king, Edward remained with Mortimer and his mother, and after a show of force at Winchester, the earl was obliged to retreat, upon which Mortimer fell upon his estates and plundered them. The young king's uncles, the Earls of Kent and Norfolk, joined Lancaster; but, from some cause or other, they abandoned him almost immediately after, upon which the earl was compelled to submit to ask pardon in a humiliating manner, and to pay an immense fine.¹

A.D. 1330. The Earl of Kent was now made to pay an awful price for his levity. He was surrounded by the artful agents of Mortimer, and led to believe a story which was then widely circulated, that his brother, Edward II., in whose deposition he had taken so active a part, was not dead, but living. The body exhibited at Berkeley Castle, and afterwards buried at Gloucester (so went the legend), was not that of the deposed king, who was actually shut up in Corfe Castle. Some monks urged the Earl of Kent to release his captive brother, and restore him to the throne. The earl even received letters from the pope, exhorting him to pursue the same course. These letters appear to have been forgeries, but they imposed upon the credulous earl, who even went the length of writing to his dead brother, which letters were delivered to Sir John Maltravers, one of the suspected assassins of the late king. These strange epistles were put into the hands of Isabella and Mortimer, who immediately summoned a parliament to try the traitor. The Earl of Kent was inveigled to Winchester, and there a parliament, consisting solely of the partizans of Isabella and Mortimer, met on the 11th of March. The Earl of Kent was produced as a prisoner; and on the 16th he was convicted of high treason, for having designed to raise a dead man to the throne; at least nothing else was proved, or attempted to be proved, against him; and thus this trial is entitled to a place among the curiosities of jurisprudence. On account of his royal birth, it was not expected that the sentence against the earl would be carried into execution; but people had not taken the proper measure of Mortimer's audacity. On the 19th the son of the great Edward was carried to the place of execution outside the town of Winchester; but when he reached the spot nobody could be found who would perform the office of headsman. For four hours the life of the earl was painfully prolonged by this popular scruple: at last a convicted felon took up the axe, on condition of a free pardon, and the head was struck off.²

About three months after the execution of the Earl of Kent, Philippa, the young queen, was delivered, at Woodstock, of her first child, the Prince Edward, afterwards so celebrated under the title of the Black Prince. A father, and eighteen years of age, the king now thought it time to assert his authority; and the nation was most willing to assist him in overthrowing the usurpation of his mother and her lover. At first, however, no person about the court was bold enough to declare himself; and when Edward opened his mind to the Lord Montacute, it was

¹ Heming.; Knyght.; Wals.; Rymer; Holinshed.

² Heming.; Knyght.; Murim.; Holinshed.

with the most circumspect secrecy; and the first steps taken in conjunction with this prudent nobleman were cautious in the extreme. In the month of October the parliament met at Nottingham: Edward with his mother and Mortimer were lodged in the castle; the bishops and barons took up their quarters in the town and the neighbourhood. On the morning of the 19th, Edward had a private conference with the Lord Montacute, who immediately after was seen to ride away into the country with many friends and attendants. In the afternoon Mortimer appeared before the council with a troubled countenance. This was a nervous moment for the young king: Mortimer proclaimed to the members of the council that a base attempt was making against him and the queen-mother, and that Edward himself was privy to the conspiracy. Edward denied the charge; but the favourite treated him as a liar. At the dead of the night the Lord Montacute and his associates returned quietly to Nottingham. The strong castle was not a place to be taken by assault or surprise. A proper military guard was kept, and the keys of the great gates were carried every evening to Isabella, who laid them by her bedside. But the conspirators had taken measures to defeat all these precautions: Montacute had won over the governor of the castle, who had agreed to admit them through a secret subterranean passage, the outlet of which, concealed by brambles and rubbish, opened at the foot of the castle hill. It was near the hour of midnight that Montacute and his friends crawled through this dismal passage: when within the castle walls, and at the foot of the main tower, they were joined by Edward, who led them up a staircase into a dark apartment. Here they heard voices proceeding from a hall which adjoined to the queen-mother's chamber; they were the voices of Mortimer, the Bishop of Lincoln, and other adherents, who were sitting in late and anxious consultation. The intruders burst open the door, killing two knights who tried to defend the entrance. The guilty Isabella rushed from her bed, and in tears and in an agony of grief implored her "sweet son"

to spare "her gentle Mortimer." The favourite was not slaughtered there, but he was dragged out of the castle and committed to safe custody. On the following morning, Edward issued a proclamation informing his lieges that he had now taken the government into his own hands; and he summoned a new parliament to meet at Westminster on the 26th of November.¹

Before this parliament the fallen favourite was arraigned: the principal charges brought against him were—his having procured the death of the late king, and the judicial murder of the Earl of Kent; his having "aceroached" or usurped the power which lawfully belonged to the council of regency, and appropriated to himself the king's moneys, especially the 20,000 marks recently paid by the King of Scots. His peers found all these articles of impeachment to be "notoriously true, and known to them and all the people;" and they sentenced him to be drawn and hanged.² Edward, who was present in court during the trial, then requested them to judge Mortimer's confederates; but this they would not do until they had protested in form that they were not bound to sit in judgment on any others than men who were peers of the realm, like themselves. Sir Simon Bereford, Sir John Maltravers, John Deverel, and Boeges de Bayonne, were condemned to



SUBTERRANEAN PASSAGES NEAR NOTTINGHAM CASTLE.³—Carter's Ancient Architecture.

¹ *Knyghton; Hemingsford; Walsing.; Rymer.*

² *Rot. Parl.; Knyghton.*

³ These excavations evince rather a regular plan for a monastic building, for we meet with a chapel and various apartments, the latter both on the first and second stories, with a staircase,

death as accomplices, but three of these individuals had escaped. Mortimer was accompanied to the gallows only by Bereford. They were

chimneys, &c.; they are, however, deprived of their original fronts, as well as some of their groins or ceilings. The river Lin winds from the west extremity of the rocks, and directs its course to the neighbouring castle and town.—Carter's *Ancient Architecture of England*.

hanged at "the Elms," on the 29th of November. The queen-mother was deprived of her enormous jointure, and shut up in her castle or manor-house at Risings, where she passed the remaining twenty-seven years of her life in obscurity. In this same parliament a price was set upon the heads of Gournay and Ogle, the reputed murderers of the late king. Gournay was arrested in Spain and delivered over to an English officer, who, obeying secret instructions, cut off his head at sea. From this and other circumstances it has been imagined that there were persons who still retained their influence at court, to whom silence upon all that regarded this horrid subject was particularly convenient. What became of Ogle does not appear. Sir John Maltravers was taken and executed, but on a different charge, namely, for having aided Mortimer in misleading the Earl of Kent. The Lord Berkeley, in whose castle the deed had been done, demanded a trial and was fully acquitted.

We have noticed the death of the great Bruce, which happened in 1330: in the following year his brave companion in arms, the Lord James Douglas, was killed by the Moors in Spain as he was carrying his master's heart to the Holy Land; and in the month of July, 1332, Randolph, Earl of Moray, who had been appointed regent of the kingdom of Scotland and guardian of Prince David, died suddenly. The Earl of Moray was succeeded in the regency by Donald, Earl of Mar, a man inferior to him in prudence and ability. An article in the last treaty of peace had stipulated that a few English noblemen should be restored to estates they held in Scotland. This article was faithfully observed with regard to Henry de Percy; but it was disregarded with respect to the Lords Wake and Henry de Beaumont, and these two noblemen resolved to obtain redress by changing the dynasty of Scotland. Setting up the rights of Edward Baliol, the son and heir of the miserable John of that name, whom Edward I. had crowned and uncrowned, they went into the counties near the Borders, where they were presently joined by other English lords; and when Edward Baliol came over from Normandy, a few disaffected Scots came across the Borders to join him. Edward felt, or pretended to feel, many scruples; for the infant Queen of Scotland was his own sister, and he had also sworn to observe the treaty. Proclamations were issued prohibiting the gathering of any army of invasion on the Borders; but this did not prevent—nor was it intended to prevent—Baliol and the Lords Wake and Henry de Beaumont from getting ready a small fleet and army on the shores of the Humber. In the beginning of August this expedition sailed from Ravenspur: entering the Frith of Forth, the army landed at

Kinghorn, on the coast of Fife, on the 6th, and five days after won one of the most astonishing victories recorded in history. Edward Baliol—we use his name because he was first in dignity, though it is evident the campaign was directed by some bolder and abler mind than his—on finding himself suddenly in presence (or nearly so) of two Scottish armies—the one commanded by the Regent Mar, the other by the Earl of March—boldly threw himself between them, and encamped at Forteviot, with the river Earn running between him and the forces of the regent. At the dead of night he crossed the Earn, and fell upon the sleeping Scots, who were slaughtered in heaps before they could get ready their arms. As day dawned, the regent blushed to see the insignificant band that had done all this mischief: he was still in a condition to take vengeance, but, in his blind fury, he engaged in a wretched pass where his men could not form; and his own life, with the lives of many of the Scottish barons, and of nearly all the men-at-arms, paid forfeit for his military blunder. Thirteen thousand Scots, in all, are said to have fallen, while Baliol, who had not 3000 when he began the battle, lost but a few men. From Dupplin Moor, where this victory was gained, Edward Baliol ran to Perth, being closely pursued the whole way by the Earl of March, at the head of the other strong division of the Scots. He had just time to get within that city, and throw up some barricades. March besieged him there; but there were both scarcity and treachery in the Scottish camp: their fleet was destroyed by the English squadron which Baliol had ordered round to the mouth of the Tay; the ancient followers of his family, with all those who had forfeited their estates for their treasons under Bruce—with all who were in any way disaffected, or who hoped to benefit largely by a revolution—flocked to the standard of the pretender, who was crowned King of Scotland, at Scone, on the 24th of September. Edward Baliol had thus gained a crown in some seven or eight weeks, but he lost it in less than three months. Having secretly renewed to the English king all the forms of feudal submission imposed on his father by Edward I., and having stupified his opponents by the rapidity of his success, he retired with an inconsiderable force to Annan, in Dumfriesshire, where he intended to pass his Christmas. On the night of the 16th of December he was surprised there by a body of cavalry commanded by the young Earl of Moray, Sir Archibald Douglas, and Sir Simon Fraser. He got to horse, but had no time to saddle, and, nearly naked himself, he galloped away on a bare back, leaving his brother Henry dead behind him. He succeeded in crossing the Borders into England, where Edward,

THE SEIZURE OF ROGER DE MORTIMER.

After his defeat at Bannockburn Edward II., King of England, was despised of his people and hated by the nobility. One of the most unprincipled and powerful of these nobles was Roger de Mortimer, who had contracted a guilty passion for Isabella the Queen. These two plotted to depose the king, and as there was a host of English nobles in exile on the Continent, they had no difficulty in raising a large force. With this army the Queen and Mortimer landed on the coast of Suffolk in 1326, and raised the standard of rebellion. King Edward fled, but he was speedily captured, and eventually murdered in Berkeley Castle. The Queen and Mortimer were now the rulers of the kingdom, but their power did not continue long. Young Edward determined to avenge his father's death, and end the sinful conduct of his mother. Accordingly, he took the opportunity while the Queen and Mortimer were staying at Nottingham Castle to enter their apartments in the night by means of a subterranean passage. *In spite of the wild entreaties of the Queen, Mortimer was seized, but not before several of his attendants were slain.* Afterwards he was tried, condemned, and hanged at Smithfield.



THE SEIZURE OF ROGER DE MORTIMER.

who had privately abetted his enterprise, received him as a friend. With or without orders, the people near the Tweed and the Solway Frith now made incursions into England, carrying fire and slaughter with them. The inroads of the Scots, however, gave Edward a colourable pretext for declaring that they had infringed the treaty of peace, and he prepared for war, the parliament then engaging to assist him to the utmost.¹

In the month of May, 1333, Berwick was invested by a powerful English army; and on the 16th of July, Sir William Keith, the governor of the town, was obliged to promise that he would surrender on the 20th at sunrise, if not previously relieved by Lord Archibald Douglas, who now acted as regent of Scotland. On Monday, the 19th, after a fatiguing march, Douglas came in sight of Berwick, and found Edward's main army drawn up on Halidon Hill, about a mile to the north-west of the town. This elevation was in part surrounded by bogs and marshes; yet, in spite of all these advantages, the Scots resolved to attack them. As they moved slowly through the bogs, they were sorely galled by the English bowmen; when they got firm footing they rushed up the hill with more rapidity than order: their onslaught, however, was tremendous, and for a moment seemed to be successful; but the English, who were admirably posted, repelled the attack: the regent Douglas was killed in the *mêlée*; many lords and chiefs of clans fell around him; and then the Scots fell into confusion, and fled on every side. Edward spurred after them with his English cavalry—the Lord Darcy followed up with a horde of Irish kerns, who were employed as auxiliaries. Between the battle and the flight the loss was prodigious: never, say the old writers, had Scotland sustained such a defeat or witnessed such slaughter. The young king, David Bruce, with his wife, Edward's innocent sister, was conveyed into France, and Edward Baliol was again seated on a dishonoured throne. He openly professed homage and feudal service in its full extent to the King of England; and he not only made over the town of Berwick, but ceded in perpetuity the whole of Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, Peeblesshire, and Dumfriesshire, together with the Lothians—in short, the best part of Scotland. Edward left his mean vassal an army of Irish and English to defend him in his dismembered kingdom; but soon after his departure the indignant Scots drove Baliol once more across the Borders, and sent to request assistance from the King of France, who hospitably entertained their young king and queen in the Chateau Gaillard. Edward, on his side, reinforced Baliol, who returned to the south

of Scotland, and maintained himself there among English garrisons.

In 1335, Edward, having still further reinforced his vassal, marched with a powerful army along the western coast of Scotland, while Baliol advanced from Berwick by the eastern. In the month of August these two armies formed a junction at Perth, and, as they had met with little opposition, it was thought that the spirit of the Scots was subdued; but no sooner had Edward turned his back than the patriots fell upon Baliol from all quarters. In the following summer Edward was again obliged to repair to the assistance of his creature; and having scoured the country as far north as Inverness, and burned several towns, he flattered himself that he had at last subdued all opposition. But, again, as soon as the English king had crossed the Borders, the Scots fell upon Baliol. This obliged Edward to make a second campaign that same year: he marched to Perth in the month of November, and, after desolating other parts of the country, he returned to England about Christmas, once more buoyed up with the hope that he had mastered the Scots. As long as he was thus supported, Baliol contrived to maintain a semblance of authority in the Lowlands.

Affairs were in this uncertain state in Scotland when Edward's attention was withdrawn, and his mind filled by a wilder dream of ambition—the plan of attaching the whole French kingdom to his dominions. Charles IV., the last of the three brothers of Isabella, the queen-mother of England, died in 1328, in the second year of Edward's reign: he had no children, but left his wife *en-cointe*. A regency was appointed, and the crown was kept in abeyance; if Joan should be delivered of a son, then that infant was to be king; but in due time she gave birth to a daughter, and by an ancient interpretation of a portion of the Salic law, and by the usages and precedents of many ages, it was held that no female could reign in France. The daughter of the last king was set aside without debate or hesitation; and Philip of Valois, cousin-german to the deceased king, ascended the throne, taking the title of Philip VI. Edward's mother, Isabella, with the state lawyers of England and some foreign jurists in English pay, pretended from the first that Edward had a preferable right; but it was deemed unsafe to press it at the time: and when Philip of Valois demanded that the King of England should, in his quality of Duke of Aquitaine, go over to France and do homage to him, threatening to dispossess him of his continental dominions if he refused, the young King of England was obliged to comply. Putting aside the incapacity of females, Edward certainly was nearer in the line of succession; he was grandson of Philip IV.

¹ *Fordun; Knyghton; Hemingford; Rider.*

by his daughter Isabella, whereas Philip of Valois was grandson to the father of that monarch, Philip III., by his younger son Charles of Valois. But Philip traced through males, and Edward only through his mother. The latter, however, maintained that, although by the fundamental laws of France, his mother, as a female, was herself excluded, he, as her son, was not; but Philip and all France insisted that a mother could not transmit to her children any right which she never possessed herself. The principle assumed by Edward was a startling novelty—it had never been heard of in France: but, even if he had been able to prove it, he would have proved a great deal too much, and would have excluded himself as well as Philip of Valois; for by that very principle the succession rested with the son of Joan, Queen of Navarre, who was the daughter of Louis X., the eldest brother of Isabella, as also of Philip V. and Charles IV., who had, in default of issue male, succeeded the one after the other; and if this son of the Queen of Navarre had been born a little earlier than he was, then, by this same principle, Charles IV., the last king, must have been an usurper.¹ The French, moreover, who ought to have been the only judges in this case, maintained it to be a fundamental law, *that no foreigner could reign in France*; and contended that one of the principal objects of the so-called Salic law was to exclude the husbands and children of the princesses of France, who generally married foreigners. It was in every sense with a peculiarly bad grace that the English set themselves up as authorities in the laws of royal succession: by no people had such laws been more thoroughly disregarded at home; from the time of William the Norman, who was an usurper by conquest, four out of ten of their kings had been usurpers, or were only to be relieved from that imputation by the admission of the principle that the estates of the kingdom had the right of electing the king from among the members of the royal family. The present question would have been at once decided by leaving this same right of election to the French. The peers of the kingdom had voted that the crown belonged to Philip of Valois; the assembly of Paris had decreed the same thing; and the states-general afterwards confirmed their judgment: and not only the whole nation, but all Europe, had recognized him. Edward himself, in 1331, had repeated his homage to him in a more satisfactory way than on the former occasion; and it was not till 1336 that he openly declared that the peers of France and the

states-general had acted rather like villains and robbers than upright judges; and that he would no longer submit to their decision, or recognize the French king, who had now reigned in peace more than seven years.² But the plain truth was, that Edward had not been able to shape his intrigues and make his preparations earlier; and now several concurring circumstances hurried him on. Philip had not only given an asylum to David Bruce, but was actually beginning to aid the Scottish patriots with ships, arms, and money. Edward, on his side, had given shelter to Robert of Artois, who was descended from the blood royal of France, who had married King Philip's sister, and who was supposed to have a strong party in France. On account of a disputed succession to the great fief of Artois, this Robert had been involved in a quarrel (that entailed disgrace on both parties) with his brother-in-law of France, who eventually had driven him into exile and hanged some of his adherents. Robert was a man of violent passions; his rage against the French king was boundless; he was skilful alike in the cabinet and the field, and few princes enjoyed a higher military reputation. Philip, who foresaw the consequences of his stay in England, threatened to fall upon Guienne if Edward did not immediately dismiss him. There was not a sovereign in Europe so little likely to bear this insulting threat as the powerful English king, who sent over a commission, bearing date the 7th October, 1337, to the Earl of Brabant and others, to demand for him the crown of France as his indisputable right. The nation went along with the king; the coming war with France was most popular with all men; and having obtained subsidies, tallages, and forced loans—having seized the tin in Cornwall and Devonshire, and the wool of the year all over the kingdom—having even pawned the jewels of the crown, and adopted almost every possible means of raising money to subsidize his allies on the Continent, Edward sailed with a respectable fleet, and a fine but not large army, on the 15th of July, 1338. Four days after he landed at Antwerp, where he had secured himself a friendly reception. The Earl of Flanders was bound to his rival Philip; but this prince had scarcely a shadow of authority in the country, where the democratic party had triumphed over the nobles, and the inhabitants of the great trading cities had placed themselves under the government of James van Artaveldt, a brewer of Ghent, who

¹ Joan was married in 1310, during the reign of her first uncle, Philip V.; she was then only six years old, and certainly had not borne a son four years after 1322, when her third uncle, Charles IV., ascended the throne.

² Rymer; Froissart; Villaret, *Hist. Fr.*; Gaillard, *Hist. de la Rivalité de la France et de l'Angleterre*. Edward repeatedly offered to give up his claims if Philip would abandon the cause of the King of Scots, and restore some places he had seized in Gascony. See Rymer. Philip thought the claims too ridiculous to be worth any sacrifice of honour, and he was not captivated by Edward's proposal of intermarrying their children.

was, in fact, in possession of a more than sovereign authority in that rich and populous country—an authority which he exercised rigorously enough, but on the whole with great wisdom.



JAMES VAN ARTAVELDT holding his state at Ghent.¹—Illumination in Froissart, British Museum.

The King of France was hated by the Flemings, as the declared enemy of this state of things, and the avowed protector of the expelled or humbled nobles; and when Edward, doing violence probably to his own feelings, did not hesitate to court their plebeian alliance, they forgot some old grudges against the English, and engaged to assist heart and hand in their wars. Edward's other allies were the Emperor of Germany, the Dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, the

Archbishop of Cologne, the Marquis of Juliers, the Counts of Hainault and Namur, the Lords of Fauquemont and Bacquen, and some others, who, for certain subsidies, engaged to assist him with their forces. At the same time Philip of France allied himself with the Kings of Navarre and Bohemia, the Dukes of Brittany, Asturia, and Lorraine, the Palatine of the Rhine, and with several of the inferior princes of Germany. The whole of this year, 1338, was, however, passed in inactivity; and after granting trading privileges to the Flemings and Brabanters,² and spending his money among the Germans, all that Edward could procure from them was a promise to meet him *next year* in the month of July. But it was the middle of September, 1339, ere the English king could take the field, and then only 15,000 men-at-arms followed him to the siege of Cambrai. On the frontiers of France the Counts of Namur and Hainault abandoned him. Edward then advanced to Perone and St. Quentin, burning all the villages and open towns. Here the rest of his allies halted, and refused to go farther. Edward then turned towards the Ardennes, and, as Philip avoided a battle, he found himself obliged to retire to Ghent, having spent all his money and contracted an enormous debt. The pope made an attempt to restore peace; but Edward turned a deaf ear to his remonstrances, and immediately afterwards, by the advice, it is said, of Van Artaveldt, publicly assumed the title of King of France, and quartered the French lilies in his arms.³ About the middle of February, 1340, he returned to England to obtain fresh resources, and the parliament voted him immense supplies. Before he could return to Flanders he was informed that Philip had collected a tremendous fleet in the harbour of Sluis, to intercept him. His council advised him to stay till more ships could be collected; but he would not be detained, and set sail, with such an English fleet as was ready, on the 22d of June. On the following evening he came in sight of the enemy, who, on the morning of the 24th, drew out to the mouth of the harbour of Sluis. The battle soon joined. The English gained a complete

¹ In the present miniature the artist has attempted to exhibit the great state kept by James van Artaveldt, who, after assuming the supreme power in Flanders, surrounded himself with men-at-arms, numerous attendants, not omitting the jester, it would seem, and such a train of retainers as was usual with the great lords and sovereigns of that time.—*Illum. Illust. of Froissart*

² "A more prosperous era began with Edward III., the father, as he may almost be called, of English commerce, a title not, indeed, more glorious, but by which he may perhaps claim more of our gratitude, than as the hero of Crecy. In 1331, he took advantage of discontents among the manufacturers of Flanders, to invite them as settlers into his dominions. They brought the finer manufacture of woollen cloths which had been unknown in England."—Hallam, *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, fil. 379. Fuller, in his *Church History*, describes with charac-

teristic quaintness the inducements held out to these Flemings:—"Here they should feed on fat beef and mutton, till nothing but their fullness should stint their stomachs; their beds should be good and their bedfellows better, seeing the richest yeomen in England would not disdain to marry their daughters unto them, and such the English beauties that the most envious foreigners could not but commend them." Michelet dwells on the advantages which Edward gained by the commerce of England with Flanders, and ascribes to these that monarch's successes at Crecy and Poitiers.—See Hallam's *Supplementary Notes*, page 34.

³ Until he assumed the title of lawful King of France, many, even among the turbulent Flemings, had scruples; they cared nothing for Philip or his authority, but as vassals (nominal at least) they respected the name of King of France.

victory; nearly the whole of the French fleet was taken, and from ten to fifteen thousand of their mariners were killed or drowned.¹

This splendid success, and, still more, the great sums of money Edward carried with him, brought his allies trooping round his standard. Two hundred thousand men, in all, are said to have followed him to the French frontier; but again the mass of this incongruous host broke up without doing anything, and after challenging the French king to single combat, and spending all his money, Edward was obliged to agree to an armistice. The pope again laudably interfered, and endeavoured to convert the truce into a lasting peace. Edward could not chastise his lukewarm allies, but he resolved to vent his spite on his ministers at home, who, he pretended, had not done their duty. One night, in the end of November, he appeared suddenly at the Tower of London, where no one expected him, and where there were very evident signs of a culpable negligence. The next morning he threw three of the judges into prison, displaced the chancellor, the treasurer, and the master of the rolls, and ordered the arrest of several of the officers who had been employed in collecting the revenue. Stratford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was president of the council of ministers, fled to Canterbury, and when summoned to appear, appealed for himself and his colleagues to the protection of Magna Charta, and issued the old excommunication against all such as should violate its provisions and the liberties of the subject by arbitrary arrests or the like. He would be tried, he said, by his peers, and would plead or make answer to no other persons or person whatsoever.² The king was now greatly distressed for money, and acting on that wise system, from the observance of which it has happened that the liberties of England have been purchased rather by the money than by the blood of the subject, parliament refused to pass the grants he wanted, unless he gave them an equivalent in the shape of a reform of past abuses, and a guarantee against future ones.

In the course of the year 1341, the French king allowed David of Scotland, who had now attained his eighteenth year, to return to his own dominions. David, with his wife, landed at Inverbervie on the 4th of May. Long before his coming the patriots had triumphed; they had taken castle after castle, and, in 1338, had again driven Baliol into England. They now enabled the young king to form a respectable government. The alliance with France was continued, and, within a year after his return, the Bruce made several successful inroads into the northern counties of England. Edward was so absorbed

by his continental schemes, that he was glad to conclude a truce with the restored King of the Scots. Baliol was provided for in the north of England, where, for some years, he did the duty of keeping watch and ward against the Scottish Borderers.

As long as Edward fought with foreign mercenaries and from the side of Flanders, he was unsuccessful; but now he was about to try the arms of his native English, and circumstances soon opened him a new road into France, and enabled him to change the seat of the war from the Flemish frontier, to Normandy, Brittany, and Poictou, the real scenes of his military glory. John III., Duke of Brittany, died in 1341, and left no children though he had had three wives. Of his two brothers, Guy and John de Montfort, Guy, the elder, had died some time before him, leaving only a daughter, Jane, surnamed *la Boiteuse* (or the Lame), who was married to Charles de Blois, nephew of the French king. A dispute then arose between the uncle and the niece, each claiming the duchy by the laws of inheritance. The uncle, John de Montfort, was by far the more active and the more popular of these two competitors: as soon as his brother was dead, he rode to Nantes, and caused his claim to be recognized by the majority of the bishops and nobles; he got possession of the treasures of the late duke, besieged and took Brest, Vannes, and the other chief fortresses, and then crossed over to England, privately, to solicit the co-operation of Edward, being well assured that, with or without reference to the old laws of Brittany, Philip would protect his nephew. Charles de Blois, in effect, went to Paris with his wife, and having no party in Brittany, threw himself upon the protection of Philip, who received him in a manner that left no doubt as to his decision. John de Montfort soon returned from England, and when summoned to attend a court of peers and other magnates which Philip had convoked to try this great cause, he went boldly to Paris, accompanied by 400 gentlemen of Brittany. Montfort's pleadings, which have been preserved, are remarkable specimens of the taste, the law, and the spirit of the times. The Divine law, the natural law, the Roman law, and the feudal law—the canons of the church, and the ancient customs of Brittany—were all put in requisition. He maintained, or his lawyers maintained for him, that the Salic law, excluding females, which obtained in France, must now be the law of Brittany, which was a fief of France; that women, who could not fight, could not reign; that he was nearer in blood to the late duke, his brother, than Jane, who was only the daughter of another brother. But what was evidently considered the strongest ground of all was, the incapacity of females; and on this

¹ *Wals.*; *Frois.*; *Avesb.*; *Knygh.* ² *Rym.*; *Rot. Parl.*; *Hem.*

particular point, heathen philosophers, Moses, and the Christian apostles, were cited in most admired confusion. To all this Charles de Blois replied, that Jane, his wife, had all the rights of her father—that she was the last shoot of the elder branch—that females had repeatedly inherited the duchy—and that her sex did not exclude her from a French peerage.¹ Philip demanded of De Montfort the immediate surrender of the treasures of the late duke. This demand convinced John that the judgment of the French court would be against him; he saw, or suspected, preparations for arresting him, and leaving his parchments and most of his friends behind him, he fled from Paris in disguise. A few days after his flight, sentence was pronounced in favour of his opponent.

After his escape from Paris, De Montfort repaired to London, and there did homage for his duchy to Edward as lawful King of France. At the same time Charles de Blois did homage to Philip, who furnished him with an army of 6000 men. Edward's assistance was not so prompt; but De Montfort, relying on the affection of the people of Brittany, returned to make head against the French invaders. Soon after he was taken prisoner by treachery, and sent to Paris. Charles de Blois then got possession of Nantes and other towns, and thought that the contest was over; but De Montfort's wife was still in Brittany, and the fair countess had "the courage of a man and the heart of a lion."² With her infant son in her arms, she presented herself to the people, and implored their assistance for the only male issue of their ancient line of princes. Such an appeal from a young and beautiful woman made a deep impression. As if expressly to refute the argumentations of her husband, she put her hand to the sword, placed a steel casque on her head, and rode from castle to castle—from town to town—raising troops and commanding them like a hardy knight. She sent over to England to hasten the succour which Edward had promised her husband; and to be at hand to receive these auxiliaries, she threw herself into Hennebon, situated on the coast at the point where the small river

Blavet throws itself into the sea, having what was then a convenient port at its mouth. Long before the English ships arrived, she was besieged by the French under Charles de Blois. Within



HENNEBON, PART OF THE ANCIENT WALLS.³—From *Voyages dans l'Ancienne France*.

the walls she had the worst of enemies in a cowardly old priest, the Bishop of Leon,⁴ who was incessantly expatiating to the inhabitants on the horrors of a town taken by assault, and showing them how prudent it would be to capitulate, but the young countess constantly visited all the posts, showed herself upon the ramparts where the arrows of the enemy fell thickest, and repeatedly headed sorties against the besiegers. The story of the siege, as told by Froissart, with the sorties and marvellous adventures of the young countess, is the most spirit-stirring and romantic episode in the history of this age of chivalry.

At last, a scarcity of provisions began to be felt, and still the succours of Edward did not arrive. Day after day, anxious eyes were cast seaward, and still no fleet was seen. The Bishop of Leon renewed his dismal croaking, and at length was allowed to propose a capitulation. The countess, however, entreated the lords of Brittany, for the love of God, to conclude nothing as yet. On the morrow, the garrison was wholly disheartened, the bishop again communicated with the enemy, and the French were coming up to take possession, when the countess, who was looking over the sea from a casement in the high tower, suddenly cried out with great joy, "The English, the English! I see the succours coming." And it was, indeed, the English fleet she saw crossing the line of the horizon. It had

¹ Daru, *Hist. de la Bretagne*. The original manuscripts quoted are preserved in the Archives of Nantes, and in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris.

² Froissart.

³ The present town of Hennebon comprises the old town, the walled town, and the new town. The greater part of the ramparts

parts still gird the walled town, and many old houses serve to give it a picturesque and antiquated appearance. The strong castle, rendered memorable by Froissart, has almost entirely disappeared.

⁴ It is not quite clear whether this bishop was coward or traitor: he had a brother in the service of Charles de Blois.

been detained forty days by contrary winds, but it now came merrily over the waves with a press of sail. The people of Hennebon crowded the seaward rampart to enjoy the sight. All thoughts of surrendering were abandoned; in brief time the English ships shot into the port, and landed a body of troops, under the command of Sir Walter Manny. The fair countess received her deliverers with enthusiastic gratitude. On the following day, after a good dinner, Sir Walter Manny said, "Sirs, I have a great mind to go forth and break down this great battering engine of the French, if any will follow me." Then Sir Hugh of Treguier said that he would not fail him in this first adventure; and so said Sir Gale-ran. The knights armed, and the yeomen of England took their bows and arrows. Manny went quietly out by a postern with 300 archers, and some forty men-at-arms. The archers shot "so thick together," that the French in charge of the engine could not stand it; they fled and the machine was destroyed. Manny then rushed on the besiegers' tents and lodgings, set fire to them in many places, smiting and killing not a few, and then withdrew with his companions "fair and easily."¹

The French, the very morning after this affair, raised the siege of Hennebon, and carried the war into Lower Brittany. But soon after, they suffered a tremendous loss at Quimperlé, where an army was cut to pieces by the English and the people of the countess. Some months after, however, Charles de Blois re-appeared in great force before Hennebon, and began a fresh siege. Another brilliant sortie, headed by Sir Walter, put an end to this second siege—the French retreating with disgrace. The wife of De Montfort then went over to England to press for further reinforcements which had been promised. Edward furnished her with some chosen troops, which were placed under the command of Robert of Artois, and embarked in forty-six vessels, most of which were small and weak. Off Guernsey, the ships encountered a French fleet of thirty-two tall ships, on board of which were 1000 men-at-arms, and 3000 Genoese cross-bowmen. A fierce fight ensued, during which De Montfort's wife stood on the deck with a "stiff and sharp sword," and a coat of mail, fighting manfully; but the combat was interrupted by the darkness of night and a tremendous storm, and the English, after suffering some loss, got safely into a little port between Hennebon and

Vannes. Robert of Artois landed the troops, and proceeded with the countess to lay siege to Vannes. After various sieges and fights, Robert of Artois was mortally wounded. Edward then determined to head the war in Brittany himself, and sailed to Hennebon with 12,000 men. He marched to Vannes, and established a siege there; he then proceeded to Rennes, and thence to Nantes, driving the French before him.

But Charles de Blois was reinforced by the Duke of Normandy, the eldest son of the French king, and then Edward retraced his steps to Vannes, which his captains had not been able to take. When the Duke of Normandy followed him with a far superior force, he intrenched himself in front of Vannes, and then the French formed



THE PRISON-GATE, VANNES.—From Souvestre, La Bretagne.

an intrenched camp at a short distance from him. Here both parties lay for several weeks, during which winter set in. The Duke of Normandy dreaded every day that Edward would be reinforced from England. On the other side, Edward feared that he should be left without provisions. At this juncture, two legates of the pope arrived at the hostile camps, and by their good offices, a truce was concluded for three years and eight months.²

¹ Froissart.

² P. Lobineau; Daru; Froissart.

CHAPTER VI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1341—1377.

EDWARD III.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1327—DEATH, A.D. 1377.

The truce broken—Edward III. renews the war with France—His march on Paris—Conflicts during his retreat—Great victory of Edward over the French at Crécy—Gallant conduct of his son, the Black Prince—Encounters after the battle—Calais besieged—David Bruce, King of Scotland, invades England—He is defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Nevil's Cross—The French defeated at Roche-Derrien—Calais surrenders—Conditions of the surrender—Generous interference of Queen Philippa—A pestilence visits Europe—Edward III. invades Scotland—Victory of the Black Prince over the French at Poitiers—The King of France taken prisoner—David, King of Scots, ransomed—Miserable state of France—Armistice between France and England—John, King of France, returns to his English captivity—Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile, driven from his throne—He applies to the Black Prince for aid—The Black Prince invades Castile—He replaces Don Pedro on the throne—Hostilities with France renewed—The Black Prince takes Limoges—A truce with France—Growing dotage of Edward III.—Death of the Black Prince—Disturbances arising from the preaching of Wycliffe—Death of Edward III.



THE truce with which the late war seemed to be closed was speedily violated. One of the conditions of it was, that Philip should release John de Montfort; but Philip kept him in closer imprisonment than before, and answered the remonstrances of the pope with a miserable quibble. The war was continued against the Bretons, who still fought gallantly under their countess, and hostilities were carried on, both by sea and land, between the French and English. A savage deed threw an odium on King Philip, and roused the enmity of many powerful families. During a gay tournament, he suddenly arrested Oliver de Clisson, Godfrey d'Harcourt, and twelve other knights, and had their heads cut off in the midst of the Halles or market-place of Paris. He sent the head of De Clisson into Brittany, to be stuck up on the walls of Nantes. Other nobles were disposed of in the same summary manner in Normandy and elsewhere, upon the bare surmise that they had corresponded with the English king. A cry of horror ran through the land. The lords of Brittany, who had supported Charles de Blois, went over to the countess; other lords, fearing they might be suspected, fled from the court, and then really opened a correspondence with Edward, and doomed Philip to destruction. Soon after these events John de Montfort, who had been a captive for three years, contrived to escape in the disguise of a pedlar, and to get over to England. Having renewed his homage to Edward, he received a small force, with which he repaired to Hennebont. The joy of his heroic wife was of short duration; for De Montfort died shortly after, appointing by will the King of England guardian to his son. Charles de Blois returned into the country, and renewed the war; but he

had no chance of success, and Brittany remained an efficient ally of Edward. Whether he carried the war into Normandy or Poitou, it covered one of his flanks, and remained open to him as a place of retreat in case of a reverse. For some time, both he and Philip had been preparing for more extended hostilities.

Sharing in the popular feeling, the
A.D. 1345. English parliament recommended war; and an army was sent into Guienne, under the command of Edward's cousin, the brave and accomplished Earl of Derby. The earl fell like a thunderbolt among the French; beat them in a decisive battle near Auberche; took many of their nobles prisoners, and drove them out of the country, leaving only a few fortresses in their hands. About the same time Edward went in person to Sluis, to treat with the deputies of the free cities of Flanders. As Louis, the Count of Flanders, though deprived of nearly all his revenues, and left with scarcely any authority, still refused to acknowledge the rights of the English king to the crown of France, Edward endeavoured, rather prematurely, to persuade the Flemings to transfer their allegiance to his own son. His old ally, James van Artaveldt, entered into this view; and his exertions for Edward cost him his life. Many of the cautious burgomasters opposed this extreme measure, and set intrigues on foot; and Van Artaveldt's long and great power, however wisely used, in the main, for the good of the country, had raised him up numerous enemies. He was savagely murdered in a popular insurrection. Thus James van Artaveldt finished his days—the brewer of Ghent, who, in his time, had been complete master of Flanders. "Poor men first raised him, and wicked men killed him."¹

¹ Froissart.

The news of this important event gave great joy to the Count of Flanders, and great grief to King Edward, who sailed away from Sluis, vowing vengeance against the Flemings who had thus murdered his steady friend and most valuable ally. The free towns fell into great consternation; their prosperity depended on their trade—their trade in a great measure depended on England. If Edward should shut his ports to their manufactured goods, or prohibit the exportation of English wool, they knew that they would be little better than ruined. Bruges, Ypres, Courtrai, Oudenarde—all the chief towns except Ghent—sent deputies to London to soften the wrath of the English king, and to vow that they were guiltless of the murder. Edward waived his claim to the formal cession of Flanders to his son, and contented himself with other advantages and promises, among which was one that the Flemings would, in the course of the following year, pour an army into France.

In 1346, Edward collected a fine army, consisting solely of English, Welsh, and Irish, and landed with them on the coast of Normandy, near Cape la Hogue, about the middle of July. That province was defenceless, for Edward's attack had been expected to fall upon the south. In the latter direction the Duke of Normandy had fallen upon the gallant Earl of Derby, and was endeavouring, with the flower of the French army, to drive the English from Guienne. One of Edward's principal objects was to create an alarm which should draw the French out of that province, and, by crossing the Seine, to join his allies, the Flemings, who had passed the French frontier. Having taken Carenton, St. Lo, and Caen, he marched to the left bank of the Seine, intending to cross that river at Rouen; but, when he got opposite that town, he found that Philip was there before him, that the bridge of boats was removed, and that a French army, in numbers far superior to his own, occupied the right bank. The English then ascended the river towards Paris by the left bank, the French manoeuvring along the right, breaking down all the bridges, and preventing the enemy from passing the river. Edward burned the villages, sacked the towns of Vernon and Mantes, and at last came to Poissy, within eight or nine miles of Paris. Here there was a good bridge, but it had been partially destroyed by order of Philip. The English marched from Poissy to St. Germain, which they burned to the ground: by seizing some boats on the river, they were enabled to do still further mischief; and St. Cloud, Bour-la-Reine, and Neuilly were reduced to ashes. Still, however, Edward's situation was critical; he was separated from his Flemish auxiliaries, and Philip was reinforced daily. Having ex-

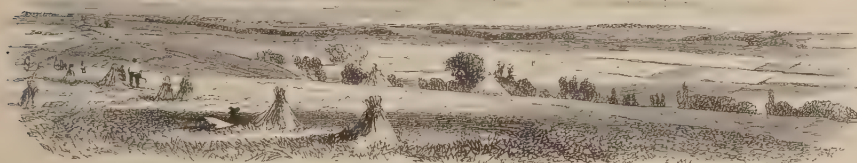
amined the bridge at Poissy, Edward struck his tents, and advanced as if he would attack Paris, and his van really penetrated to the suburbs of that capital. This movement obliged the French to cross over to the opposite bank, to the relief of that city. Edward then wheeled round, cleared the remains of the bridge of Poissy by means of his bowmen, repaired it, and crossed to the right bank. From the Seine he continued his way towards the river Somme, burning the suburbs of Beauvais, and plundering the town of Pois. Philip now determined to prevent his crossing the Somme:¹ by rapid movements he got to Amiens on that river, and sent detachments along the right bank to destroy the bridges and guard every ford. The English attempted to pass at Pont St. Remi, Long, and Pequigny, but failed at each place. Meanwhile Philip, who had now 100,000 men, divided his force, and while one division was posted on the right bank to prevent the passage of the English, he marched with the other along the left, to drive them towards the river and the sea. So close was he upon his enemy that he entered Airaines, where Edward had slept, only two hours after his departure. That evening the English reached Oisemont, near the coast, where they found themselves cooped up between the sea, the Somme, and the division of the French army with Philip, which was six times more numerous than their whole force. The marshals of the army were again sent to see whether there was any ford, but they again returned with the sad news that they could find none. At last a common fellow told Edward that there was a place, a little lower down, called Blanche-Taque, or the White Spot, which was fordable at the ebb of the tide. "The King of England," says Froissart, "did not sleep much that night, but, rising at midnight, ordered his trumpets to sound." Instantly the baggage was loaded, and everything got ready. At the peep of day the army set out and soon came to the ford; but Edward had the mortification to find not only that the tide was full, but that the opposite bank of the river was lined with 12,000 men under the command of a great baron of Normandy, called Sir Godemar du Fay. He was obliged to wait till the hour of "primes," when the tide was out. This was an awful suspense, for every moment he expected Philip in his rear. As soon as it was reported that the river was fordable, Edward commanded his marshals to dash into the water, "in the names of God and St. George." Instantly the most doughty and the best mounted spurred into the river. Half-way across they

¹ A sketch map illustrating the marches of Edward III. and Henry V., and the difficulties in crossing the Somme, during the campaigns of 1346 and 1415, with the sites of Crecy and Azincourt, is given under the reign of Henry V.

were met by the cavalry of Sir Godemar du Fay, and a fierce conflict took place in the water. When the English had overcome this opposition they had to encounter another, for the French still occupied, in battle array, a narrow pass which led from the ford up the right bank. Among others posted there was a strong body of Genoese cross-bowmen, who galled them sorely; but the English archers "shot so well together" that they forced all their opponents to give way, upon which Edward cleared the bank of the river; and while part of his forces pursued Du Fay, he encamped with the rest in the pleasant fields between Crotay and Crecy. Philip now appeared on the opposite side of the ford, where

Edward had so long waited; but he was too late—the tide was returning and covering the ford; and, after taking a few stragglers, he thought it prudent to return up the river, to cross it by the bridge of Abbeville.

Edward was now within a few days' march of the frontiers of Flanders, but nothing was seen or heard of his Flemish auxiliaries. He was probably tired of retreating, and encouraged by the result of the remarkable battle at Blanche-Taque. When told that Philip would still pursue him, he said, "We will go no farther." As he had not the eighth part of the number of men that Philip had, his marshals selected an advantageous position on an eminence a little behind



THE FIELD OF CRECY, from the Windmill. 1.—From a drawing on the spot by John Absolon.

the village of Crecy. After supper he entered his oratory, and, falling on his knees, prayed God to bring him off with honour if he should fight on the morrow. Rising at early dawn, he and his son Edward heard mass, and communicated; the greater part of his people confessed, and put themselves in a comfortable state of mind. They had not been harassed for many hours; they had fared well: they had had a good night's rest, and were fresh and vigorous. After mass the king ordered the men to arm and assemble, each under his proper banner. In the rear of his army he inclosed a large park near a wood, in which he placed all his baggage waggons and all his horses; for every one, man-at-arms as well as archer, was to fight that day on foot. The first division was under the command of his young son, with whom were placed the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, and other experienced captains; it consisted of about 800 men-at-arms, 2000 archers, and 1000 Welsh foot. A little behind them, and rather on their flank, stood the second division of 800 men-at-arms and 1200 archers, who were commanded by the Earls of Northampton and Arun-

del, the Lords de Roos, Willoughby, and others. The third division stood in reserve on the top of the hill: it consisted of 700 men-at-arms and 2000 archers. The archers of each division formed in front, in the shape of a portcullis or harrow.

After his march and counter-march on the day of Blanche-Taque, Philip rested at Abbeville, and he lost a whole day there, waiting for reinforcements, among which were 1000 lances of the Count of Savoy. This morning, however, the French king marched to give battle, breathing fury and vengeance: his countenance was clouded—a savage silence could not conceal the agitation of his soul—all his movements were precipitate, without plan or concert. It seemed as if the shades of De Clisson and his murdered companions flitted before his eyes and obscured his vision. He ran rather than marched from Abbeville, and when he came in sight of the well-ordered divisions of Edward, his men were tired and his rear-guard far behind. By the advice of a Bohemian captain, he agreed to put off the battle till the morrow, and two officers immediately rode, one along the van and the other

¹ The hollow in which the battle was fought is called "*La vallée des claires ou gentishommes*." The wood seen on the extreme right of the horizon, where 30,000 French were killed on the morning after the battle, is still called by the people, "the forest bathed in blood." Towards the centre of the view, in the hollow behind where three poplar trees now stand, is the spot where, according to French tradition, the King of Bohemia is said to have fallen; his badge of three ostrich feathers and motto—"Ich Dien"—being said to have been taken from him and as-

sumed by the Black Prince. A cross which stood upon the spot was removed a few years since and set up by the roadside. Near to its former site in the wood is a small chapel called "*La chapelle des trois cents corps*," where, according to ancient report, 300 of the noblest knights were interred. The foreground in the view was the position of the English army of reserve, the right-hand edge being the extreme right of the English position; and between that and the mill was the English camp.—Information collected on the spot and communicated by J. Absolon, Esq.

toward the rear, crying out, "Halt, banners, in the name of God and St. Denis!" Those that were in front stopped, but those behind rode on, saying that they would not halt until they were as forward as the first. When the van felt the rear pressing on them they pushed forward, and neither the king nor the marshals could stop them, but on they marched without any order until they came near the English. Then the foremost ranks fell back at once in great disorder, which alarmed those in the rear, who thought there had been fighting. There was then room enough for those behind to pass in front had they been willing so to do: "some did so, and some remained very shy." All the roads between Abbeville and Crecy were covered with common people, who, while they were yet three leagues from their enemy, were bawling out, "Kill! kill!" "There is no man," says Froissart, "unless he had been present, that can imagine or truly record the confusion of that day, especially the bad management and disorder of the French, whose troops were innumerable." The kings, dukes, earls, barons, and lords of France, advanced each as he thought best. Philip was carried forward by the torrent, and as soon as he came in sight of the English, his blood began to boil, and he cried out, "Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle, in the name of God and St. Denis!" These Genoese were famous cross-bowmen: according to Froissart, they were 15,000 strong. But they

were quite fatigued, having that day marched six leagues on foot. Thus they told the constable that they were not in a state to do any great exploit of battle that day. The Count d'Alençon, King Philip's brother, hearing this, said, "See what we get by employing such scoundrels, who fail us in our need." The susceptible Italians were not likely to forget these hasty and insulting words, but they formed and led the van. They were supported by the Count d'Alençon, with a numerous cavalry. While these things were passing, a heavy rain fell, accompanied by thunder: and there was a fearful eclipse of the sun. About five in the afternoon, the weather cleared up and the sun shone forth in full splendour. His rays darted full in the eyes of the French, but the English had the sun at their backs. When the Genoese had made their approach, they set up a terrible shout to strike terror into the English; but the English yeomen remained motionless, not seeming to care for it: they sent up a second shout, and advanced, but still the English moved not; they shouted a third time, and advancing a little, began to discharge their crossbows. Then the English moved, but it was one step forward, and they shot their arrows with such rapidity and vigour "that it seemed as if it snowed." These well-shot arrows pierced shield and armour; the Genoese could not stand them. On seeing these auxiliaries waver and then fall back, the King of France cried out in a



BATTLE FIELD AND OLD WINDMILL OF CRECY. From a drawing on the spot by John Absolon.

fury, "Kill me those scoundrels, for they stop our way without doing any good!" and at these words the French men-at-arms laid about them,

killing and wounding the retreating Genoese. All this wonderfully increased the confusion; and still the English yeomen kept shooting as

1 On the left-hand side of the view is the commencement of the forest and the village of Crecy. The road which leads to the village is that by which the French advanced. The ground between the mill and the spectator was occupied by the English army. The hill rises in a succession of terraced platforms, which

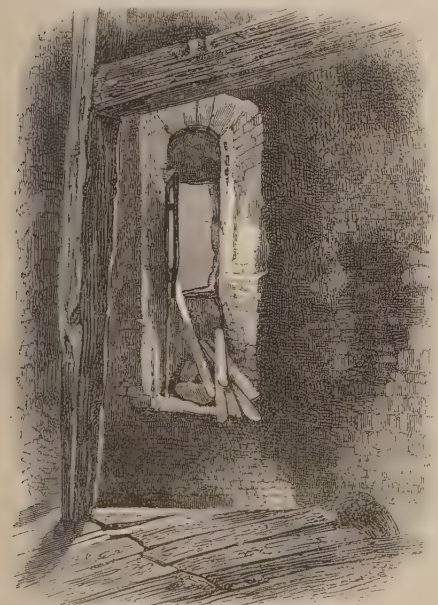
give it somewhat the character of a natural fortification. The great struggle took place in the hollow near the village, where the position of the Black Prince could not be seen from the mill. —Information collected on the spot and communicated by John Absolon, Esq.

vigorously as before into the midst of the crowd: many of their arrows fell among D'Alençon's splendid cavalry, and killing and wounding many, made them caper and fall among the Genoese, "so that they could never rally or get up again."

Having got free from the rabble-rou, D'Alençon and the Count of Flanders skirted the English archers and fell upon the men-at-arms of the prince's battalia, where they fought fiercely for some time. The second division of the English moved to the support of the prince. The King of France was eager to support D'Alençon, but he could not penetrate a hedge of English archers which formed in his front. But without the king's forces, D'Alençon, with whom fought French, Germans, Bohemians, and Savoyards, seemed to all eyes more than a match for the prince. At a moment when the conflict seemed doubtful, the Earl of Warwick sent to request a reinforcement from the reserve. Edward, who had watched the battle from a windmill on the summit of the hill, and who did not put on his

honour of it be given all to him and to those to whose care I have intrusted him." When Sir Thomas Norwich reported this message, they were all greatly encouraged, and repented of having ever sent him. Soon after this, D'Alençon was killed, and his battalions were scattered. The King of France made several brilliant charges, but he was repulsed each time with great loss: his horse was killed under him by an English arrow, and the best of his friends had fallen around him. Night now set in, but not before he had lost the battle. At the hour of vespers he had not more than sixty men about him of all sorts. John of Hainault now laid hold of his bridle-rein and led him away by force, for he had entreated him to retire before this, but in vain. The king rode away till he came to the castle of La Broye, where he found the gates shut, for it was dark night. He summoned the châtelain, who came upon the battlements and asked who called at such an hour. The king answered, "Open, open, châtelain, it is the fortune of France!" The governor knew the king's voice, descended, opened the gates, and let down the bridge. The king and his company entered the castle, but he had with him only five barons.¹

Such was the memorable battle of Crecy; it was fought on Saturday, the 26th day of August, 1346. On the Sunday morning a fog arose so that the English could scarcely see the length of half an acre before them. The king sent out a detachment of 500 lances and 2000 archers to reconnoitre. This detachment soon found themselves in the midst of a body of militia from Beauvais and Rouen, who, wholly ignorant of what had happened, had marched all night to overtake the French army. These men took the English for French, and hastened to join them. Before they found out their mistake, the English fell upon them and slew them without mercy. Soon after, the same party took a different road, and fell in with a fresh force, under the Archbishop of Rouen and the grand-prior of France, who were also ignorant of the defeat of the French; for they had heard that the king would not fight till the Sunday. Here began a fresh battle, for those two spiritual lords were well provided with stout men-at-arms. They could not, however, stand against the English: the two lords were killed, and only a few of their men escaped by flight. In the course of the morning the English found many Frenchmen, who had lost their road the preceding evening. All these were put to the sword; and of foot soldiers sent from the municipalities, cities, and good towns of France, there were slain this Sunday morning more than four times as many as in the great battle of Saturday. When this destructive detachment returned



WINDOW OF THE OLD MILL AT CRECY, from which Edward III. watched the battle.

helmet the whole day, asked the knight whether his son was killed, or wounded, or thrown to the ground? The knight replied, "No, sire, please God, but he is hard beset." "Then," said the king, "return to those who sent you, and tell them that they shall have no help from me. Let the boy win his spurs; for I am resolved, if it please God, that this day be his, and that the

¹ Froissart.

to head-quarters, King Edward sent to examine the dead, and learn what French lords had fallen. The Lords Cobham and Stafford were charged with this duty, and they took with them three heralds to recognize the arms, and two secretaries to write down the names. They remained all that day in the fields, returning as the king was sitting down to supper, when they reported that they had found the bodies of eleven princes, eighty bannerets, 1200 knights, and about 30,000 common men.

On Monday morning the King of England marched off to the north, keeping near the coast, and passing through Montreuil-sur-Mer. On Thursday, the 31st of August, five days after the great battle of Crecy, he sat down before Calais and began his famous siege of that place—a siege, or rather a blockade, which lasted nearly a year, and was enlivened by many brilliant feats of arms. An immediate consequence of his victory at Crecy was the withdrawing of the Duke of Normandy from Guienne, where the Earl of Derby was almost reduced to extremities notwithstanding the gallant assistance of Sir Walter Manny, who had removed a small body from Brittany to Gascony.

While Edward was occupied at Calais, Philip resorted to measures which he hoped would create such a confusion in England as to oblige his immediate return thither. Ever since his guest David Bruce had been reseatd on the throne, he had kept up an active correspondence with Scotland. His communications were now more frequent, and, in the month of September, King David himself marched from Perth at the head of 3000 regular cavalry and about 30,000 others, mounted on Galloways. It is said that he was confident of success, seeing that nearly the whole chivalry of England was absent. He rode into Cumberland, took the peel or castle of Liddel on the 2d of October, and then marched into the bishopric of Durham. While he lay at Bearpark, near the city of Durham, the English assembled an army in Auckland Park. The Scots were ignorant of all the movements of the English: Douglas, the famous knight of Liddesdale, who had scoured the country as far as Ferry Hill, was intercepted on his return by the English at Sunderland Bridge. He cut his way through them, but lost 500 of his best men. David, though taken by surprise, immediately formed his troops, and a decisive battle was fought at Nevil's Cross. The English counted among their forces 3000 archers, and these men as usual decided the affair. David, after being twice wounded, was forcibly made prisoner by one Copland, a gentleman of Northumberland. Three earls and forty-nine barons and knights shared the fate of the king. The Earl of Mon-

teith, who had accepted office under Edward, and the Earl of Fife, who had done homage to Edward Baliol, were condemned as traitors without any form of trial, by the king in council at Calais. Monteith was executed, but Fife was relieved on account of his relationship, his mother having been niece to Edward I. King David was soon carried to London and safely lodged in the Tower.¹

In the meantime Edward's ally, the Countess of Montfort, continued to defend the inheritance of her infant son, being well supported by an English force of 1000 men-at-arms and 8000 foot, under the command of Sir Thomas Dagworth. On the night of the 18th of June, 1347, while her bitter enemy, Charles de Blois, was lying before Roche-Derrien, which he was besieging with 15,000 men, he was suddenly attacked by the English. In the confusion of a nocturnal battle Sir Thomas was twice taken prisoner, and twice released by his brave followers. A sortie from the garrison finished this affair—the French were thoroughly beaten and dispersed; Charles de Blois was taken prisoner, and sent over to England, to add another royal captive to those already in Edward's power.

Edward, meanwhile, pressed the blockade of Calais. As it was a place of incredible strength, he wisely resolved not to throw away the lives of his soldiers in assaults, but to reduce it by famine. He girded it on the land side by intrenchments, and he built so many wooden houses for the accommodation of his troops, that his encampment looked like a second town growing round the first; the old French writers, indeed, call it *La Ville de Bois*. At the same time his fleet blockaded the harbour, and cut off all communication by sea. John de Vienne, the governor of Calais, could not mistake Edward's plan, and, to save his provisions, he determined to rid himself of such as are called, in the merciless language of war, "useless mouths." Seventeen hundred poor people, of both sexes and of all ages, were turned out of the town and driven towards the English lines. Edward gave them all a good dinner, and then dismissed them into the interior of the country, even presenting them with a little money to supply their immediate wants. As provisions waxed low the governor made a fresh search for "useless mouths," and 500 more of the inhabitants were thrust out of the town: but this time Edward was not so merciful, and all of them are said to have perished miserably between his lines and the town walls, as the governor would not re-admit them. A French fleet, attempting to relieve the place, was met by the Earl of Oxford, and carried

¹ Froissart; *Knygh'ton*; *Rymer*.

to England. After this the hopes of the garrison began to fail them, and they wrote to King Philip that they had eaten their horses, their dogs, and all the unclean animals they could procure, and that nothing was left for them but to eat one another. This letter was intercepted by the English; but Philip knew the straits to which they were reduced, and resolved to make a great effort to save this important place. The "Oriflamme," the sacred banner of France, which was not to be used except against infidels, was unfurled; the vassals of the crown were summoned from all parts; and, in the month of July, Philip marched towards Calais. That town, however, was only approachable by two roads—the one along the sea-shore, the other over bogs and marshes; and Edward guarded both—the one with his ships and boats, which were crowded with archers; the other by means of towers, fortified bridges, and a great force of men-at-arms and archers, under the command of the brave Earl of Derby, who, as well as Sir Walter Manny, had come from Gascony for this great enterprise. Philip was not bold enough to attempt either passage; and after a fruitless attempt at negotiation, and an idle challenge, he withdrew his army and left Calais to its fate. When the faithful garrison had witnessed his departure, they hung out the flag of England, and asked to capitulate. Edward, enraged at their obstinate resistance, refused them any terms, saying that he would have an unconditional surrender. Sir Walter Manny, and many barons who were then present, pleaded in favour of the men of Calais. "I will not be alone against you all," said the king. "Sir Walter, you will tell the captain that six of the notable burgesses must come forth naked in their shirts, bare-legged, with halters round their necks, and the keys of the town and castle in their hands. On these I will do my will, and the rest I will take to my mercy." When Sir Walter Manny reported this hard condition to

John de Vienne, that governor went to the market-place and ordered the church bells to be rung: the people—men, women, and children—repaired to the spot, and, when they had heard Edward's message, they all wept piteously, and were incapable of forming any resolution. Things were in this state when the richest burgess of the town, who was called Messire Eustace de St. Pierre, rose up and said before them all

—"Gentlemen, great and little, it were a great pity to let these people perish; I will be the first to offer up my life to save theirs."

After him another notable burgess, a very honest man, and of great business, rose and said that he would accompany his compeer Messire Eustace; and this one was named Messire Jehand d'Aire. After him rose up Jaques de Wisant, who was very rich in goods and lands, and said that he would accompany his two cousins, as did Peter Wisant his brother: then the fifth and the sixth offered themselves, which completed the number the king demanded. The governor, John de Vienne, mounted a small hackney, for his wounds prevented him from walking, and conducted them to the gate. The English barriers were opened, and the six were admitted to the presence of Edward, before whom they prostrated themselves, and presenting the keys, begged for mercy. All the barons, knights, and others who were there present, shed tears of pity, but the king eyed them very spitefully, for much did he hate the people of Calais; and then he commanded that their heads should be struck off. Every Englishman entreated him to be more merciful, but he would not hear them. Then Sir Walter Manny said, "Ha! gentle sire, let me beseech you to re-

strain your wrath! You are renowned for nobleness of soul—do not tarnish your reputation by such an act as this. These worthy men have, of their own free will, nobly put themselves at your mercy, in order to save their fellow-citizens." Upon this the king made a grimace, and said, "Let the headman be summoned." But the Queen of England, who had joined her husband after the battle of Nevil's Cross, and was far advanced in her pregnancy, fell on her knees, and



THE ORIFLAMME, borne by the Constable of France.¹

¹ The drawing is from a window of the thirteenth century in Chartres Cathedral. The figure represents Henri Sieur d'Argenton et du Mez, marshal of France under St. Louis; he died in 1265. In the original he is receiving the banner from the hands of St. Denis; the banner is supposed to be the oriflamme.

with tears, said, "Ah! gentle sire! since I have crossed the sea with great danger, I have never asked you anything: now I humbly pray, for the sake of the Son of the Holy Mary and your love of me, that you will have mercy on these six men." The king looked at her, and was silent awhile: then he said, "Dame, I wish you had been somewhere else; but I cannot refuse you—I put them at your disposal." Philippa caused the halters to be taken from their necks, gave them proper clothes and a good dinner, and then dismissed them with a present of six nobles each.¹

On the following day, August 4, 1347, the king and queen rode towards the town, which they entered to the sound of trumpets, drums, and all kinds of warlike instruments. They remained there until the queen was delivered of a daughter, who was called Margaret of Calais; and after that they returned to England, Edward having agreed to a truce with Philip.

On the 14th of January, 1348, he asked the advice of his parliament touching the prosecution of the war with France. The commons, suspecting that this was but a prelude to the demand of a subsidy, declined giving any answer. When the parliament met again, on the 17th of March, the king told them that the French were making mighty preparation to invade England, and he demanded an aid on that account. In real truth there was no danger whatever; but, after bitter complaints of taxation, and consequent poverty, three-fifteenths were voted to be levied in three years. In the course of the following year he commanded in a naval battle against the Spaniards

belonging to the ports of the Bay of Biscay, who had given him many causes of discontent by joining the French and by plundering his trading vessels. The battle was fought within sight of the hills behind Winchelsea, whence the queen's servants watched it with an anxious eye, and the Spaniards were completely defeated, with the loss of fourteen ships. About this time Philip of France died, and was succeeded by his son, the Duke of Normandy, now John I. This new king gladly consented to prolong the truce, which, however, was but indifferently observed, the English and French frequently fighting at sea, in Brittany, and in the south of France.

As if in mockery of the petty carnage of men, who, doing their most, could only sacrifice a few thousand lives at a time, and on a given spot, the plague now invaded Europe, destroying its hundreds of thousands and depopulating hundreds of towns and cities at one and the same time. From the heart of China this pestilence, sweeping across the desert of Cobi and the wilds of Tartary, found its way through the Levant, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Germany, France, and at last embraced the western coast of England, whence it soon spread all over the land. It appeared in London in November, 1348, and there committed the most frightful ravages.³

It was after his return from Calais that Edward instituted an order of knighthood which has survived all his other achievements, as well as produced better fruits than his victories on the fields of France. This was the Order of the Garter, which he



EFFIGY OF QUEEN PHILIPPA.—From her tomb, Westminster Abbey.

¹ Froissart.

² On the table, in a rich tabernacle of copper, lies the queen's figure in marble, habited in a stiff bodice laced in front, a petticoat, and over all a mantle falling back; her sleeves buttoned on to the wrist, and reaching to her hands like mittens; a cordon in triangle on her breast, supported by her left hand; her face full and chin double; her head-dress reticulated and stiff, projecting forward, bound by a fillet in front; her neck bare below the shoulders, her right hand on her waist, her head on a cushion, two lions at her feet. On the ledge of the tomb is inscribed:—

REGINA PHILIPPA CONJUNX EDWARDI JACET HIC

REGINA PHILIPPA, DISCE VIVERE

³ "The victories which had conferred so much honour on Edward, had been purchased, it was said, with the blood of 50,000 Englishmen; but the memory of this loss was almost obliterated by the calamity which shortly after visited the island—a pestilence as general and destructive as any recorded in history.

We first discover it in the empire of Cathai; thence we may trace its progress through different provinces of Asia to the Delta and the banks of the Nile; a south wind transported it into Greece and the Grecian Islands, from which it swept the coasts of the Mediterranean, depopulated Italy, and crossed the barrier of the Alps into France. A succession of earthquakes, which shook the Continent of Europe from Calabria to the north of Poland, ushered in the fatal year 1348; and though England escaped this calamity, it was deluged from the month of June to December with almost incessant torrents of rain. In the first week of August the plague made its appearance in Dorsetshire; in November it reached London, and thence gradually proceeded to the north of the island. Of its victims many expired in the course of six hours, and few lingered more than two or three days. From man the exterminating malady spread itself to the brute creation: the carcasses of sheep, horses, and oxen lay scattered on the fields; they were untouched by birds of prey; and their putrefaction aided the malignity of the

established in 1350.¹ The cause of this august institution has been attributed to such a frivolous accident as the dropping of a lady's garter in a ball-room; but a higher source has been sought for it than the popular legend, by learned inquirers into English historical antiquarianism. According to some, it originated in the word "garter" having been given by the king as the pass-word to his soldiers on the day of the battle of Crecy; while others allege that it was because, on this occasion, he ordered his garter to be raised on the point of a lance as the signal for onset. Others, going farther back, assert that the institution originated so early as the time of Richard I., who gave to his chief officers certain leather straps, to be bound round the left leg, in the storming of Acre, to distinguish them from the other soldiers of the crusade, and that Edward III. merely revived an order which had fallen into utter decay. But it is unlikely that distinctions bestowed by such a chivalrous sovereign as the Lion-hearted could thus easily have dropped out of remembrance; and therefore Edward must be considered as its real founder, let the cause that prompted him be what it might. Every preparation was made to give due grandeur and importance to the inauguration of this fairest and most highly-honoured of all the chivalrous institutions. "The king," says Froissart, "founded a chapel at Windsor in honour of St. George, and established canons there to serve God, with a handsome endowment. He then issued his proclamation for this feast by his heralds, whom he sent to France, Scotland, Burgundy, Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, and the empire of Germany, and offered to all knights and squires that might come to this ceremony, passports to last for fifteen days after it was over." At this splendid assembly of Windsor, which comprised the noblest of these several countries, the king and the elected knights "were clothed in gowns of russet, powdered with garters blue, wearing the like garters also on their right legs, and mantles of blue with scutcheons of St. George.² It was intended that the Knights of the Garter should consist of forty, but at this first installation only twenty-six were elected; and among their names, which have

been carefully preserved, may be discovered those of the principal champions in the subsequent French and Scottish wars, and who founded some of the most distinguished families of England. But pre-eminent over them all, and highest in the list, was that of Edward the Black Prince, late the hero of Crecy, and soon after to be the victor of Poitiers, who was the first Knight of the Garter. In the long roll of illustrious princes, warriors, and statesmen, extending from that period to the present day, whose motto has been "HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE," it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, considering the age in which he lived, to find a nobler and worthier character.

In part probably from a desire to reduce the Scots, who maintained their independence in spite of the captivity of their king, Edward several times made offers of peace to John of France, on condition of renouncing his pretensions to the French crown in exchange for the absolute sovereignty of Guienne, Calais, and the other lands which had been held as fiefs by the former Kings of England. The pride of the French court, however, revolted at this notion; and after the king had committed his honour, and promised, at the congress of Guisnes, to accede to Edward's proposition, they drove him into a most unfortunate war.³

In 1355, Prince Edward prosecuted a successful campaign in the south of France. A simultaneous movement, made by his father in the north of France, proved a failure; for King John would not fight, and Edward was obliged to turn back upon Calais through want of provisions; and there he was amused by a sort of challenge to a general battle, to take place some day or other, till the Scots retook their town of Berwick, and rushed across the Borders in hopes of retrieving the honour they had lost at Nevil's Cross. At the news Edward hurried to meet his parliament, and obtain supplies for this fresh difficulty.

It was the middle of January, 1356, before Edward could appear at Berwick; but, at his approach, as the Scots had only got possession of the town, and not of the castle, they withdrew. Edward was now fully resolved to put an end to the interruptions which the Scottish wars had so

disorder. The labours of husbandry were neglected; no courts of justice were opened; the parliament was repeatedly prorogued by proclamation; and men, intent only on their own safety, fled from the care of the infected, and slighted every call of honour, duty, and humanity. When historians tell us that one-half or one-third of the human race perished, we may suspect them of exaggeration; but it is easy to form some idea of the mortality from the fact that all the cemeteries of London were soon filled; that Sir Walter Manny purchased for a public burial place, a field of thirteen acres, where the Charter-house now stands; and that the bodies deposited in it during several weeks amounted to the daily average of two hundred. It was observed that though the malady assailed the English in Ireland,

it spared the natives. The Scots too escaped for several months; and the circumstance afforded them a subject of triumph over their enemies, and introduced among them a popular oath, 'By the foule dsathe of the English.' They had even assembled an army to invade the neighbouring counties, when the contagion insinuated itself into their camp in the forest of Selkirk; 5000 men died before they disbanded their forces; and the fugitives carried with them the infection into the most distant recesses of Scotland."—*Lingard*, vol. iii. p. 78.

¹ This date is according to Stow. Froissart, who was somewhat careless in matters of chronology, makes its first celebration at Windsor six years earlier.

² *Stow*.

³ *Rymer; Mezeray.*

frequently offered to his wars in France. His army was immense, and composed in great part of tried soldiers. As if nations were to be bought and sold, and made over by sheets of parchment, he purchased, at Roxburgh, on the 20th of January, all Edward Baliol's rights to the Scottish throne for 5000 marks, and a yearly annuity of £2000—a vast deal more than they were worth. With these title-deeds in his chest, the King of England marched through the Lothians, burned Haddington and Edinburgh and wasted the neighbouring country. But here again he was compelled to retreat by want of provisions. The Scots, who could not meet him in the field, harassed his retiring forces, and inflicted a dreadful vengeance on the rear, and on all stragglers, for the horrible devastations they had committed. From this time Edward Baliol drops out of notice, and he died a childless and a childish old man in the year 1363.

Edward neither renewed the war in Scotland, nor reinforced his son in France; for the Black Prince,¹ as late as July in the following year, took the field with only 12,000 or 14,000 men, few of whom were English, except a body of archers. The prince, however, took a good many towns and penetrated into Berri, in the very heart of France. The King of France, crossing the Loire at Blois, made for the city of Poitiers. Prince Edward, ignorant of John's march, turned to the south-west, and marched also for the same city. On the 17th of September the English van came unexpectedly upon the rear of the great French army at a village within two short leagues of Poitiers; and Prince Edward's scouts soon after discovered that the whole country swarmed with the enemy, and that his retreat towards Gascony was cut off. "God help us!" said the Black Prince; "we must now consider how we can best fight them." On the following morning, (Sunday, the 18th of September), John drew out his host in order of battle: he had, it is said, 60,000 horse, besides foot; while the whole force of the Black Prince, horse and foot, did not now exceed 10,000 men. But Edward had chosen a most admirable position, and the issue of this battle, indeed, depended on his "military eye" and on "the sinewy arms of the English bowmen."² When the battle was about joining, a legate of the pope, the Cardinal Talleyrand, arrived on the field, and implored the French

king to avoid the carnage which must inevitably ensue. John reluctantly consented to let the cardinal-legate go to the English camp, and represent to the English prince the great danger in which he stood. "Save my honour," said the Black Prince, "and the honour of my army, and



EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE.³—From a portrait in the Painted Chamber, Westminster.

I will listen to any reasonable terms." The cardinal answered, "Fair son, you say well." If this prince of the church failed, it was no fault of his; for all that Sunday he rode from one army to the other, exerting himself to the utmost to procure a truce. The prince offered to restore all the towns and castles which he had taken in this expedition, to give up all his prisoners without ransom, and to swear that he would not, for the next seven years, bear arms against the King of France. But John, too confident in his superiority of numbers, would not agree to these terms, and, in the end, he sent, as his ultimatum, that the prince and 100 of his best knights must surrender themselves prisoners, as the price of a safe retreat. All Sunday was spent in these negotiations. The prince's little army were but badly off for provisions and forage; but, during the day, they dug some ditches and threw up

¹ It appears to be now that the younger Edward was first called the "Black Prince," from the colour of his armour, which, says the Père d'Orléans, "gave éclat to the fairness of his complexion, and a relief to his *bonne mine*."

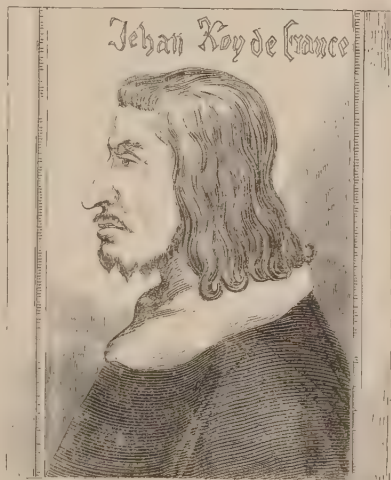
² *Sir J. Mackintosh.*

³ The portrait was probably made about the time of the battle of Poitiers, when the prince was twenty-six years of age, and he is accordingly represented as a beardless youth, bearing strong traits of resemblance to his father. His helmet, sur-

rounded by a coronet, resembles that on the effigy at Canterbury, in other respects his armour varies but little from that of King Edward. The title of Black Prince leads us to associate his likeness with a dark suit of plate and mail, although in our painting he is not so distinguished; but he perhaps did not introduce this peculiarity in the armour which he wore on pompous occasions, and in which he is no doubt here represented.—*Shaw's Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages.*

some banks round their strong position, which could only be approached by one narrow lane. They also arranged their baggage waggons so as to form a rampart or barricade, as had been done at Crecy. On the following morning, Monday, September 19, the trumpets sounded at earliest dawn, and the French again formed in order of battle. Soon a mass of French cavalry charged along the lane to force Edward's position, but such a flight of arrows came from the hedges that they were soon brought to a pause, and at last compelled to turn and flee, leaving the lane choked up with their dead and wounded, and their fallen horses. Of the two marshals of France who led this attack, Arnold d'Andreghen was wounded and taken prisoner, and Claremont, the other, was killed by the stout bowmen of England. After this success, Edward became the assailant. Six hundred English bowmen making a circuit, suddenly showed their green jackets and white bows on the flank and rear of John's second division. "To say the truth," writes Froissart, "these English archers were of infinite service to their army, for they shot so thickly and so well that the French did not know which way to turn themselves." The second division scarcely waited to feel the points of their arrows. Eight hundred lances were detached to escort the French princes from this scene of danger, and presently after the whole division dispersed in shameful disorder. At this sight the knights and men-at-arms under the Black Prince, who had as yet done nothing but looked on, mounted their horses. As soon as they were mounted, Sir John Chandos said to the prince, "Sire, ride forward, the day is yours! Let us address ourselves to our adversary, the King of France. Well I know that his valiancy will not permit him to flee, and he shall remain with us, please God and St. George!" Then the prince said to his standard-bearer, "Advance banners, in the name of God and St. George!" They went through the lane, charged across the open moor where the French had formed their battalia, and the shock was dreadful. The constable of France stood firm with many squadrons of horse, his knights and squires shouting, "Mountjoy, St. Denis!" but man and horse went to the ground, and the duke was slain, with most of his knights. The Black Prince then charged a body of German cavalry, who were soon put to flight. A strong body of reserve, under the command of the Duke of Orleans, fled without striking a blow. But Chandos was not mistaken as to the personal bravery of John; that king led up a division on foot, and fought desperately with a battle-axe; and when nearly all had forsaken him, his youngest son Philip, a boy of sixteen, fought by his side. John received two wounds in the face, and

was beaten to the ground; but he rose and still strove to defend himself, while the English and Gascons pressed upon him, crying, "Surrender, or you are a dead man!" They would have killed him, but a young knight from St. Omer, named Sir Denis, burst through the crowd and said to the king in good French, "Sire, surrender!" The king said, "To whom shall I surrender? Where is my cousin, the Prince of Wales?" "He is not here," replied Sir Denis; "but surrender to me and I will conduct you to him." "But who are you?" said the king. "Denis de Morbecque," he answered, "a knight of Artois; but I serve the King of England because I cannot belong to France, having forfeited all I had there."¹ King John then gave him his right-



JOHN, KING OF FRANCE.—From a painting in the Bibliothèque Royal, Paris.

hand glove, and said, "I surrender to you." There was much crowding and struggling round about the king, for every one was eager to say—"I took him." At last John was removed out of a situation of great danger by the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Cobham, who saluted him with profound respect, and conducted him, with his youngest son Philip, to the Prince of Wales.²

Edward received his illustrious captive with the greatest modesty and respect, treating him with all the courtesy of the most perfect chivalry. He invited him to supper, waited on him at table as his superior in age and dignity, soothed his grief, and praised his valour. The day after this victory, Edward continued his march. He passed through Poitou and Saintonge without meeting with any resistance; for

¹ Sir Denis, it appears, had been banished from France for killing a man in an affray.

² Froissart.

the French nowhere rallied to rescue their king, and, coming to Blaye, he crossed the Garonne, and presently came to the good city of Bordeaux. He then concluded a truce for two years with the Dauphin Charles, and in the spring he returned to England, taking King John and Prince Philip with him. Their entrance into London (24th April, 1357) was magnificent, and John himself was treated not as the prisoner, but the hero of the triumph.

Edward soon showed an inclination to renounce his French scheme, and to follow up the Scottish project by other means than those of conquest. As early as the year 1351 he had opened negotiations with the Scots for the liberation of their king, but the ransom he then fixed was extravagantly high; in 1354 these negotiations were renewed, and the Scots consented to pay 90,000 marks in nine years; but their allies, the French, induced them to depart from this agreement, and, leaving their king a prisoner, they prepared to invade England. Edward's victory over their allies at Poitiers made the Scots willing to treat again, and the English king, in spite of those successes, was not in a condition to renew a war in the north. On the 3d of October, 1357, a treaty was concluded, the Scots agreeing to pay one hundred thousand marks in ten years, and to give hostages as security for such payments; and in the month of November, David, after a captivity of eleven years, recovered his liberty and returned to Scotland.¹ It was soon made to appear that his long residence in England and intimate association with Edward had produced their effect on his weak mind, and that Edward, in discontinuing the struggle by arms, had not renounced his ambitious hopes. In 1362, David's wife died childless, and, in a parliament held at Scone in the following year, David coolly proposed that they should choose Lionel, Duke of Cambridge, Edward's third son, to fill the throne in the event of his dying without issue. At this time the next heir was the Stewart of Scotland, the son of David's eldest sister. David hated his nephew, and this feeling may have had a great share in influencing him to make this strange proposal. But the parliament of Scotland rejected the project with indignation. The death of Edward Baliol without children, which happened soon after this conference, made David less careful in his proceedings: he went to London and agreed, in a secret arrangement with Edward, that, in default of the King of Scots and his issue male, the King of England for the time being should succeed to the throne of Scotland. The King of England took advantage of the debt owing to him for David's ransom, to

trouble and insult the Scots on many occasions, and the intrigues of his agents added to the unhappiness of that people; but when Edward was engaged abroad, the Scots breathed more freely. King David died in February, 1371, and his project died with him: his nephew, the Stewart of Scotland, ascended the throne without opposition, taking the title of Robert II.; and though Edward at one moment seemed inclined to undertake another Scottish war, old age, the loss of his son the Black Prince, and other misfortunes, prevented his so doing. Of all his conquests in Scotland, none were permanent except that of the town of Berwick. The house of Stewart held the independent crown of Scotland for two hundred and thirty-two years, and then James VI. succeeded by inheritance to the throne of England, thus laying a better foundation for the happy union between the two countries than could ever have been effected by conquest. Edward's proceedings with his other kingly captive may be briefly related. Two legates of the pope followed John and the Prince of Wales to London, where they laboured to promote an amicable arrangement between England and France. Edward readily consented to waive his absurd claim to the French crown, and to liberate John, on condition of receiving an enormous ransom, and the restoration of Normandy, of the heritage of Eleanor of Aquitaine, and of all the provinces which had belonged to Henry II., to be held in separate sovereignty without any feudal dependence on the French King.² John hesitated and tried to gain time, but time only increased the wretchedness and weakness of his kingdom, which fell into a frightful state of anarchy. Paris, and nearly all the provinces of France, were converted into human shambles by factions and insurrections. The peasants, or serfs, rose against their lords, plundered and burned their castles, and massacred the nobles—men, women, and children—wherever they could find them. This horrible Jacquerie,³ which was but faintly imitated in England during the next reign (by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw), lasted the greater part of the years 1357 and 1358, and was not suppressed without slaughter equally atrocious on the part of the government. This dreadful state of things conquered the pride of John, and he signed the treaty of peace as dictated by Edward; but the French nation, divided as it was, unanimously rejected it. Edward, enraged at what he termed the bad faith of the enemy, passed over to France in the autumn of 1359, with an army more numerous than any which he had hitherto employed on the Continent. From

² Rymer.

³ So called from *Jacques Bon-homme*, or James Goodman, a name applied in derision to the French peasantry.

¹ Rymer; Hailes.

his convenient landing-place at Calais, he poured his irresistible forces through Artois and Picardy, and laid siege to Rheims, with the intention, it is said, of being crowned King of France in that city. But the winter season and the strength of the place baffled his efforts: after losing seven or eight weeks, he raised the siege, and fell upon Burgundy. The duke was forced to pay fifty thousand marks, and to engage to remain neutral. From Burgundy Edward marched upon Paris, and, on the last day of March, 1360, the English encamped in front of that capital. He, however, was not strong enough to besiege Paris: the dauphin wisely declined a challenge to come out and fight; and in the month of April, a want of provisions compelled Edward to lead his army towards Brittany. His route was soon covered by men and horses, who died from want or dropped from the severe fatigues they had undergone in this winter campaign. Edward's heart was touched; but it was a terrific tempest of thunder, lightning, wind, hail, and rain, which he encountered near Chartres, and which reminded him of the day of judgment, that completely subdued his resolution, and inclined him to an amicable treaty.¹

An armistice was arranged, and, on the 8th of May, 1360, the great peace was concluded by the treaty of Bretigny. "The King of England, Lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine," as Edward was now content to style himself, renounced his pretensions to the crown of France, and his claim to Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, and some other territories that had belonged to his ancestors: he restored all the conquests made by himself and his son, with the exception of Calais and Guisnes, and reserved to himself Guienne and Poitou, with their dependencies, Saintonge, Angoumois, the Limousin, Perigord, Thouars, and other districts in the south, and the county of Ponthieu in the north-west, the inheritance of his mother. The Dauphin of France² agreed that Edward and his heirs for ever should have full and free sovereignty of the countries ceded by this treaty; that 3,000,000 crowns of gold should be paid in six years as John's ransom, and that sixteen of the prisoners taken at Poitiers, twenty-five French barons, and forty-two burghers chosen in the richest cities of France, should be constituted hostages for the faithful fulfilment of the articles. In July, John was sent over to Calais. Three months were spent in explanations and attempts at mutual deception, and then this treaty was ratified at Calais on the vague

condition that the really important clauses should remain in suspense and not be executed till the feast of the Assumption, or that of St. Andrew, in the following year.³ On the 24th of October, 1360, there was a solemn interchange of oaths in the church of St. Nicholas at Calais. On the following day, King John was set at liberty.

John, with all his faults and vices, was sensitive on the point of honour, and a scrupulous observer of his word; but the impoverished condition of his country, and the decided and violent opposition of his sons and great nobles, prevented his fulfilling any of the important parts of the treaty. It is not so written in the annals of France, but it appears to us pretty evident, that the uncomfortable life he led in his own dominions had a good deal to do with what followed. The Duke of Anjou dishonourably broke his parole, and, fleeing from Calais, where he was living as one of the hostages, repaired to Paris. His father the king was much affected by this breach of honour, and he felt that part of his own conduct since his return required explanation. It is said that he also hoped to obtain some modification of the treaty of Bretigny, and to speak with Edward about a new crusade. The French courtiers laughed at his scruples, but, to their astonishment, he went over to London, where Edward received him with every token of affection. It was then said, in France, that it was his violent love for an English lady, and not his honour, that induced him to put himself again in the power of his enemy. John quietly took up his old quarters in the Savoy; but soon after his arrival, and before any business was transacted, he fell dangerously ill. He died at London, in the month of April, 1364.⁴

The dauphin, now Charles V., held the treaty of Bretigny in the same state of suspense, and complained bitterly of the ravages committed in his dominions by the "companies of adventure" which had been in the service of the Black Prince. The truth was, that many of these lawless bands had been in the pay of France, so that Edward was not accountable for the whole of the mischief. The "free companions," as they called themselves, were mercenaries, vagabonds, and adventurers, from nearly every country in Europe, who sold their services to the best payers, and when peace was concluded between the sovereigns, they associated together, and carried on a war on their own account. They defeated a royal army led against them by John de Bourbon, who was mortally wounded in that action. They made Charles tremble in Paris, and the pope at Avignon. Edward engaged to clear the country of them, but Charles had no wish to see another

¹ Froissart; Knyghton; Rymer.

² John, as a prisoner, was at first no party to the compact, but when he went to Calais, on parole, he was considered as a free agent.

³ That is, the 15th of August or the 30th of November, 1361.

⁴ Rymer; Froissart; Continuator of Nangis; Villaret.

English army in his territory. Events in Spain afforded opportunities of getting rid of the marauders.

Pedro IV., called the "Cruel," was then legitimate King of Castile, but his atrocities provoked an insurrection. He was, however, strong enough to defeat the insurgents, who fled for refuge to the King of Arragon. The latter sovereign was unable to resist the arms of the tyrant, who made war upon him; and then the Castilian exiles, among whom were two illegitimate half-brothers of Pedro—Enrique, Count of Trastámara, and Tello, Count of Biscay—fled into France. Among his many recent murders, Pedro the Cruel had poisoned his wife, a French princess. It occurred to Enrique of Trastámara, or probably it was suggested to him by the French court, that he might collect among the veteran "companies" such a force as would give him a decided superiority over his half-brother Pedro. The King of France gave money; the pope gave more; and 30,000 of the adventurers put themselves under the command of the celebrated warrior Duguesclin and of Don Enrique, and, marching across the Pyrenees, drove the tyrant from his throne. Don Pedro, who had not even the satisfaction of fighting a battle in his defence, fled through Portugal to Coruña, where he embarked in the first ship he found, and sailed with his daughters for Bordeaux. The Black Prince was residing at Bordeaux, and regarding him as a legitimate sovereign dispossessed by rebels and traitors, he gave the tyrant a most friendly reception. His father took the same view; and it was soon determined to restore the fugitive king by force of arms. Charles of France at the same time took measures to support Don Enrique. The Black Prince had been married some time to a beautiful widow—his second cousin—Joan, Countess of Kent,¹ who had been familiarly and endearingly called "the Fair Maid of Kent;" but the arrival of Pedro's daughters was not without its effect; and the marriage of two of them to Edward's brothers, the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Cambridge, which took place a few years after, gave rise to the claim of an English prince to the throne of Castile. For the present the fair Spaniards remained at the gay and splendid court of Bordeaux, while their father and the Black Prince and the Duke of Lancaster raised their banners of war. Among the adven-

turers who had taken service under Don Enrique, there were several English captains; and such was Prince Edward's popularity among the companions generally, that as soon as they knew what was preparing, 12,000 men abandoned their new master, and returned with all speed to join Edward in Guienne. As Pedro's promises were most liberal, and the fame of Edward so prevalent, they soon marched with 30,000 men. The King of Navarre, who was master of that pass of the Pyrenees, was bought over; and in the midst of winter, snow-storms, and tempests, the Black Prince led his army in safety through Roncesvalles.

On the 3d of April, 1367, Don Enrique met the invaders in the open plains between Navarete and Najara, with an army which is represented as being three times as numerous as that of Prince Edward and Don Pedro. The battle was begun by the young Duke of Lancaster, who was emulous of the military fame of his brother Edward. In the end the Black Prince gained a complete victory; Enrique fled, and Don Pedro re-ascended the throne.² Misfortune had not taught him mercy; Pedro wanted to massacre all his prisoners, but this Prince Edward prevented. After being half-starved in the country he had won for another, and contracting heavy debts and a malady from which he never recovered, Edward was obliged to lead his army with all haste back to Guienne. Pedro had soon cause to deplore his departure: in little more than a year his bastard half-brother returned to Castile, and defeated him in battle. A conference was arranged, but, as soon as the two brothers met, they flew at each other with the fury of wild beasts, and in the struggle Don Enrique killed Pedro with his dagger. The bastard, who was still supported by Charles of France, again took possession of the throne.³

The wary Charles had been recovering strength while the English were losing it; he was now almost ready for an open war, and he bound Enrique by treaty to assist him as soon as he should declare it. At the same time he conciliated the King of Navarre, and entered into a secret understanding with the disaffected lords, vassals of the Black Prince, whose lands lay near the Pyrenees. For seven years the treaty of Bretigny had been little more than a dead letter: John's ransom had never been paid; many of the hostages, breaking

¹ The history of this fair lady, the mother of the unfortunate Richard II., as of an elder brother (Edward) who died in infancy, is rather curious. She was daughter and heiress to the Earl of Kent, uncle to Edward III., who had been put to death at the beginning of the present reign, by Mortimer and Isabella. She was married when very young to Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, from whom she was divorced; she then espoused Sir Thomas Holland, who assumed in her right the title of Earl of Kent,

and was summoned to parliament as such. By this second husband she had two sons—Thomas Holland, who inherited the honours of his father, and John Holland, who was afterwards created Earl of Huntingdon and Duke of Exeter. They will both appear in the sequel—John as the perpetrator of a savage murder. Her second husband had scarcely been dead three months when she married the Black Prince.

² Froissart.

³ Froissart; Walsing.; Mariana

their parole, had returned to France; some of the territory stipulated had never been ceded; the sovereign title to the whole had been withheld by Charles, who had watched with a sharp eye the decaying vigour of King Edward, now an old man, and the shattered health of the Black Prince, who, melancholy and spirit-broken, was evidently sinking to a premature grave. The expedition for Don Pedro proved a curse in more ways than one—it so embarrassed the prince that he was obliged to impose additional taxes upon his subjects of Guienne, in order to obtain the means of paying his army. Upon this the Count of Armagnac, and other Gascon lords, already in the interest of France, went to Paris, and appealed to the King of France, as the lord paramount. Charles had waited patiently for years, but he now thought that circumstances, and, above all, the deplorable state of the prince's health, would allow him to declare himself. He summoned Edward, as Prince of Aquitaine and his vassal (which he was not since the treaty of Bretigny), to appear in his court at Paris. The prince replied that he would go, indeed, to Paris, but it should be at the head of 60,000 men. His father, however, was less violent; and, lowering his claims, the elder Edward, setting aside some territory which had been included in the treaty of Bretigny, said he would content himself with the separate sovereignty of Guienne and Poitou. But Charles took this moderation as a certain proof of weakness, and, declaring the Prince of Aquitaine to be contumacious, he poured his troops into his territories.

Edward now re-assumed his title of King of France, and offered lands and honours in that kingdom to any soldier of fortune that could conquer them with his good sword. He sent reinforcements to the Black Prince in the south; and at the same time despatched his other brave son, the Duke of Lancaster, with a gallant army from Calais. The duke marched through the north-western provinces, but the French would not risk an engagement with him; and while he laid waste the open country, Charles gradually extended his conquests in the south. The Black Prince was sick almost to death, but when he heard that the Dukes of Anjou and Berri were marching against him from opposite points, he roused himself and took the field. The royal dukes had not heart to meet him—they both retreated with precipitation; and, after garrisoning the places they had acquired, they disbanded their army. Limoges, the capital of the Limousin, had been betrayed to the dukes by the bishop and the inhabitants; and the prince was the more sensible to this treachery, as it was a place upon which he had conferred many honours and benefits. He swore by the soul of his father,

that he would have the town back again—that he would not move or attend to any other thing until he got it—and that then he would make the traitors pay dearly for their perfidy. He was now so ill that he could not mount his horse, but he caused himself to be carried on a litter from post to post. After a month's siege Limoges was breached and stormed. Men, women, and children threw themselves on their knees before the prince, crying, "Mercy! mercy!" but he would not hear them. They were all murdered—upwards of 3000. John de Villemur, Hugh de la Roche, and the other knights whom the dukes had thrown into Limoges, retreated to one of the squares, placed themselves with their backs to an old wall, and resolved to sell their lives dearly. The English knights, as soon as they saw them thus, dismounted, and attacked them on foot. The French fought with the courage of despair against very superior numbers. The prince, who came up in his litter, looked on with admiration at their feats, and he became mild and merciful at the sight. Some of the French knights, looking at their swords, said, "We are yours—you have conquered—treat us according to the laws of arms." Edward relented; and, instead of being massacred, they were received as prisoners. But no mercy was shown to any of the meaner sort; the whole city of Limoges was ransacked, and then burned to the ground.¹ The massacre of Limoges was the last military exploit of the Black Prince. Hoping that the air of his native country might benefit his ruined constitution, he returned to England, leaving the command in the south to his brother John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.

Soon after his departure the Duke of Lancaster, having now married the Lady Constance, eldest daughter of Don Pedro, assumed in her right the arms and title of King of Castile and Leon,² an imprudent step, which complicated the difficulties of the English. In the month of June, 1372, when the Earl of Pembroke came off Rochelle with a fleet carrying reinforcements to the duke, he found a Spanish fleet, consisting of ships far larger than his own, and furnished with engines—probably cannons—lying between La Rochelle and the Isle of Rhé. Pembroke either could not or would not avoid a battle: he fought desperately the whole day, and renewed the unequal combat on the morrow; but at last, his ship was grappled by four Spanish ships at once, and boarded on every side: he was made prisoner,

¹ The Bishop of Limoges, the real offender, escaped death through the management of the Duke of Lancaster.

² The daughters of Don Pedro were illegitimate; but after the death of their mother, the celebrated Maria Padilla, he took an oath that he had been married to her, and he declared her daughters his heirs.

and not a single sail of his fleet escaped. Many of them went down with their flags flying; and a ship carrying the military chest, with £20,000 in it, sank with the rest. From this time, one ill success followed another with amazing rapidity. Charles V., who not without reason was called "the Wise," had determined not to hazard a general battle with the English. Sir Robert Knowles swept the whole of France from Calais to the walls of Paris, which he insulted; and the Duke of Lancaster marched through France from one end to the other without meeting any opposition; but they found all the important fortresses and great towns well guarded, and they both lost many men from want of provisions, while every straggler from their armies was cut to pieces. The Duke of Lancaster marched and counter-marched, but could never bring the French to a battle. He concluded a truce with the Duke of Anjou, and departed for England; but as soon as he had gone Charles broke the armistice.

A.D. 1374. The pope had never ceased his endeavours to secure a lasting peace; his legates had followed the army of the Duke of Lancaster in all his last campaign, and other envoys were constantly about the court of Charles. When the French had gained almost all they could hope to get, and when Edward's confidence in his own resources was broken by long disappointment, the arrangement for a treaty was commenced at the town of Bruges. After months of negotiation, a

truce was concluded for one year only; but this was subsequently renewed, and lasted till the death of Edward. At this time all that the English king retained of his continental dominions was Bordeaux, Bayonne, a few towns on the Dordogne, and his own important conquest of Calais, with a strip of territory round it.

On his return to England, the Black Prince embraced a course of popular opposition in parliament; and if he irritated his old father thereby, he had the good fortune to please the nation, whose idol he had ever been. But the state of his health obliged him to seek quiet and retirement; and then the Duke of Lancaster monopolized all the authority of government; for the king had become indolent and reckless, and, like other heroes in their old age, a slave to a young and beautiful woman. Philippa, Edward's excellent wife, had died seven

years before, and the fortunes of her husband were overcast from the day of her death. Alice Perrers, a married woman, whose wit is said to have equalled her beauty, and who had been a lady of the bed-chamber to the queen, so captivated Edward that he could refuse her nothing, and was never happy except when he was in her company. Among other presents he gave her the late queen's jewels, and these Alice was vain enough to show in public. She soon became an object of popular out-

cry, as well as parliamentary censure, which, however, she little regarded; and she continued



MILITARY ACCOUTREMENTS OF EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE.¹

¹ The military accoutrements of the Black Prince, which are suspended by an iron rod above his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral, are extremely curious. They are, perhaps, the most ancient remains of the kind existing; and, as might be expected, convey information on points which, but for such evidence, can be gained only by inference. The shield fastened to the column at the head of the tomb is of wood, entirely covered with leather, wrought in such a manner that the fleur-de-lis and lions stand forth with a boldness of relief and finish that, when we consider the material employed, is truly wonderful, at the same time possessing even to this day a nature so firm and tough, that it must have been an excellent substitute for metal. This is, beyond doubt, the celebrated *cuir bouilli* so often spoken of by the writers of the time. The surcoat, till closely examined, gives but little idea of its original splendour, as the whole is now in colour a dusky brown; it has short sleeves, and is made to lace up the centre of the back; its outward surface is velvet, upon which is richly embroidered with silk and gold the lions and fleurs-de-lis. The whole of the surcoat is quilted or gambased with cotton, to the thickness of three quarters of an inch,

in narrow longitudinal portions, and lined with linen. It is remarkable that there is no file either on this surcoat or the shield. The helmet is of iron, and has been lined within with leather; besides the sights for the eyes, it has on the right side in front a number of holes drilled in the form of a coronet, for the purpose of giving air to the wearer. The chapeau and leopard upon it appear to be formed with cloth, covered with a white composition. The leopard is gilt, and the cap painted red, the facing white, with ermine spots, the inside lined with velvet. The gauntlets are brass, and remarkable for their similarity to those represented on the hands of the effigy, with this exception, that they have, in addition, leopards standing erect on the knuckles. The leather which appears on the inner side is ornamentally worked up the sides of the fingers with silk. The sword is said to have been taken away by Oliver Cromwell. The sheath which contained it yet remains; it appears to be leather, has been painted red, and ornamented on the outer side with gilt studs. There is yet a portion of the belt with the buckle attached; this belt is not of leather, but of cloth, the eighth of an inch thick.—Stothard's *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*.

to retain her ascendancy over the old king to the last.¹

But the nation lost all thoughts of Alice Perrers in the great event which now took place. The Black Prince died on Trinity Sunday, the 8th day of June, 1376. It will appear, from our narrative, that this extraordinary man, though generally both merciful and generous, was not wholly exempt from the vices and barbarity of his times; but it is clear, from the universal popularity which he enjoyed at home, and from the frequent praises extorted from his bitterest enemies abroad, that he had endearing qualities, and many virtues beside those of gallantry and courage, in which he was probably never surpassed by a mortal being. So entirely had the nation been accustomed to look up to him, that though the melancholy event had long been expected, his death seemed to toll the knell of the country's glory.

The nation seemed well inclined to transfer all their affection to Prince Edward's only surviving legitimate son, Richard of Bordeaux, who was only in his tenth year; and a few days after the funeral, parliament petitioned the king to introduce the young prince among them, that he might receive the honours due to him as heir to the crown. The dislike of Prince Richard's uncle, the Duke of Lancaster, who was suspected of aiming at the throne, no doubt hastened this measure. With the full consent of the old king, the Archbishop of Canterbury presented the

young prince to the two Houses as "the fair and perfect image of his father," and the successor to all his rights. Lancaster, however, resumed all his former power; and as soon as the Black Prince was dead, the whole efficacy of the parliamentary opposition which he had directed ceased. Sir Peter de la Mare, the speaker of the Commons, was arrested, and William of Wykeham, the celebrated Bishop of Winchester, was deprived of his temporalities without trial, and dismissed the court. In the next parliament, which met on the 27th of January, 1377, the duke had a strong majority. Although forming a very weak minority, there still existed an opposition with spirit enough to speak and remonstrate; and while the Commons demanded, in right of the Great Charter, that Sir Peter de la Mare should be liberated or put upon his trial, the bishops demanded the same thing in behalf of their brother of Winchester. Wycliffe, a poor parish priest, the precursor of Huss, Luther, Calvin, and the great men who effected the Reformation, had long been preaching and writing against the abuses of the Catholic clergy; and his party, though small, already included some persons of the highest rank in England. It is generally stated that the Duke of Lancaster took up the cause of Wycliffe, who was lying under a dangerous prosecution, merely to spite the bench of bishops. On the day of trial, when the English reformer stood up to plead in the great church of St. Paul's, before Courtenay, Bishop of Lon-

¹ "It will be remembered by every one who has read our history, that in the latter years of Edward's life, his fame was tarnished by the ascendancy of the Duke of Lancaster and Alice Perrers. The former, a man of more ambition than his capacity seems to have warranted, even incurred the suspicion of meditating to set aside the heir of the crown when the Black Prince should have sunk into the grave. Whether he were wronged or not by these conjectures, they certainly appear to have operated on those most concerned to take alarm at them. A parliament met in April, 1376, wherein the general unpopularity of the king's administration, or the influence of the Prince of Wales, led to very remarkable consequences. After granting a subsidy, the commons, considering the evils of the country, through so many wars and other causes, and that the officers now in the king's service are insufficient, without farther assistance, for so great a charge, pray that the council be strengthened by the addition of ten or twelve bishops, lords, and others, to be constantly at hand, so that no business of weight should be despatched without the consent of all; nor smaller matters without that of four or six. The king pretended to come with alacrity into this measure, which was followed by a strict restraint on them and all other officers from taking presents in the course of their duty."—Hallam, *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 80.

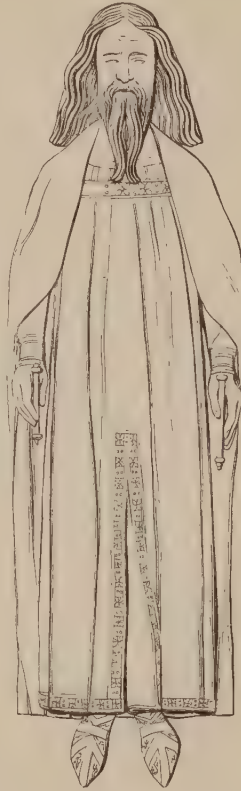
After relating some farther measures of this popular parliament, Mr. Hallam remarks that no House of Commons would have gone such lengths on the mere support of popular opinion unless instigated and encouraged by higher authority, which authority was in this case that of the Prince of Wales—the Black Prince. Consequently, on the premature death of that idol of the people, Lancaster recovered his influence, and the favourites whom the Commons had specially attacked returned to court. Nay, a parliament met next year which overthrew the

work of its predecessor, restored those who had been impeached, and repealed the ordinance against Alice Perrers. "So little security," says Mr. Hallam, "will popular assemblies ever afford against arbitrary power, when deprived of regular leaders and the consciousness of mutual fidelity." But parliamentary corruption seemed to be so common at elections, that with the rise or fall of parties at court, one might reckon on the most rapid changes in the proceedings of parliament. Still something was gained even by the House of Commons being employed as an engine for the subversion of an obnoxious party by attacking it on just grounds, and here Mr. Hallam judiciously remarks:—"The policy adopted by the Prince of Wales and Earl of March in employing the House of Commons as an engine of attack against an obnoxious ministry, was perfectly novel, and indicates a sensible change in the character of our constitution. In the reign of Edward II., parliament had little share in resisting the government; much more was effected by the barons through risings of their feudal tenantry. Fifty years of authority better respected—of law better enforced—had rendered these more perilous, and of a more violent appearance than formerly. A surer resource presented itself in the increased weight of the Lower House in parliament. And this indirect aristocratical influence gave a surprising influence to that assembly, and particularly tended to establish beyond question its control over public abuses. Is it less just to remark that it also tended to preserve the relation and harmony between each part and the other, and to prevent that jarring of emulation and jealousy, which, though generally found in the division of power between a noble and a popular estate, has scarcely ever caused a dissension, except in cases of little moment, between our two Houses of Parliament."—Hallam, *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 84.

don, he was accompanied and supported by the duke, and by his friend, the Lord Percy, marshal of England. These two great laymen were so ardent, that a violent altercation ensued in the church between them and the bishop: Lancaster, it is said, even threatened to drag the prelate out of the church by the hair of his head. The Londoners hotly resented the insult offered to their bishop. On the next morning a mob broke open the lord-marshal's house, and killed an unlucky priest whom they mistook for Earl Percy in disguise. They then proceeded to the Savoy, the duke's palace, and gutted it. The riot was so terrible that it interrupted the debates in parliament; and one of the last audiences of the great Edward was given at Shene (now Richmond) to the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, who were brought there to submit themselves to the duke, and crave pardon for their grievous offence.

When parliament resumed

business, they took into consideration the circumstance that the truce with France was on the point of expiring; and to provide for a renewal of the war, which seemed probable, they granted an aid in the shape of a poll-tax—a disastrous precedent. In the month of February the king had completed the fiftieth year of his reign, and he published a general amnesty for all minor offences. This was Edward's last public act. He spent the remaining four months of his life between Eltham Palace and the beautiful manor of Shene. Decay had fallen alike on body and spirit. The ministers and courtiers crowded round the Duke of Lancaster or round Prince Richard and his mother. The old man was left alone with his mistress: and even she, it is said, after drawing his valuable ring from his finger, abandoned him in his dying moments. Edward died at Shene, on the 21st of June, 1377, in the sixty-fifth year of his life,¹ and the fifty-first of his reign.²



EFFIGY OF EDWARD III. IN OLD AGE.³
From his tomb in Westminster Abbey.

¹ *Walsingham; Rot. Parl.; Rym.; Stow.*

² "A silent alteration had been wrought on the condition and character of the lower classes during the reign of Edward III. This was the effect of increased knowledge and refinement, which had been making a considerable progress for fully half a century, though they did not readily permeate the cold region of poverty and ignorance. It was natural that the country people, or outlandish folk, as they were called, should

repine at the exclusion from that enjoyment of competence and security for the fruits of their labour which the inhabitants of towns so fully possessed. The fourteenth century was, in many parts of Europe, the age when a sense of political servitude was most keenly felt. Thus the insurrection of the Jacquerie in France, about the year 1358, had the same character, and resulted in a great measure from the same causes as that of the English peasants in 1382. And we may account in a similar manner for the democratic tone of the French and Flemish cities, and for the prevalence of a spirit of liberty in Germany and Switzerland.

"I do not know whether we should attribute part of this revolutionary convulsion to the preaching of Wycliffe's disciples, or look upon both the one and the other as phenomena belonging to that particular epoch in the progress of society. New principles, both as to civil rule and religion, broke suddenly upon the uneducated mind, to render it bold, presumptuous, and turbulent. But at least I make little doubt that the dislike of ecclesiastical power, which spread so rapidly among the people

at this season, connected itself with a spirit of insubordination, and an intolerance of political subjection. Both were nourished by the same teachers—the lower secular clergy; and, however distinct we may think a religious reformation from a civil anarchy, there was a good deal common in the language by which the populace were inflamed to either one or the other. Even the Scripture moralities, which were then exhibited, and which

became the foundation of our theatre, afforded fuel to the spirit of sedition. The common original and common destination of mankind, with every other lesson of equality which religion supplies to humble or to console, were displayed in coarse and glaring features in these representations. The familiarity of such ideas has deadened their effect upon our minds; but when a rude peasant, surprisingly destitute of religious instruction during that corrupt age of the church, was led at once to these impressive truths, we cannot be surprised at the intoxication of mind they produced."—Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 265.

³ The effigy is of copper, gilt; it is in a grand simple style. The hair flows over the neck, and the beard is forked, as then worn. The mantle is fastened to the shoulder by a broad band, which extends across the breast. The dalmatica is underneath, gathered in a few broad and beautifully disposed folds. He has had a sceptre in either hand, denoting his double dominion.

CHAPTER VII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

RICHARD II., SURNAMED OF BORDEAUX.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1377—ABDICATED AND DEPOSED, A.D. 1399.

Richard II., son of the Black Prince, succeeds Edward III.—Duke of Lancaster suspected of aiming at the throne—The English coast invaded by the French—Lancaster's unsuccessful attempt to retaliate—Naval encounter between the English and Scots—Unsuccessful expedition to France—Discontent of the English commons at the capitation tax—The Wat Tyler insurrection—Its progress—Lawless proceedings of the insurgents—Their proposed terms—Interview of the king with their leader—Wat Tyler killed—Marriage of Richard II.—Condition of Flanders, and its civil wars—Flanders invaded by the Bishop of Norwich—Dissensions among the royal family of England—Castile invaded by the Duke of Lancaster—The Duke of Gloucester usurps the control of government—His tyrannical proceedings—Battle of Otterbourne—Richard II. suddenly asserts his right to rule—He visits Ireland—The Duke of Gloucester's mysterious imprisonment—His unexplained death—Obsequiousness of parliament—Quarrel between the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk—Both banished—The Duke of Hereford returns during Richard's absence—Richard at his return to England is forsaken and taken captive—He is deposed—Henry, Duke of Hereford, claims the crown—He is elected king.



HE funeral obsequies of the late king occupied some time, but on

July 16th, 1377, Richard was crowned

in Westminster Abbey. The ceremony was unusually splendid, but the fatigue and excitement were too much for the royal boy, who, after being anointed and crowned, was so completely exhausted that they were obliged to carry him in a litter to his apartment. After some rest he was summoned to the great hall, where he created four earls and nine knights, and partook of a magnificent banquet, which was followed by a ball, minstrelsy, and other somewhat turbulent festivities of the time.¹ Considerable pains were taken to spoil this young king from the first; such adulation and prostrations had not been seen before in England; and if the bishops and courtiers did not preach to the boy the "Divine right," they seem to have made

gravely of the intuitive wisdom, and of the heroism of a child not yet eleven years old. These



PORTRAIT OF RICHARD II.—From the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey.

men were indisputably answerable for much of the mischief that followed; but now the beauty of the young king's person, and the memory of his father, endeared him to his people, and a long time passed before they would think any ill of the son of their idol, the Black Prince. The Duke of Lancaster, the titular King of Castile, more popularly known under the name of "John of Gaunt,"² had long been suspected of the project of supplanting his nephew; but his unpopularity was great, and he yielded with tolerably good grace to the force of circumstances. As if on purpose to exclude the duke, no regular regency was appointed; but the morning after the coronation the prelates and barons chose, "in aid of the chancellor and treasurer," twelve permanent councillors, among whom not one of the king's

a near approach to that doctrine; and they spoke

uncles was named. John of Gaunt withdrew to

¹ *Walsingham*. He gives an elaborate account of the coronation.

² He was so called from the town of Ghent or Gand (then pronounced Gaunt), the place of his birth.

his castle of Kenilworth; but nothing could remove the popular belief that the duke aimed at the throne, and prophecies were afloat which, like other such predictions, probably helped to work their own fulfilment a few years later, when his son, Henry of Bolingbroke, dethroned his cousin Richard.

The French were not slow in trying to take the usual advantage of a minority. The truce

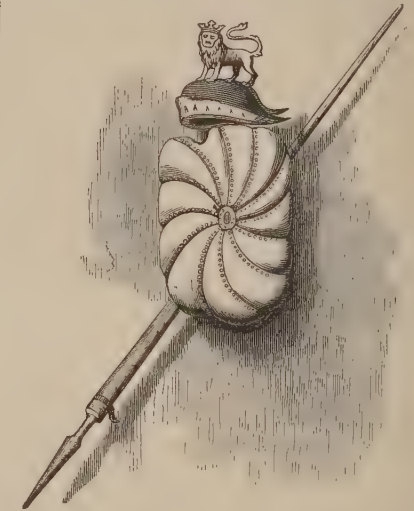
fairly, added to the unpopularity of the Lancastrian party.

A.D. 1378. John of Gaunt, however, obtained the command of the fleet, with nearly all the money which had been voted. He detached a squadron under the Earls of Arundel and Salisbury, who, in crossing the Channel,



JOHN OF GAUNT, DUKE OF LANCASTER.¹—Cotton MS. Nero D.VI.

expired before the death of Edward, and Charles refused to prolong it. In close union with Henry of Trastamara, who was provoked by the Duke of Lancaster continuing to assume the title of King of Castile, he got together a formidable fleet, and insulted and plundered the English coast before Richard had been a month on the throne. A parliament was assembled while the impression of these injuries was fresh; and in order to obtain supplies of money (the treasury being exhausted) it was stated that the realm was in greater danger than it had ever been. Supplies were voted, and, by borrowing greater sums of the merchants, government was enabled to put to sea a considerable fleet under the command of the Earl of Buckingham, one of the Duke of Lancaster's brothers. Buckingham met with little success, and his failure, however un-



SHIELD, CAP, AND LANCE OF JOHN OF GAUNT.²—From Hollar.

fell in with a Spanish fleet, and suffered considerable loss. The two earls, however, succeeded in their main object, and took possession of the town and port of Cherbourg, on the coast of Normandy, which were ceded to England by the King of Navarre, who was again engaged in a war with the French king, and who was glad to purchase the assistance of England at any price. In the month of July the duke sailed with the great fleet for the coast of Brittany, where the conquests of the French had reduced another ally of England almost to despair. The Duke of Brittany, son of the heroic Countess of Montfort, ceded to the English the important town and harbour of Brest, which Lancaster secured with a good garrison. The duke then invested St. Malo, but the constable Duguesclin marched with a very superior force to the relief of that place, and com-

¹ This prince is here delineated in the habit of high-steward of England, examining the right, and granting the commissions of the offices claimed by the nobility at the coronation of Richard II. It is highly probable that the figure kneeling is Thomas of Woodstock, high-constable of England. This Thomas was the seventh and youngest son of Edward III., and brother to John of Gaunt. He (John of Gaunt) is dressed in dark blue and white; the figure kneeling is in dark blue and red; the seat a kind of pink, and the back-ground red."—Strutt's *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*.

² These accoutrements were suspended over the tomb of John of Gaunt in Old St. Paul's, and are preserved by Hollar's

engraving. The shield is described in Bolton's *Elements of Armories* as follows:—"It is very convex towards the bearer, whether by warping through age or as made of purpose. It hath in dimension more than three quarters of a yard of length, and above half a yard in breadth. Next to the body is a canvas glued to a board; upon that board are broad thin axicles, slices or plates of horn nailed fast, and again over them twenty and six pieces of the like, all meeting or centring about a round plate of the same in the navel of the shield, and over all is a leather closed fast to them with glue, or other holding stuff, upon which his armories were painted; but now they, with the leather itself, have very lately and very lowly been utterly spoiled."

pelled the duke to return to his ships. The great fleet then came home. A striking circumstance which had occurred did not tend to brighten the duke's laurels. The Scots, receiving their impulse from France, renewed the war, surprised the castle of Berwick, made incursions into the northern counties, and equipped a number of ships to cruise against the English. Berwick was recovered soon after by the Earl of Northumberland; but one John Mercer, who had got together certain sail of Scots, French, and Spaniards, came to Scarborough, and made prize of every ship in that port. Upon learning the injuries done, and the still greater damage apprehended from these sea-rovers, John Philpot—"that worshipful citizen of London"—lamenting the negligence of government, equipped a small fleet at his own expense, and, without waiting for any commission, went in pursuit of Mercer. After a fierce battle, the doughty alderman took the Scot prisoner, captured fifteen Spanish ships, and recovered all the vessels which had been taken at Scarborough. On his return, Philpot was received in triumph by his fellow-citizens, but he was harshly handled by the council of government for the unlawfulness of acting as he had done without authority, he being but a private man.¹

In the month of October the parliament met at Gloucester, and in a very bad humour; the government wanted money—the commons a reform of abuses. The disputes ended in a compromise, the commons being allowed to inspect the accounts of the treasurers, which was granted as a matter of favour, but not of right, nor were they to consider it as a precedent: they also obtained copies of the papers, showing how the moneys they had voted had been raised; but this also was granted as if proceeding from the king's good pleasure. In the end they granted a new aid by laying additional duties on wool, wool-fells, hides, leather, and other merchandise. John de Montfort, the Duke of Brittany, had been driven to seek refuge in England, and the French king annexed his dominions to the crown of France. This premature measure reconciled all the factions in the country; and John was recalled by the unanimous voice of the Bretons. Leaving his wife, an aunt of King Richard,² in England, he embarked with 100 knights and men-at-arms, and 200 archers. Charles instantly prepared to send a French army into Brittany, and then the duke implored the assistance of a force from England. A considerable army was raised and sent to his relief, under the command

of the Earl of Buckingham. Buckingham landed at Calais, and from Calais he marched to Artois, Picardy, Champagne, and other inland provinces of France, plundering and devastating the open country. His progress was watched by far superior forces; but, firm to the system which the cautious Charles had adopted, the French would not risk a battle, and the English, after a circuitous march, reached the frontiers of Brittany without meeting any resistance. But the Earl of Buckingham was scarcely there when the King of France died, and the Bretons, who knew that a boy was to ascend the throne, thinking that they should no longer stand in need of their assistance, began to entertain as much jealousy and hatred of the English as they had hitherto done of the French. De Montfort was unable to resist the wishes of his subjects; and as the uncles of the young King Charles VI., who formed the regency, were willing to treat and to recognize his restoration, he concluded a peace with France, and engaged wholly to abandon the interests of England. Buckingham returned home in the following spring, glad to escape from the hostility of the Bretons.³

These proceedings had cost large sums of money, and the nation was sorely harassed by taxation, or by the way in which the taxes were levied. In an evil hour parliament passed a capitation tax: this was a repetition of the tax imposed in the last year of the preceding reign, but slightly modified, so as to make it fall less heavily on the poor. Every male and female of fifteen years of age was to pay three groats; but in cities and towns the aggregate amount was to be divided among the inhabitants according to their abilities, or in such a way that no individual should pay less than one groat, or more than sixty groats for himself and his wife. Where there was little or no registration, the fixing of the age was sure to lead to disputes: the collectors might easily take a boy or girl of fourteen to be fifteen, and poverty would induce many of the poor knowingly to make a mis-statement of the opposite kind. But the levying of this awkward tax might have passed over with nothing more serious than a few riots between the people and the tax-gatherers, had it not been for other circumstances involved in the mighty change which had gradually been taking place in the whole body of European society. The peasantry had been gradually emerging from slavery to freedom, and began to feel an ambition to become men, and to be treated as such by their superiors in the accidental circumstances of rank and wealth. In this transition state there were mistakes and atrocious crimes committed by

¹ Trussell, *Contin. of Daniel's Hist.*; Southey, *Naval Hist.*; *Walsing.*

² De Montford married Mary, the fourth daughter of Edward III. and Queen Philippa.

³ Froissart; *Archives de Nantes*, quoted by Daru.

both parties; but ignorance may be particularly pleaded in exculpation of the people, while that very ignorance, and the brutalized state in which they had been kept, were crimes or mistakes on the part of the upper classes, who had now to pay a horrible penalty. The enfranchisement of the peasantry, which was the real motive of the movement—for the rest was an after-thought, begotten in the madness of success, and the frenzy inspired in unenlightened minds by the first consciousness of power—was so sacred an object that nothing could disgrace or eventually defeat it. In Flanders, notwithstanding that there the more respectable burghers took a share in the insurrection, many frightful excesses had been committed upon the aristocracy, and in France the recent *Jacquerie* had been little else than a series of horrors. The attempt of the French peasantry offered a discouraging example to their neighbours in England; but the democratic party had had a long triumph in Flanders; and at this very moment the son of Van Artaveldt, the brewer of Ghent, with Peter du Bois, was waging a successful war against their court, their nobles, and the whole aristocracy of France. From the close intercourse between the two countries, many of the English must have been perfectly acquainted with all that was passing in Flanders, and from it have derived encouragement. A new revolt had also commenced in France, headed by the burghers and inhabitants of the towns; it began at Rouen, where the collectors of taxes and duties on provisions were massacred. Many of our historians have attributed part of the storm which was now gathering in England to the preaching of Wycliffe's disciples; but their original authorities seem to have been prejudiced witnesses against the church reformer. The convulsion is sufficiently accounted for by the actual condition of the people of England at this period. That condition, though far superior to the state of the French people, was still wretched and galling. A considerable portion of the peasantry were serfs or "villains," bound to the soil, and sold, or transmitted with the estates of the nobles and other landed proprietors. The present discontents and sufferings of the classes immediately above these serfs—the poor town's-people on the coast, more particularly, who had been plundered by the foreign fleets—no doubt contributed to hurry on the sanguinary crisis; but it was the poll-tax that was the proximate cause of the mischief. At first the tax was levied with mildness; but being farmed out to some courtiers who raised money upon it from Flemish and Lombard merchants, it was exacted by their collectors with great severity. But the obstinacy of the people kept pace with the harshness of the collectors; many of the rural districts refused payment. The

recusants were handled very sorely and uncourtously, "almost not to be spoken," in various places in Kent and Essex, "which some of the people taking in evil part, secretly took counsel together, gathered assistance, and resisted the exactors, rising against them, of whom some they slew, some they wounded, and the rest fled." Alarmed at these proceedings, government sent certain commissioners into the disturbed districts. One of these commissioners, Thomas de Bampton, sat at Brentwood, in Essex. The people of Fobbing, on being summoned before him, said that they would not pay one penny more than they had done, "whereupon the said Thomas did grievously threaten them, having with him two sergeants-at-arms of the king." These threats made matters worse; and when Bampton ordered his sergeants to arrest them, the peasants drove him and his men-at-arms away to London. Upon this Sir Robert Belknap, chief-justice of the common pleas, was sent into Essex to try the offenders; but the peasants forced him to flee, and chopped off the heads of the jurors and clerks of the commission. They stuck these heads upon poles and carried them through all the neighbouring townships and villages, calling upon all the poor to rise and join them. "The commons of England" (for so the peasants called themselves, and were called by others) wanted nothing but a leader, and this they soon found in a "riotous priest," who took the name of Jack Straw. In a few days, not only the whole agricultural population of Essex were up in arms, but their neighbours in Kent, Suffolk, and Norfolk were following the example. In Kent, an act of brutality on the part of a tax-gatherer, and an act of great imprudence (considering the prevailing excitement) on the part of a knight, fanned the flames of revolt. One of the collectors of the poll-money went to the house of one Walter the Tyler, in the town of Dartford, and demanded the tax for a young maiden, the daughter of Walter. The mother maintained that she was but a child, and not of the womanly age set down by the act of parliament: the collector said he would ascertain this fact, and he offered an intolerable insult to the girl. The maiden and her mother cried out, and the father, who was tiling a house in the town, ran to the spot and knocked out the tax-gatherer's brains. The neighbours applauded the deed, and every one prepared to support the Tyler. About the same time, Sir Simon Burley went to Gravesend with an armed force, claimed an industrious man living in that town as his escaped bondsman, and carried him off a prisoner to Rochester Castle. The commons of Kent now rose unanimously, and being joined by a strong body of the men of Essex, who crossed the Thames, they fell upon Rochester Castle, and

compelled the garrison to deliver up Sir Simon's serf with other prisoners. In the town of Maidstone, the insurgents appointed Wat the Tyler their captain, and then took out of prison, and had for their chaplain or preacher, "a wicked priest called John Ball," at that time confined on a charge of heresy.

On the Monday after Trinity Sunday, 1381, Wat Tyler entered Canterbury, and after terrifying the monks and the clergy of the cathedral, he forced the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the town to swear to be true to King Richard and the lawful commons of England: then beheading three rich men of Canterbury, Wat marched away towards London. On his march recruits came to him from all quarters of Kent and Sussex; and by the time he reached Blackheath (11th June) there were, it is said, 100,000 desperate men obeying the orders of Wat Tyler. While at this spot the widow of the Black Prince, the young king's mother, fell into their hands; but, in the midst of their fury they respected her, and after granting a few kisses to some dirty-faced and rough-bearded men, she was allowed, with her retinue and maids of honour, to proceed quietly to London. While this host was bivouacked about Blackheath and Greenwich, John Ball, the priest of Kent, kept them to their purpose by long orations or sermons, in which he insisted that all men were equal before God, and ought to be so before the laws—and so far he was right; but it appears he went on to recommend an equality of property, which is impracticable, and a destruction of all the upper classes, which was monstrous. His eloquence had such an effect on the multitude, that forgetting his own doctrines of equality, they vowed they would make him primate and chancellor of England. They occupied all the roads, killed such judges and lawyers as fell into their hands,¹ and made all the rest of the passengers swear to be true to King Richard and the commons, to accept no king whose name was "John,"² and to pay no tax except the fifteenths which had been paid by their forefathers. The young king, with his mother, with his cousin Henry of Bolingbroke, with Simon, Archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, Sir Robert Hales, treasurer, and some other members of the government, threw himself into the Tower of London. The Duke of Lancaster was in Scotland negotiating a peace. Some

of the council were of opinion that Richard should go and speak with the insurgents, but the archbishop and the treasurer strongly objected to this measure, and said that nothing but force should be used "to abate the pride of such vile rascals." On the 12th of June, however, Richard got into his barge, and descended the river as far as Rotherhithe, where he found a vast multitude drawn up along shore. "When they perceived the king's barge," says Froissart, "they set up shouts and cries as if all the devils from hell had come into their company." Startled and terrified, the persons with the king put about the boat, and, taking advantage of the rising tide, rowed back with all speed to the Tower. The commons, who had always professed the greatest attachment to Richard's person, now called aloud for the heads of all the ministers; and marching along the right bank of the river to Southwark, and then to Lambeth, destroyed the Marshalsea and King's Bench, and burned the furniture and all the records and books in the palace of the primate. At the same time the men of Essex advanced along the left bank of the river, and threatened the north-eastern part of London. Walworth, the mayor, caused the moveable part of London bridge to be drawn up, to prevent the men of Kent from crossing the river; but on the following day a passage was yielded to them through fear, and the insurgents entered the city, where they were presently joined by all the rabble. At first their demeanour was most moderate; "they did no hurt, they took nothing from any man, but bought all things they wanted at a just price." But the madness of drunkenness was soon added to political fury. The rich citizens, hoping to conciliate the mob, had set open their wine cellars for them; and thus excited, they went to the Savoy, the house of the Duke of Lancaster, broke into this palace, and set fire to it. To show that plunder was not their object, the leaders published a proclamation ordering that none, on pain of death, should secrete or convert to his own use anything that might be found there, but that plate, gold, and jewels should all be destroyed. It would have been well had the prohibition extended to the duke's wines, but they drank there immoderately, and thirty-two of the rioters, engaged in the cellars of the Savoy, were too drunk to remove in time, and were buried under the ruins of the house.

¹ In a note to his life of Lord Charles Sudbury, Lord Campbell says:—"Walsingham, in his interesting relation of Wat Tyler's rebellion, says:—'*Voluit*,' &c., which may be translated: 'For he wished to have obtained for himself and his followers a commission for other things; for the beheading of all lawyers and all, without exception, who were either learned in the law, or had any official connection with it. For he had taken it into his head that on all those learned in the laws being killed, every thing for the rest would be regulated according to the decree of

the commonalty, and that for the future there would be no law at all, or that if there were any, it would be framed according to their mere will.'"—*Walsingham*, p. 361.

² From the ill-omened career of the tyrant who had worn it, John was an unhappy name in English history; and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, was held guilty of all the oppressions the people had recently suffered. The notion, moreover, of his having designs on the crown was as prevalent as ever.

Newgate was then demolished; and the prisoners who had been confined there and in the Fleet, joined in the work of havoc. The Temple was burned, with all the books and ancient and valuable records it contained; and about the same time a detachment set fire to the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, in Clerkenwell. They now also proceeded to the shedding of blood. They probably felt that antipathy to foreigners common to uneducated people; but against the Flemings, who, it was popularly said, fattened on their miseries, they bore the most deadly rancour. The sanctuary of the church was disregarded, and thirty Flemings were dragged from the altar into the streets, and beheaded; thirty-two more were seized in the Vintry, and underwent the same fate. Some of the rich citizens were massacred in attempting to escape; those who remained did nothing for the defence of the city, and all that night London was involved in fire, murder, and debauchery.

On the morning of the 14th it was resolved to try the effect of concession and of promises. A proclamation was issued to a multitude that crowded Tower-hill, clamouring for the heads of the chancellor and treasurer; and they were told that, if they would retire quietly to Mile End, the king would meet them there, and grant all their requests. The gates were opened, the drawbridge was lowered, and Richard rode forth with a few attendants without arms. The commonalty from the country followed the king; "but all did not go, nor had they the same objects in view." On arriving at Mile End, Richard was surrounded by upwards of 60,000 peasants; but their demeanour was mild and respectful, and they presented no more than four demands, all of which, except the second, were wise and moderate. These four demands of the peasants were—1. The total abolition of slavery for themselves and their children for ever. 2. The reduction of the rent of good land to fourpence the acre. 3. The full liberty of buying and selling, like other men, in all fairs and markets. 4. A general pardon for all past offences. The king, with a gracious countenance, assured them that all these demands were granted; and, returning to town, he employed upwards of thirty clerks to make copies of the charter containing the four clauses. In the morning these copies were sealed and delivered, and then an immense body of the insurgents, consisting chiefly of the men of Essex and Hertfordshire, quietly withdrew from the capital: but more dangerous men remained behind. The people of Kent, who had been joined by all kinds of miscreants, had committed some atrocious deeds on the preceding day, while the king was marching to Mile End. Almost as soon as his back was turned, with a facility which ex-

cites a suspicion of treachery or disaffection on the part of the garrison,¹ they got into the Tower, where they cut off the heads of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor; Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer; William Apuldore, the king's confessor; Legge, one of the farmers of the tax, and three of his associates. The widow of the Black Prince, who was in the Tower, was completely at their mercy; but the *ci-devant* "Fair Maid of Kent" was again quit for a few unsavoury kisses. The horror of the scene, however, overpowered her; and she was carried by her ladies in a senseless state to a covered boat. As soon as he could, the king joined his mother, who had been finally conveyed to a house called the Royal Wardrobe.

Wat Tyler and the leaders with him, rejected the charter which the men of Essex had so gladly accepted. Another charter was drawn up, but it equally failed to please, and even a third, with still larger concessions, was rejected with contempt. The next morning the king left the Wardrobe and went to Westminster, where he heard mass. After this he mounted his horse, and, with a retinue of barons and knights, rode along the "causeway" towards London. On coming into West Smithfield he met Wat Tyler. The mayor and some other city magistrates had joined the king, but his whole company, it is said, did not exceed sixty persons. In the front of the abbey of St. Bartholomew, Richard drew rein, and said that he would not go thence until he had appeased the rioters. Wat Tyler said to his men, "Here is the king! I will go speak with him. Move not hand or foot unless I give you a signal." Wat, who had procured arms and a horse, rode boldly up to Richard, and went so near that his horse's head touched the flank of Richard's steed. "King!" said he, "dost thou see all those men there?" "I see them," replied the king, "why dost thou ask?" "Because they are all at my will, and have sworn by their faith and loyalty to do whatsoever I bid them." During this parley the Tyler played with his dagger, and, it is said by some, laid hold of Richard's bridle. It is probable that this uneducated man, intoxicated by his brief authority, was coarse and insolent enough; but to suppose that he intended to kill the king is absurd. Some say that Richard ordered his arrest; others that John Walworth, the lord-mayor, thinking that he intended to stab the king, rode up and plunged a short sword into his throat without any orders. All accounts agree in stating that, whether with sword, dagger, or mace, it was the mayor that

¹ There were 600 men-at-arms, and as many archers, in the Tower. The rebels or insurgents were miserably armed and equipped.

struck the first blow. Wat Tyler turned his horse's head to rejoin his men, but Ralph Standish, one of the king's esquires, thrust his sword through his side, "so that he fell flat on his back to the ground, and beating with his hands to and fro for a while, gave up his unhappy ghost." When the men of Kent saw his fall they cried out, "We are betrayed! They have killed our captain and guide!" and the foremost men in that disordered array began to put their arrows on the string. The personal intrepidity of the royal boy—for Richard was only in his fifteenth year—saved his life. He rode gallantly up to the insurgents and exclaimed, "What are ye doing, my lieges? Tyler was a traitor—I am your king, and I will be your captain and guide." On hearing these words, many slipped away—others remained; but, without a leader, they knew not what to do. The king rode back to his lords, and asked what steps he should take next. "Make for the fields," said the lord-mayor: "if we attempt to retreat or flee, our ruin is certain; but let us gain a little time, and we shall be assisted by our good friends in the city." The king and his party made for the northern road, and the mob, wavering and uncertain, followed him to the open fields about Islington. Here 1000 men-at-arms joined the king, under the command of Sir Robert Knowles. The insurgents now thinking their case hopeless, either ran away through the corn fields, or, throwing their bows on the ground, knelt and implored for mercy.

While these events were passing in London and its neighbourhood, the servile war had spread over a great part of England; but, as the nobles shut themselves up in their strong castles, little blood was shed. Henry Spencer, the Bishop of Norwich, despised this safe course; he armed his retainers, collected his friends, and kept the field against the insurgents of Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon. He surprised several bodies of peasants, and cut them to pieces: others he took prisoners, and sent straight to the gibbet or the block.¹

Soon after the death of Wat Tyler, Richard found himself at the head of 40,000 horse, and then he told the people that all his charters meant nothing, and that they must return to their old bondage. The men of Essex made a stand, but they were defeated with great loss. Then courts of commission were opened in different towns to condemn rather than to try the chief offenders. Jack Straw and John Ball, the strolling preachers, Lister and Westbroom, who had taken to themselves the titles of kings of the commons in Norfolk and Suffolk, with several hundred more, were executed. The whole num-

ber of executions is said to have amounted to 1500.

When parliament assembled, it was seen how little the upper classes of society were prepared for that recognition of the rights of the poor, to which, in the present day, no one could demur without incurring the suspicion of insanity. The king had annulled, by proclamation to the sheriffs, the charters of manumission which he had granted to the insurgents, and this revocation was warmly approved by both lords and commons. There was a talk, indeed, about the propriety and wisdom of abolishing villanage; but the notion was scouted, and the owners of serfs showed that they neither doubted the right by which they held their fellow-creatures in a state of slavery, nor would hesitate to increase the severity of the laws affecting them. They passed a law by which "riots, and rumours, and other such things," were turned into high treason.² But this parliament evidently acted under the impulses of panic and of revenge for recent injuries. The commons, however, presented petitions calling for redress of abuses in the administration: but they only attributed the late insurrection to the extortions of purveyors—to the venality and rapacity of the judges and officers of the courts of law—to the horrible doings of a set of banditti called *maintainers*—and to the heavy weight of recent taxation.

The king being now in his sixteenth year, was married to Anne of Bohemia, daughter of the late Emperor Charles IV., an accomplished and excellent princess, who deserved a better and a wiser husband.

At this time there were two popes, Urban VI., an Italian, and Clement VII., a Frenchman. France, Scotland, Spain, Sicily, and Cyprus were for Clement; England, Flanders, and the rest of Europe for Urban. The Italian pope, after looking about for a brave and sure champion, fixed his eyes on the warlike Bishop of Norwich, who had so lately distinguished himself in the servile war of England. At the same time, the Flemings, sorely pressed by the French, renewed their applications to England for assistance. After preaching a sort of crusade, the Bishop of Norwich asked in the pope's name a tenth on church property, obtained the produce of a fifteenth on lay property, and raised a small army, and so passed over the Channel to make war.³ The war in which this military churchman engaged, presented two aspects: under one, it was a sacred crusade for the pope, but under the other, it was a conflict waged in union with, and for the rights and independence of the burghers and commons of Flanders against the aristocracy. After the

¹ Froissart; Knyghton; Walsingham; Stow; Holinshed.

² Stat. Rich. II. c. 7.

³ Froissart.

murder of James van Artaveldt, the cause of democracy declined; and thirty-six years after that event, the Flemings were almost reduced to extremities. In this state they fixed all their hopes on Van Artaveldt's son, who had been named Philip, after his godmother Philippa, the wife of Edward III. Philip van Artaveldt, warned by his father's fate, had passed his life in a quiet and happy retirement; and in 1381 he was dragged, with his eyes open to the worst consequences, to head the council and lead the armies of the dispirited people. For about fifteen months, which included the whole of his public life, his career was as brilliant as a romance: but in the month of November, 1382, he was defeated in the sanguinary battle of Rosebeque, and (in this more fortunate than his father) was killed by the enemy. After that dreadful defeat, the cause of the commons again declined.¹

Affairs were in this state at the arrival of the English force. The Bishop of Norwich led his little army to Gravelines, which he stormed and took: he next defeated an army of the Count of Flanders, took the town of Dunkirk, and occupied the whole coast as far as Sluis: he then marched, with an impetuosity which astonished more regular warriors, to lay siege to Ypres, where he was joined by 20,000 of the men of Ghent. Meanwhile, the count implored the protection of the young King of France, who sent a splendid army across the frontier. The bishop made one furious assault; but, on the approach of the French, he ran back to the coast. In England his failure was attributed to the jealousy of the Duke of Lancaster.

A.D. 1384. In her jealousy of the powers of his uncles, the Princess of Wales had surrounded her son with ministers and officers who were chiefly men of obscure birth. Richard, who lived almost entirely in the society of these individuals, contracted an exclusive affection for them, and, as soon as he was able, he began to heap wealth and honours upon them. Hence there arose perpetual bickerings between the favourites and the king's uncles. A dark mystery will for ever hang over most of these transactions. Once the Duke of Lancaster was obliged to hide himself in Scotland, and he would not return until Richard publicly proclaimed his conviction of his innocence. In the month of April of this year, just after the duke had done good service against the Scots, the parliament met at Salisbury. One day during the session, John Latimer, a Carmelite friar, a native of Ireland, gave Richard a parchment, containing the particulars of a conspiracy to place the crown

on the head of his uncle. The king communicated the contents to Lancaster, who swore that they were all utterly false, and insisted that his accuser should be placed in safe custody to be examined by the council. The monk was accordingly committed to the care of Sir John Holland, the king's half-brother, who is said to have strangled him with his own hands during the night. The Lord Zouch, whom the friar had named as the author of the memorial declared upon his oath that he knew nothing about it, and the matter dropped.

Truces with Scotland were prolonged till the month of May, 1385, when the French sent John de Vienne, lord-admiral of France, with 1000 men-at-arms, and 40,000 francs in gold, to induce the Scots to make an inroad into England. The French knights soon complained bitterly of the pride of the Scots, the poverty of the land, and the lack of amusements. At last, the French and Scots broke into Northumberland; but Richard, who now took the field for the first time, came up from York, and forced them to retire. With 80,000 men, Richard crossed the Borders, burned Edinburgh, Perth, and other towns; but then he was obliged to retreat; for information was brought that John de Vienne had crossed the Solway Frith, and was besieging Carlisle. The French and Scots marched off by the west, and returned towards Edinburgh, boasting that they had done as much mischief in England as the English had done in Scotland. During this campaign, the royal quarters were disgraced by a vile murder. At York, during the advance, Sir John Holland assassinated one of the favourites, and the grief, shame, and anxiety, caused by this event, broke the heart of his mother, the Princess of Wales, who died a few days after. After the campaign, the king made great promotions to quiet the jealousy of his relations; honours fell upon them, but these were nothing compared to the honours and grants conferred on his own minions. Henry of Bolingbroke, Lancaster's son, was made Earl of Derby; the king's uncles, the Earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, were created Dukes of York and Gloucester. As Richard had no children, he declared that his lawful successor would be Roger, Earl of March,² grandson of Lionel, Duke of Clarence.³

Soon after these arrangements, the Duke of Lancaster was enabled to depart, to press his

² Froissart; Walsing.; Knyght.; Rot. Parl.; Rymer.

³ "The character of Richard II. was now developing itself, and the hopes excited by his remarkable presence of mind in confronting the rioters on Blackheath were rapidly destroyed. Not that he was wanting in capacity, as has been sometimes imagined. For if we measure intellectual power by the greatest exertion it ever displays rather than by its average results, Richard II. was a man of considerable talents. He possessed,

¹ Froissart; Barante, *Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne*.

claim to the throne of Castile. A disputed succession in Portugal, and a war between that country and Spain, seemed to open a road for him. The king was evidently glad to have him out of England. Parliament voted supplies; and, in the month of July, the duke set sail with an army of 10,000 men. Lancaster landed at Coruña, opened a road through Galicia into Portugal, and formed a junction with the king of that country, who married Philippa, the duke's eldest daughter by his first wife. At first, the duke was everywhere victorious; but, in a second campaign, his army was almost annihilated by disease and famine; and his own declining health forced him to retire to Guienne. In the end, however, he concluded an advantageous treaty. His daughter Catherine, the grand-daughter of Pedro the Cruel, was married to Henry, the heir of the reigning King of Castile. Two hundred thousand crowns were paid to the duke for the expenses he had incurred; and the King of Castile agreed to pay 40,000 florins by way of annuity to the Duke and Duchess of Lancaster. The issue of John of Gaunt reigned in Spain for many generations.

Encouraged by the absence of the duke, the French determined to invade England, and for this purpose upwards of 100,000 men, including nearly all the chivalry of France, were encamped in Flanders, and an immense fleet lay in the port of Sluis ready to carry them over. Charles VI., who determined to take a part in the expedition, went to Sluis, and even embarked; but this young king was entirely in the power of his intriguing and turbulent uncles, who seem to have determined (not unwisely, perhaps) that the expedition should not take place, and in the end the army was disbanded. The fleet was dispersed by a tempest, and many of the ships were taken by the English.

Richard gained no increase of comfort by the absence of Lancaster, whose younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester, was far harsher than John of Gaunt had ever been. At the meeting of parliament, Gloucester headed an opposition which determined to drive Richard's favourites De la

Pole and De Vere from office. They began with De la Pole, who, after a weak attempt of the king to save him, was dismissed. After his expulsion, the commons impeached him of high crimes and misdemeanours, and he was sentenced to pay a heavy fine and to be imprisoned. Gloucester and his party then said that no good government could be expected until a permanent council was chosen by parliament—a council like those which had been appointed in the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward II. Richard said he would never consent to any such measure. The commons then coolly produced the statute by which Edward II. had been deposed; and one of the lords reminded him that his life would be in danger if he persisted in his refusal. Upon this, Richard yielded, and the government was substantially vested for a year in the hands of eleven commissioners, bishops and peers, to whom were added the three great officers of the crown. At the head of all was placed the king's uncle Gloucester.¹

The king was now twenty years of age, but he was reduced to as mere a cipher as when he was but eleven. In the month of August in the following year, 1387, acting under the advice of De la Pole and Tresilian, the chief-justice, he assembled a council at Nottingham, and submitted to some of the judges this question—whether the commission of government appointed by parliament, and approved of under his own seal, were legal or illegal? These judges certified under their hands and seals that the commission was illegal, and that all those who introduced the measure were liable to capital punishment. On the 11th of November following, the king, who had returned to London, was alarmed by the intelligence that his uncle Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Nottingham, the constable, admiral, and marshal of England, were approaching the capital with 40,000 men.² The decision of the judges had been kept secret, but one of the number betrayed it to a friend of Gloucester. As soon as Richard's cousin, the Earl of Derby, Lancaster's son and heir, learned the approach of his uncle of Gloucester, he quitted the court, went

along with much dissimulation, a decisive promptitude in seizing the critical moment for action. Of this quality, besides his celebrated behaviour towards the insurgents, he gave striking evidence in several circumstances which we shall have shortly to notice. But his ordinary conduct belied the abilities which on these rare occasions shone forth, and rendered them ineffectual for his security. Extreme pride and violence, with an inordinate partiality for the most worthless favourites, were his predominant characteristics. In the latter quality, and in the events of his reign, he forms a pretty exact parallel to Edward II. Scroop, lord-chancellor, who had been appointed in parliament, and was understood to be irremovable without its concurrence, lost the great seal for refusing to set it to some prodigal grants. Upon a slight quarrel with Archbishop Courtney, the king ordered his temporalities to be seized, the execution of which Michael de la Pole, his new chancellor, and a favourite of

his own, could hardly prevent. This was accompanied with indecent and outrageous expressions of anger, unworthy of his station, and of those whom he insulted."—*Hallam*.

¹ *Rot. Parl.*

² "At such a slow pace did news travel in those days, that, on the night of the 10th of November, Richard and his justice went to bed thinking that their enemies were annihilated, and next morning they were awoken by the intelligence that a large force, under the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Nottingham, was encamped at Highgate. The confederate lords, hearing of the proceedings at Nottingham, had immediately rushed to arms and followed Richard towards London, with an army of 40,000 men. The walls of London were sufficient to repel a sudden assault; and a royal proclamation forbade the sale of provisions to the rebels, in the hope that famine might disperse them."—Lord Campbell's *Justices*, p. 100.

to Waltham Cross, and there joined him. The members of the council of eleven were there already. On Sunday, the 17th of November, the duke entered London with an irresistible force, and "appealed" of treason the Archbishop of York, De Vere, now Duke of Ireland, De la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, chief-justice, and Sir Nicholas Brember, knight, and lord-mayor of London. The favourites instantly took to flight. De la Pole, the condemned chancellor, who had returned to court, succeeded in reaching France, where he died soon after; De Vere, the Duke of Ireland, got to the borders of Wales, where he received royal letters, authorizing him to raise an army and begin a civil war. He collected a few thousand men, but was met near Radcot, and thoroughly defeated by Gloucester and Henry of Bolingbroke. He then fled to Ireland, and afterwards to Holland, where he died. The Archbishop of York was seized in the north, but was allowed to escape by the people: he also finished his days not long after, in the humble condition of a parish priest in Flanders. After the defeat of his army under De Vere, Richard lost all heart, and retired into the Tower. His uncle Gloucester, who believed on pretty good grounds that the king and the favourites had intended to put him to death, showed little mercy. He drove every friend of Richard away from the court, and threw some ten or twelve of them into prison. The "wonderful parliament," which met in the beginning of the year 1388, carried out the impeachments. The five obnoxious councillors were found guilty of high treason, their property was confiscated, and Tresilian and Brember, the mayor, were executed, to the joy of the people.

The judges who had signed and sealed the answer at Nottingham were next impeached. Their only plea was, that they had acted under terror of the king and the favourites: they were capitally convicted; but the bishops interceded in their behalf, and, instead of being sent to the scaffold, they were sent into exile for life in Ireland. Blake, however, who had drawn up the questions at Nottingham, was executed, and so was Usk, who had been secretly appointed undersheriff to seize the person of the Duke of Gloucester. The king's confessor, who swore that no threats had been used with the judges at Nottingham, was also condemned to exile in Ireland. It was hoped that the shedding of blood would stop here, but such was not the intention of Gloucester. After the Easter recess he impeached four knights, and these unfortunate men were all convicted and executed.¹

For about twelve months Richard left the whole power of government in the hands of his

uncle and of the council or commission. It was during this interval that the battle of Otterbourne, famous in song under the name of Chevy Chase, was fought (15th August, 1388) between the Scottish Earl Douglas, and the Lord Harry Percy, the renowned Hotspur. Douglas was slain, but the English were in the end driven from the field, after both Hotspur and his brother, Lord Ralph Percy, had been taken prisoners. At length Richard gave a proof of that decisive promptitude which visited his mind at uncertain intervals. In a great council held in the month of May, 1389, he suddenly addressed his uncle—"How old do you think I am?" "Your highness," replied Gloucester, "is in your twenty-second year." "Then," added the king, "I am surely of age to manage my own affairs. I have been longer under the control of guardians than any ward in my dominions. I thank ye, my lords, for your past services, but I want them no longer." Before they could recover from their astonishment he demanded the great seals from the archbishop, and the keys of the exchequer from the Bishop of Hereford; and within a few days he drove Gloucester from the council without meeting with any opposition. The chief administration of affairs was, however, left to another uncle, the Duke of York, and to his cool-headed and calculating cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke.²

Lancaster returned from the Continent after an absence of more than three years, and, from circumstances with which we are not sufficiently acquainted, he became all at once exceedingly moderate and popular. He conducted his brother Gloucester and the nobles of his party to court, where an affecting reconciliation took place. The duke was re-admitted into the council; Lancaster was created Duke of Aquitaine for life,³ and intrusted with the negotiation of a peace with France. A truce was concluded for four years. This truce also embraced Scotland, the king of which country, Robert II., had died the 19th of April, 1390, leaving the crown to his eldest son John, Earl of Carrick, who took the name of Robert III.⁴

After the death of "the good A.D. 1394. Queen Anne"—as Richard's wife had long been called by the English people—which happened at Shene, on Whit Sunday, the king collected a considerable army, and crossed over to Ireland, where the native chiefs had been for some time making head against the English,

² *Walsingham; Knyghton; Rot. Parl.*

³ This grant was subsequently recalled.

⁴ The same popular prejudice against the name of John, at least for a king, which we have seen displayed by the English followers of Wat Tyler, was also entertained at this time by the Scots. It is commonly traced to the unfortunate reigns of John of England, John of France and John Balliol.

¹ *Rot. Parl.; Knyghton.*

and where some of the English themselves had revolted. This campaign was a bloodless one: the Irish chiefs submitted; Richard entertained them with great magnificence, knighted some of them, and, after spending a winter in the country and redressing some abuses, he returned home, and was well received by his subjects. Although the council was divided on the matter, Richard at last decided on contracting a matrimonial alliance with France; and in the month of October, 1396, he passed over to the Continent and married Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI.—a princess, a miracle of beauty and of wit, according to Froissart, but who was little more than seven years old. The blessing of a peace, or at least of a truce, for twenty-five years, was the consequence of this union, and yet the marriage was decidedly unpopular in England. The Duke of Gloucester had always opposed it. It is said that the duke's declamations were the more vehement, because he suspected what would follow to himself; and it is certain that Richard asked assistance from Charles VI., to be given in case of need, and that this alliance with France gave him courage to undertake a scheme which his deep revenge had nourished for many years. The year after his marriage, in the month of July, Richard struck his blow with consummate treachery. After entertaining him at dinner, in his usual bland manner, he arrested the Earl of Warwick. Two days after, he induced the primate to bring his brother, the Earl of Arundel, to a friendly conference; and then Arundel was arrested. He had thus got two of his victims: to entrap the third, and the greatest of all, he went with a gay company to Pleshy Castle, in Essex, where his uncle Gloucester was residing with his family. The duke, suspecting no mischief, came out to meet the royal guest, and, while Richard entertained the duchess with friendly discourse, Gloucester was seized by the earl-marshal, carried with breathless speed to the river, put on board ship, and conveyed to Calais. A few days after, Richard went to Nottingham Castle, and there, taking his uncles Lancaster and York, and his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, by surprise, he made them, with other noblemen, put their seals to a parchment, by which Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, were "appealed" of treason in the same manner that they had appealed the king's favourites ten years before. A parliament was then summoned to try the three traitors, for so they were now called by men like Henry of Bolingbroke, who had been partakers in all their acts, and by others who had supported them in their boldest measures.

On the 17th of September, Richard went to parliament with 600 men-at-arms, and a body-

guard of archers. The commons, who had received their lesson, began by impeaching Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, of high treason. Fearing the primate's eloquence, Richard artfully prevented his attending in the lords, and he was, at the king's will, banished for life. On the following day, his brother, the Earl of Arundel, was condemned and beheaded on Tower-hill. On the 21st of September, a writ was issued to the earl-marshal, governor of Calais, commanding him to bring the body of his prisoner, the Duke of Gloucester, before the king in parliament. On the 24th (and three days were probably then scarcely enough for a king's messenger to travel to Calais and back) an answer was returned to the lords, that the earl-marshal could not produce the duke, for that he, being in custody in the king's prison in Calais, had died there. This parliament made no inquiries. The lords appellants demanded judgment; the commons seconded their demand, and the dead duke was declared to be a traitor, and all his property was confiscated to the king. On the next day, a document, purporting to be Gloucester's confession taken by Sir William Rickhill, one of the justices who had been sent over to Calais in the preceding month for that sole purpose, as was pretended, was produced and read in parliament.¹ On the 28th, Gloucester's friend, the Earl of Warwick, was brought before the bar of the House: the earl pleaded guilty, but his sentence was commuted into perpetual imprisonment in the Isle of Man. In passing sentence on these nobles, there were many who condemned themselves. After their recent experience of the king, nothing but fatuity could make them repose confidence in any of his assurances, or in the steadiness of parliament; but for want of any better security, they extracted from Richard a declaration of their own innocence in regard to all past transactions. This declaration was made in full parliament. After this the king, who was very fond of high-sounding titles, made several promotions of his nobles. Among these, his cousin Henry Bolingbroke was created Duke of Hereford.²

Gloucester's "wonderful" parliament of 1388 had taken an oath that nothing there passed into law should be changed or abrogated; and now the very same men, with a few exceptions, took the same oath to the decisions of the present parliament, which undid all that was then

¹ Rickhill saw the duke alive at Calais on the 7th of September. The real object of his mission, and the real circumstances of Gloucester's death, are involved in a mystery never likely to be cleared up. But it seems that the universal impression, not only in England, but also on the Continent, was correct, and that he was secretly murdered, and in a manner not to disgrace the corpse, which was afterwards delivered to his family.

² *Rot. Parl.*; *Froissart*; *Knyghton*.

done. The answers of the judges to the questions put at Nottingham, which had then been punished as acts of high treason, were now pronounced to be just and legal. It was declared high treason to attempt to repeal or overturn any judgment now passed; and the issue made of all the persons who had been condemned were declared for ever incapable of sitting in parliament or holding office in council. "These violent ordinances, as if the precedent they were then overturning had not shielded itself with the same sanction, were sworn to by parliament upon the cross of Canterbury, and confirmed by a national oath, with the penalty of excommunication denounced against its infringers."¹ Before this obsequious parliament separated, it set the dangerous precedent of granting the king a subsidy, *for life*, upon wool; and a commission was granted for twelve peers and six commoners to sit after the dissolution, and examine and determine certain matters as to them should seem best. These eighteen commissioners usurped the entire rights of the legislature: they imposed a perpetual oath on prelates and lords, to be taken before obtaining possession of their estates, that they would maintain the statutes and ordinances made by this parliament, or afterwards by the lords and knights having power committed to them by the same; and they declared it to be high treason to disobey any of their ordinances. Thus, with the vote of a revenue for life, and with the power of parliament notoriously usurped by a junto of his creatures, Richard became as absolute as he could wish. "In those days," says Froissart, "there was none so great in England that durst speak against anything that the king did. He had a council suitable to his fancies, who exhorted him to do what he *list*: he kept in his wages 10,000 archers, who watched over him day and night." This high and absolute bearing was, however, of short duration. The people were soon disgusted with Richard, who appeared only to crave power and money that he might lavish them on his minions, and indulge himself in an indolent and luxurious life.

A general murmur was soon raised against the late parliament: people said that it had not been freely chosen; that it had with bad faith and barbarity revoked former pardons and connived at illegal exactions; that it had been a party to the shameful impunity of the murderers of Gloucester; and that it had assisted the king in destroying the liberties of the kingdom. Matters were approaching this state when the mutual distrusts of two great noblemen, and the fears they both entertained of the cunning and vindictive spirit of the king, hurried on the catastrophe.

Henry of Bolingbroke, now Duke of Hereford, and Mowbray, now Duke of Norfolk, were the only two that remained of the five appellants of 1386. To all outward appearance they enjoyed the favour and confidence of the king; but they both knew that their original sin had never been forgiven. The Duke of Norfolk seems to have been the more alarmed or the more communicative of the two. Overtaking the Duke of Hereford, who was riding on the road between Windsor and London, in the month of December, during the recess of parliament, Mowbray said, "We are about to be ruined." Henry of Bolingbroke asked, "For what?" and Mowbray said, "For the affair of Radcot Bridge." "How can that be after his pardon and declaration in parliament?" "He will annul that pardon," said Mowbray, "and our fate will be like that of others before us." And then he went on to assure Hereford that there was no trust to be put in Richard's promises or oaths, or demonstrations of affection, and that he knew of a certainty that he and his minions were then compassing the deaths of the Dukes of Lancaster, Hereford, Albemarle, and Exeter, the Marquis of Dorset, and of himself. Henry then said, "If such be the case, we can never trust them;" to which Mowbray rejoined, "So it is, and though they may not be able to do it now, they will contrive to destroy us in our houses ten years hence."²

This reign, as abounding in dark and treacherous transactions, is rich in historical doubts. It is not clear how this conversation was reported to Richard, but the damning suspicion rests upon Henry of Bolingbroke. When parliament met after the recess, in the month of January, 1398, Hereford was called upon by the king to relate what had passed between the Duke of Norfolk and himself; and then Hereford rose and presented in writing the whole of the conversation. Norfolk did not attend in parliament, but he surrendered on proclamation, called Henry of Lancaster a liar and false traitor, and threw down his gauntlet. Richard ordered both parties into custody, and instead of submitting the case to parliament, referred it to a court of chivalry, which, after many delays, awarded that wager of battle should be joined at Coventry, on the 16th of September. As the time approached, Richard was heard to say, "Now I shall have peace from henceforward;" but, on the appointed day, when the combatants were in the lists, and had couched their lances, throwing down his warder between them, he took the battle into his own hands. After consulting with the committee of parliament—the base eighteen—to the bewilderment of all men, he condemned Hereford to banishment for ten years, and Norfolk for life. Here-

¹ Hallam, *Middle Ages*.

² *Rot. Parl.* This is the account which Hereford gave in parliament.

ford went no further than France: Norfolk made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and not long after died broken-hearted at Venice. On the death of the Duke of Lancaster, which happened about three months after the exile of his son Hereford, Richard seized his immense estates and kept them, notwithstanding his having, before Hereford's departure out of England, granted him letters-patent, permitting him to appoint attorneys to represent him and take possession of his lawful inheritance.¹ But now there was no law in the land except what proceeded from the will of Richard, who, after ridding himself, as he fancied, for ever, of the two great peers, set no limits to his despotism. He raised money by forced loans; he coerced the judges, and in order to obtain fines, he outlawed seventeen counties by one stroke of the pen, alleging that they had favoured his enemies in the affair of Radcot Bridge. He was told by some friends that the country was in a ferment, and that plots and conspiracies were forming against him; but the infatuated man chose this very moment for leaving England. In the end of the month of May, 1399, he sailed from Milford Haven with a splendid fleet. He took the field against the Irish on the 20th of June, and a fortnight after, his cousin, the Duke of Hereford, landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. The duke had not escaped from France without difficulty, and all the retinue he brought with him consisted of the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury, the son of the late Earl of Arundel, fifteen knights and men-at-arms, and a few servants.

But the wily Henry was strong in the affections of the people; and both he and the archbishop had many personal friends among the nobles. As soon as he landed, he was joined by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; and as he declared that he only came for the estates belonging to his father, he was speedily reinforced by many who did not foresee, and who, at that stage, would not have approved, his full and daring scheme. He marched with rapidity towards the capital, and arrived there at the head of 60,000 men. His uncle, the Duke of York, quitted the city before his approach, and, as regent of the kingdom during Richard's absence, raised the royal standard at St. Alban's. The Londoners received Hereford as a deliverer. A general panic prevailed among the creatures of Richard, some of whom shut themselves up in Bristol Castle. The Duke of York, with such forces as he could collect, moved towards the west, there to await the arrival of Richard. After staying a few days in London, Henry marched in the same direction, and so

rapid was his course that he reached the Severn on the same day as the regent. The Duke of York had discovered before this that he could place no reliance on his troops: and probably his resentment for the murder of his brother Gloucester was greater than his affection for his nephew Richard. Henry of Bolingbroke was also his nephew, and when he agreed to meet that master-mind in a secret conference, the effect was inevitable. York joined his forces to those of Henry, and helped him to take Bristol Castle. Three members of the standing committee of eighteen, the Earl of Wiltshire, Bussy, and Green, were found in the castle, and executed without trial. Henry then marched towards Chester, but York stopped at Bristol.²

For three weeks Richard remained ignorant of all that was passing. Contrary winds and storms are made to bear the blame of this omission, but it is probable that some of the messengers had proved unfaithful. When he received the astounding intelligence, his first remark was, that he sorely regretted not having put Henry to death, as he might have done. From Dublin he despatched the Earl of Salisbury with part of his forces, and then he repaired himself to Waterford, with the intention of crossing over with the rest. Salisbury landed at Conway, and was reinforced by the Welsh; but the king did not appear so soon as was expected, and the earl was soon deserted by his whole army, both Welsh and English. A few days after, when Richard at last arrived at Milford Haven, he was stunned by bad news of every kind; and on the second day after his landing, the few thousands of troops which he had brought with him deserted him almost to a man. At midnight, disguised as a priest, and accompanied only by his two half-brothers, Sir Stephen Scroop, his chancellor, the Bishop of Carlisle, and nine other individuals, he fled to Conway, to seek refuge in the strong castle there. At Conway he found the Earl of Salisbury and about one hundred men, who, it appears, had already consumed the slender stock of provisions laid up in the fortress. Richard then despatched his two half-brothers to Chester, Henry's head-quarters, to ascertain what were his intentions. Henry put them under arrest. Soon after sending them, Richard rode to the castles of Beaumaris and Caernarvon: they were both bare of provisions, and he returned in despair to Conway Castle. A romantic and touching story is usually told, on the faith of two anonymous manuscripts, according to which Richard was lured from his stronghold by the ingenious treachery of the Earl of Northumberland; but we are inclined to believe that famine

¹ *Rot. Parl.*; *Rymer*.² *Walsingham*.

drove him from Conway Castle, and that, in a hopeless state, he surrendered to Northumberland, two justices, two doctors of laws, with many others, ecclesiastics and laymen, waited on the king in the Tower, who there, *according to the reporters*, made, "with a cheerful countenance," a formal renunciation of the crown, acknowledged his unfitness for government, and gave his royal ring to his cousin Henry. Whether all this passed as thus stated by the triumphant party of Lancaster is of little consequence, and Henry was too sagacious to rest his title to the crown upon what could never be considered in any other light than that of a compulsory resignation. On Tuesday,



CONWAY CASTLE. 1.—Drawn by J. S. Prout, from his sketch on the spot.

land. At the castle of Flint, Henry of Bolingbroke met him and bent his knee, as to his sovereign. "Fair cousin of Lancaster," said Richard, uncovering his head, "you are right welcome." "My lord," answered Henry, "I am come somewhat before my time; but I will tell you the reason. Your people complain that you have ruled them harshly for twenty-two years: but, if it please God, I will help you to rule them better." The fallen king replied, "Fair cousin, since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth me well." The trumpets then sounded to horse, and, mounted on a miserable hackney, Richard rode a prisoner to Chester. No one appeared to pity his fate. At Lichfield, while on the way from Chester to the capital, the king eluded the vigilance of his guards, and escaped out of a window; but he was retaken, and from that time treated with greater severity, and on their arrival in London he was thrown into the Tower. While at Chester, writs were issued in Richard's name for the meeting of parliament on the 29th of Sept. On the day of that meeting, a deputation of lords and commons, which included the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of

the 30th day of September, the parliament having met in Westminster Hall, the resignation of Richard was read. All the members then stood up, and signified their acceptance of it. Thirty-three articles of impeachment against Richard were afterwards read, and being declared guilty on every charge, his deposition was pronounced. Thus a deposition was added to an act of abdication.²

As soon as eight commissioners had proclaimed the sentence of deposition, Henry approached the throne, and having solemnly crossed himself, said, "In the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, because I am descended by right line of blood from the good lord, King Henry III., and through that right, God of his grace hath sent me, with help of my kin and of my friends, to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default of government and undoing of the good laws." He knelt for a few minutes in prayer on the steps, and then was seated on the throne by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.³

¹ This castle, one of the finest in Britain, was founded in 1284 by Edward I. It is in form nearly a parallelogram, extending along the verge of a precipitous rock on the south-east side of the town: two of the sides are within the town walls, the third overhangs the estuary of the Conway, and the fourth a small stream tributary to the Conway. The walls are of from 12 ft. to 15 ft. in thickness, and are flanked on the town sides by four great circular embattled towers, with turrets rising from them. The grand entrance was from the west towards the town, and there was an access from the river by an advanced work, and a narrow flight of steps cut in the rock. The interior consists of two courts. The great hall measures 130 ft. in length, 32 ft. in breadth, and about 30 ft. in height; but its extent can only be gathered from fragments of its ruin, and few vestiges of the other apartments can be traced. When most of the other

castles in Wales were dismantled by the parliament, this noble edifice was respected; but the roof and floors were afterwards removed by the Earl of Conway, to whom, after the Restoration, it was granted. A large breach at the base of one of the towers has been made by the town's-people undermining it when digging for slates. Other parts of the castle are greatly damaged by the same practice.

² From the Harleian MS. 1219, a *History of the Deposition of Richard II.*, in French verse, professing to be "composed by a French gentleman of mark, who was in the suite of the said king, with permission of the King of France." The whole of the poem is printed in the *Archæologia*, with an English translation, and ample explanatory notes, by the Rev. John Webb, M.A., F.A.S., rector of Tretire, in Herefordshire.

³ *Rot. Parl.; Knyght; Brady.*

CHAPTER VIII.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

A.D. 1216—1399.

Resistance to the Papacy commenced throughout Europe—Encroachments of the Roman pontiffs in England—The kingdom drained of its wealth by foreign ecclesiastics—Power of dispensation assumed by the popes—Monasteries and monastic orders—Crusades—They are succeeded by the Inquisition—State of the English church in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I.—Restraints laid upon ecclesiastical jurisdiction—Prohibitions upon Papal bulls, and sending money to Rome—Progress of religious liberty—Preaching of Wyckliffe—Its effect in loosening the Papal rule—His doctrines—His writings—His translation of the Scriptures—His death—Persecution of his ashes.



It was during the period through which we have just passed, that the Papal dominion in Europe attained to its greatest height, and entered upon its long decline. The extravagant pretensions of Pope Innocent III., though submitted to for a brief space, provoked animosity and reaction on the part of European princes, and not a few of their subjects. A spirit of resistance was gradually diffused both among kings and people; till at length Philip le Bel began, and Wyckliffe, nearly a century later, carried forward the great rebellion which, after little more than another century, was to be fought out triumphantly by Luther.

In no country were the exactions and encroachments of the Roman pontiffs in the thirteenth century carried to a more exorbitant extent than in England, which was in fact one great field of Papal imposition and plunder. Throughout this century the bishoprics were filled either by the direct nomination of the pope, or, what was perfectly equivalent, by his arbitration in the case of a disputed election. The right of nominating to inferior benefices was also usurped by the pope; and many of these benefices were given to Italian priests, who drew the revenues and spent them at Rome. Some of these Italians never visited England at all. The total of the sum conveyed annually out of the kingdom to Rome was enormous: it was solemnly stated by the English envoys to the council of Lyons (held in 1245) that Italian priests drew from England sixty or seventy thousand marks every year—a sum greater than the whole revenue of the crown. All causes of importance were to be heard and decided at Rome. This was a material part of the scheme for bringing the civil under subjection to the ecclesiastical power, which had been pursued with such pertinacity from the time of Archbishop Anselm and Henry I. It was also a means of draining England of much wealth; and the Papal treasury was filled by various other modes. The entire taxation or tribute annually paid, under

a great variety of names, to Rome, must have amounted to an exorbitant sum. Gregory IX. is said to have extracted from the kingdom, in the course of a very few years, 950,000 marks—a sum estimated as equivalent to £15,000,000 at present.¹

In the early part of the fourteenth century the annual revenue of the church amounted to 730,000 marks; and at this period very nearly one-half of the soil of England was in the possession of the church. At the same time that all the richest benefices were in the hands of foreigners, where a cure was served at all, it was intrusted to a curate who appears to have been usually paid at a most wretched rate. Four or five marks a-year, or two marks and his board, was the usual amount of his scanty stipend.

Gregory IX., by extending and giving a more systematic form to the canon law, and by shaping this law so as to suit the interests of the Roman church, made an immense stride in usurpation. The five books of decretals which Gregory caused to be published, went to place the civil power completely at the foot of the ecclesiastical; and Boniface VIII. added a sixth decretal. It was expressly declared that subjects owed no allegiance to an excommunicated lord or prince; and the rubric prefixed to the declaration of the deposition of the emperor Frederic II. asserted that the pope might dethrone the emperor for lawful causes. “By means of her new jurisprudence,” says Mr. Hallam, “Rome acquired in every country a powerful body of advocates, who, though many of them were laymen, would, with the usual bigotry of lawyers, defend every pretension or abuse to which their received standard of authority gave sanction.”²

But a still higher power assumed by the pope than even that of declaring or making the law, was the power of dispensing with its strongest obligations—the power of legalizing what they themselves declared to be illegal, and of remitting in the world to come the penalties incurred by

¹ Mr. Hallam, *Hist. Middle Ages*.² *Ibid.*

such unlawful deeds. They assumed and exercised this power, in particular, with regard to the canonical impediments to marriage, and with regard to oaths. And as uncanonical unions or marriages contracted within the forbidden degrees of relationship could be legalized by the pope, so it was held, and equally to the benefit of the Holy See, that any illegitimacy of birth could be entirely removed by the same authority. With regard to oaths, it was expressly laid down as the law, not only that any oath extorted by fear might be annulled by ecclesiastical authority, but that an oath disadvantageous to the church was essentially, and from the first, without any force, whether it were formally dispensed with or not.

As in the preceding ages, new monasteries still continued to be founded, and new monastic orders to be introduced. As the more ancient orders had acquired so vast a share of the land and wealth of the country, and as the civil law began to place some restraints upon the disposition to make over estates to the church, it might have been difficult to procure endowments for the new orders, or to increase the number of the houses of the old ones: but these new orders were sworn to poverty, and were called Mendicant Friars. The first of this class of monks were the Dominicans or Black Friars, who were established in 1216; the second were the Franciscans or Gray Friars,

built and supported their churches. Being of the people, they had always a close sympathy with the people. They presented the show, and to a great extent preserved the reality of destitution and a hard rule of life. The very name of the mendicants was a standing proclamation of their sympathy with the humbler and more numerous classes, and their indifference to the pomp and pre-eminence which appeared to be so much coveted by the other monastic orders. They could preach to the populace in their own language, and meet them on something like a footing of equality; and whenever there was sickness or sorrow in the poor man's house, the Franciscan monk was sure to be there to give assistance or spiritual comfort. Their activity was prodigious: they preached and administered the sacraments far more frequently than the superior orders, whom they completely distanced in the race to win the favour of the multitude. Nor was it long before the Franciscans and Dominicans became distinguished for their learning and literature. Their numbers increased almost beyond all precedent. All these troops of religious persons were bound in their whole interests and affections to the church, not only by their voluntary vows, but by the strong incorporating tie of celibacy, the practice of which, in conformity to what had certainly been the distinctly-declared law of the church from very early

times, was now also enforced upon all descriptions of the clergy with a strictness greatly beyond what it had heretofore been found possible to maintain. In the reign of Henry I. it is stated that more than half the English clergy were married; but after the twelfth century, although a few occasional violations of the rule may have still occurred, celibacy was certainly the general practice as well as the law of the church.

As to the era of the Templars belonged the Crusades, so with the Mendicant Friars appeared the Inquisition, of which, indeed, St. Dominic is commonly reputed the founder, or at least the first suggester. The crusades which took place in this age were animated by little or nothing of the old spirit. In the preceding Book we noticed the fourth, which was undertaken in 1203, but which was eventually diverted from an expedition against the infidels in Palestine to a war with the Greeks in Constantinople. Both this and the fifth crusade (A.D. 1218) were undertaken at the instigation of the energetic Innocent III.; but even his breath was impotent to blow up again into a blaze the dying fire. Of the sixth and seventh crusades, both conducted by St. Louis, the former (which set out in 1248) issued



(1) DOMINICAN AND (2) FRANCISCAN FRIAR.—Dugdale's Monasticon.

established in 1223. Of many other orders which soon sprung up in imitation of these, and which carried still farther the principle of poverty and abnegation, none took a lasting root in England except the Carmelites or White Friars, and the Augustines. These mendicant orders were filled by youths and men drawn from the poorer classes of society; they had no lands, but begged from door to door for the food they ate and for the money which purchased their coarse dress, and

in the captivity, the latter (in 1270) in the death of the enthusiastic monarch; and ere the century had closed, the Christians were driven for ever from their last narrow footing in the Holy Land. Meanwhile, in the midst of these abortive attempts to revive crusading in the East, a new species of crusades, as they were also called, was introduced in the West—namely, military expeditions against the unconverted heathens in various parts—against the Jews, against the Albigenes, and other heretics—the object being in each case to extirpate indifferently either the misbelief or the misbelievers. Here, then, was exactly the object of the Inquisition, to which, therefore, these expeditions may be regarded as the natural transition from the original Crusades. Both the Crusades and the Inquisition equally operated to uphold for their season the fabric of the Papal ascendancy.

It was in the nature, however, of most, if not of all of these stimulants, to contribute something to the weakening, in the end, of the system upon which they apparently bestowed an immediate strength. Even the strict celibacy of the clergy, if it invigorated the internal organization of the church, tended to loosen its roots in the general soil of human society. Nor did the mendicant orders themselves always continue to be the same manageable and subservient allies of the Papal power which they were at first: when certain questions came to be debated between the church and the people, the constitution and position of these bodies inevitably led them to a great extent to side with the latter.

In the course of the period now under review some important measures were adopted against the more glaring and intolerable evils of this foreign tyranny. Even during the feeble reign of Henry III. considerable progress was made in restraining the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical tribunals. "The judges of the king's courts," says Mr. Hallam, "had until that time been themselves principally ecclesiastics, and consequently tender of spiritual privileges. But now, abstaining from the exercise of temporal jurisdiction, in obedience to the strict injunctions of their canons, the clergy gave place to common lawyers, professors of a system very discordant from their own. These soon began to assert the supremacy of their jurisdiction, by issuing writs of prohibition whenever the ecclesiastical tribunals passed the boundaries which approved use had established."¹ In the next reign we find an Archbishop of Canterbury unreservedly admitting the right of the king's bench to issue prohibitions. The question was finally settled in the

thirteenth year of Edward I., by the statute entitled "Circumspecte agatis," which, under the form of an order to the judges to respect the privileges of the spiritual jurisdiction, in fact restrained them, by express enumeration, within certain specified limits. Ten years before this, by the statute of Westminster the first, it had been provided that clerks charged with felony should be first indicted by solemn inquest in the king's court, and that, being then delivered to the ordinary, if found guilty by such inquest, they should in no manner be let free without due purgation—words which were afterwards construed to mean that their property, both real and personal, should be forfeited to the crown.

In the seventh year of this reign, also, the making over of lands to religious persons or societies was for the first time effectually restrained by what is commonly called the first statute of mortmain.

By another statute, passed in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, Edward prohibited all abbots, priors, or other religious persons of whatsoever condition, from henceforth sending any money, under any name or pretence whatsoever, as a payment to their superiors beyond the sea. It is also stated that one of this king's subjects having obtained a bull of excommunication against another, Edward ordered him to be executed as a traitor, according to the ancient law, and was only induced to commute the punishment into banishment out of the realm on a representation made by the chancellor and treasurer, on their knees, that the law in question had not for a long time been put in execution.²

One of the principal charges made by the parliament against Edward II., on his deposition, was, that he had given allowance to the bulls of the see of Rome. "But Edward III.," says Blackstone, "was of a temper extremely different; and to remedy these inconveniences first by gentle means, he and his nobility wrote an expostulation to the pope; but receiving a menacing and contemptuous answer, withal acquainting him that the emperor, and also the King of France, had lately submitted to the Holy See, the king replied, that if both the emperor and the French king should take the pope's part, he was ready to give battle to them both in defence of the liberties of the crown. Hereupon more sharp and penal laws were devised against provisors,³ which enact, severally, that the court

² See *Blackstone*, by Coleridge, iv. 110, and the authorities there quoted.

³ Speaking of the tameness with which the continental nations submitted to the exactions of Rome in the fourteenth century, Mr. Hallam says:—"A manlier spirit was displayed by our ancestors. It was the boast of England to have placed the first legal barrier to the usurpations of Rome (in 1267 Alexander III. of Scotland, when Clement IV. granted the tithes of its ecclesi-

of Rome shall not present or collate to any bishopric or living in England; and that whoever disturbs any patron in the presentation to a living by virtue of a Papal provision, such provisor shall pay fine and ransom to the king at his will, and be imprisoned till he renounces such provision; and the same punishment is inflicted on such as cite the king, or any of his subjects, to answer in the court of Rome. And when the Holy See resented these proceedings, and Pope Urban V. attempted to revive the vassalage and annual rent to which King John had subjected his kingdom, it was unanimously agreed by all the estates of the realm in parliament assembled, 40 Edward III., that King John's donation was null and void, being without the concurrence of parliament and contrary to his coronation oath; and all the temporal nobility and commons engaged, that if the pope should endeavour, by process or otherwise, to maintain these usurpations, they would resist and withstand him with all their power.¹ By subsequent statutes, passed in the reign of Richard II., the power of the pope in presenting to benefices was still farther restricted, and the presentation of aliens forbidden. Finally, by the famous statute commonly called the statute of *Præmunire*,² passed in 1392, it was "ordained and established," in still more comprehensive terms, that any person purchasing in the court of Rome or elsewhere, any provisions, excommunications, bulls, or other instruments whatsoever, and any person bringing such instruments within the realm, or receiving them, or making notification of them, should be put out of the king's protection; that their lands and goods should be forfeited; and that they themselves, if they could be found, should be attached and brought before the king and council, there to answer for their offence. The popes maintained the struggle for some time; but the king and the parliament were resolute and steady in their resistance. The victory obtained by the civil over the ecclesiastical power, in this great battle, was complete.

While the king, lords, and commons were thus repelling the encroachments of the Papal power

by the statutes of provisors and *præmunire*, a great reformer with his disciples was shaking the church at once in its doctrine, its discipline, and the whole fabric of its polity. This was John de Wyckliffe, who held no higher office in



JOHN DE WYCKLIFFE.—From a rare print, by Hondius.

the church than that of a humble country rector. He was born A.D. 1324, at Sprewswel, in the neighbourhood of Richmond; or, as others allege, at Wyckliffe in Yorkshire, a parish from the proprietorship of which his ancestors had derived their family name. In 1340 he entered as a student in Queen's College, Oxford, which was founded in the same year by Philippa, queen of Edward III.; and soon after he removed to Merton College, of which he became a fellow. Having taken priest's orders, he in 1361 was presented to the church of Fylingham, in the archdeaconry of Stow; and before the close of the year he was also warden or master of Baliol College. The first circumstance that called the reforming zeal of Wyckliffe into action, was the corruption that now pervaded the different orders of mendicant friars, in consequence of the wealth that had flowed in upon them, and the vices which it naturally engendered; and his printed treatise which he wrote upon the subject, entitled *Objections to Friars*, is a sum-

matistical revenues for one of his mock crusades, refused, with the concurrence of the Scottish church, the legate permission to enter his dominions), if we except the dubious and insulated pragmatic sanction of St. Louis, from which the practice of succeeding ages in France entirely deviates. . . . But the court of Avignon was not to be moved by remonstrances; and the feeble administration of Edward II. gave way to ecclesiastical usurpations at home as well as abroad. His magnanimous son took a bolder line. After complaining ineffectually to Clement VI. of the enormous abuse which reserved almost all English benefices to the pope, and generally for the benefit of aliens, he passed in 1350 the famous statute of provisors. This act enacts that all elections and collations shall be free according to law, and that in case any provision or reservation should be made by the court of Rome, the king should for that turn have the col-

lation of such benefice, if it be of ecclesiastical election or patronage. This devolution to the crown, which seems a little arbitrary, was the only remedy that could be effectual against the connivance and timidity of chapters and spiritual patrons. We cannot assert that a statute so nobly planned was executed with equal steadiness. Sometimes by royal dispensation, sometimes by neglect or evasion, the Papal bulls of provision were still obeyed, though fresh laws were enacted to the same effect as the former."—Hallam, vol. ii.

¹ See *Blackstone*, iv. 111.

² This statute (16 Richard II. c. 5), and also the offence against which it is directed, are so called from the words *Præmunire*, or *Præmonere facias*, used to command a citation of the party in the writ for the execution of this and the preceding statutes respecting provisions.

mary of the controversy which he waged against them during the rest of his laborious life. And what Protestant can fail to discover the foundation of his church in the following declarations of Wyckliffe, respecting the supremacy of the Word of God over the authority of popes and priesthoods?

"First, friars say that their religion, founded of sinful men, is more perfect than that religion or order which Christ himself made, that is both God and man. For they say that each bishop and priest may lawfully leave their first dignity, and after be a friar; but when he is once a friar, he may in no manner leave that, and live as a bishop or a priest by the form of the gospel. But this heresy says that Christ lacked wit, might, or charity, to teach apostles and his disciples the best religion. But what man may suffer this foul heresy to be put on Jesus Christ? Christian men say that the religion and order that Christ made for his disciples and priests is most perfect, most easy, and most siker [secure]. Most perfect, for this reason—for the patron or founder thereof is most perfect, for he is very God and very man, that of most wit, and most charity, gave this religion to his dear worthy friends. Also the rule thereof is most perfect, since the gospel in its freedom, without error of man, is rule of this religion. Also knights' of this religion be most holy and most perfect. For Jesus Christ and his apostles be chief knights thereof, and after them holy martyrs and confessors. It is most easy and light; for Christ himself says that 'his yoke is soft, and his charge is light,' since it stands all in love and freedom of heart, and bids nothing but reasonable things, and profitable for the keeper thereof. It is most siker; for it is confirmed of God, and not of sinful men, and no man may destroy it, or dispense thereagainst; but if the pope or any man shall be saved, he must confirmed be thereby, and else he shall be damned. But men say, that other new orders and rules be nought worth but if they be confirmed of the pope and other sinful men; and then they be not worth but if they be confirmed of the devil, and in case the pope shall be damned, for then he is a devil, as the gospel says of Judas; and thus men say, that Christ's religion in its own clearness and freedom is more perfect than any sinful man's religion, by as much as Christ is more perfect than is any sinful man. And if new religions say that they keep all that Christ's religion bids, they spare the sooth [truth], for they lack the freedom and measure of Christ's religion, and be bound to errors of sinful man, and thereby be letted [hin-

dered] to profit to Christian men's souls, and not suffered to teach freely God's law, nor keep it in themselves. For by the first and most [greatest] commandment of God they be holden 'to love God of all their heart, and all their life, of all their mind, and all their strength, and their neighbours as themselves;' but who may do more than this? Then may no man keep more than Christ's religion bids. And so, if this new religion of friars be more perfect than Christ's religion, then, if friars keep well this religion, they be more perfect than Christ's apostles, and else they be apostles; and if men be apostles, they leave the better order, and take another less perfect. And the order of Christ in its clearness and freedom is most perfect, and so it seems that all these friars be apostates."

In these sentiments may be perceived the great principle for which Wyckliffe contended against the mendicant and preaching friars during a controversy of twenty years. But it was not merely the authority of the church in matters of doctrine which he thus so severely examined, and its claims to infallibility independent of the Word which he so fearlessly exposed: he also investigated its claims to civil and political supremacy, and handled them with equal boldness. One of these instances occurred when he had reached the age of forty, and held, as is supposed, the office of one of the royal chaplains. The English parliament having repudiated the insolent demand of the pontiff for the tribute money of the nation as a vassal of the Holy See, in terms of the abject stipulation of King John, an anonymous monk wrote a tract in justification of these demands, and challenged Wyckliffe by name to answer his arguments. This the Reformer was not slow to do, although his courage might have involved more serious consequences than those of clerical deprivation. One position of the monk was, that the state under no circumstances might deprive the clergy of their lands and revenues, the goods of the church being placed beyond the power of secular lords, both by law and gospel. In answer to this cherished and profitable dogma which Romanism has never lost sight of, Wyckliffe replied, that the goods of the church were in a large sense the goods of the state; and that where they were evidently misapplied, it belonged to the king, of whom all lands should be held, to see that they were rightly administered. The claim of immunity for the persons as well as property of ecclesiastics, and their exemption from civil tribunals, was next asserted; but in the same strain Wyckliffe argued, that in all civil offences, the civil court was the supreme judge over priest and layman alike.

In the year 1372 Wyckliffe became professor of divinity at Oxford; and as a teacher of the future

¹ A title given to priests, who had also "sir" prefixed to their names, like knights. Hence, at the time of the Reformation, the Roman Catholic clergy were called the pope's knights.

priesthood of England, the appointment of such a man had an ominous significance: it spoke of innovations that would grow in the church—of religious contention and persecution. But the amount of corruption that had already gathered upon it could not be removed by unimpassioned arguments and gentle words. At the outset of his career as a Reformer, Wyckliffe scarcely appears to have aspired to such a character; and the abuses of the friars, against which his mission had commenced, led him slowly, and only step by step, to a perception of the perversity of those doctrines upon which their excesses in practice had been founded. It was thus that the earliest of the Reformers had commenced, and Luther himself, the greatest of them all. What were Wyckliffe's theological opinions when he became a professor of theology, may be gathered from his Latin treatise entitled *Triologus*, written, according to the fashion of the times, in the form of a dialogue between three speakers, whom he calls Alithia [Truth], Pseudis [Falseness], and Phronesis [Wisdom], the last speaker being the exponent of Wyckliffe's own opinions. In this work he denounces the authority of tradition, declaring that if there be any truth it is in the Scriptures; and that no truth is to be found in the schools which does not exist in greater excellence in the Bible. He is so intrepid, and so much in advance of the wisdom of his age, that he denounces astrology and alchemy as being delusions that had not only injured the science of medicine, but that of theology also. He discourses of faith, hope, and charity, in the full spirit of modern theology, although in the old form of Aristotelian logic; and upon the last of these three Christian graces, he utters sentiments most widely apart from the cherished statute *de comburendo hereticis*. "Christ," he says, "wished his law to be observed willingly, freely, that in such obedience men might find happiness. Hence, he appointed no civil punishment to be inflicted on transgressors of his commandments, but left the persons neglecting them to a suffering more severe, that would come after the day of judgment."

Upon the subject of sins, and the favourite distinction of the churchmen between mortal and venial transgressions, Wyckliffe is as express and as fearless as either Calvin or Luther. He declares that these terms "mortal" and "venial," about which even prelates "babble so much," are used by those who "know better how to extort money for sins, than how to cleanse any man from them, or how to distinguish between them." "A sin," he adds, "may be called mortal, when, according to the judgment of God, it is worthy of death; and thus it is the sin of final impenitence only, that is the sin against the

Holy Ghost, that is properly mortal. But any other sin, inasmuch as it is a sin that may be pardoned, may be called venial. But as these actual sins which extinguish Divine grace, cannot be determined by our limited knowledge, and we are thus left in ignorance as to what sins committed in our pilgrimage may be venial and what mortal, we are bound to avoid all sin whatsoever, seeing that we are aware, in a general way, of its evil consequences, but know little of its real enormity. The believer may judge somewhat of the evil of sin, from the fact that he owes to God an infinite gratitude, and the greater the gratitude due, the greater must be the guilt of failure. So that the evil of every sin is infinite." From the fact of this enormity, Wyckliffe contended that God only can forgive sin, and that therefore pardons and dispensations were not "to be bought or sold like an ox or an ass." In speaking of saint-worship, the Reformer is more cautious, as if he were less assured upon that topic than the others; but still there is enough in his measured language to show that he was rather inclined to its abrogation. "Whoever entreats a saint," he thus writes, "should direct his prayer to Christ as God, not to the saint specially, but to Christ. Nor doth the celebration or festival of a saint avail anything, except in so far as it may tend to the magnifying of Christ, inciting us to honour him, and increasing our love to him. If there be any celebration in honour of the saints, which is not kept within these limits, it is not to be doubted that cupidity or some other evil cause has given rise to such services. Hence not a few think it would be well for the church if all festivals of that nature were abolished, and those only retained which have respect immediately to Christ. For then, they say, the memory of Christ would be kept more freshly in the mind, and the devotions of the common people would not be unduly distributed among the members of Christ. But, however this may be, it is certain that the service paid to any saint must be useless, except as it incites to the love of Christ, and is of a nature to secure the benefit of his mediation. For the Scriptures assure us that Christ is the mediator between God and man. Hence, many are of opinion, that when prayer was directed only to that middle person of the Trinity for spiritual help the church was more flourishing, and made greater advances than it does now, when many new intercessors have been found out and introduced."

As it was necessary to appeal to an unquestionable authority in behalf of truths so startling, Wyckliffe recommended the careful study of the Scriptures beyond every other kind of reading, and the adoption of their *dicta* as the only

test of every theological question. It was from the neglect of this simple rule that the church had become corrupted, and it was only by the resumption of this rule that the church could be purified and reformed. "We do not sincerely believe," he says, "in the Lord Jesus Christ, or we should abide by the authority of his Word, especially that of the evangelists, as of infinitely greater weight than any other. Inasmuch as it is the will of the Holy Spirit, that our attention should not be dispersed over a large number of objects, but concentrated on one sufficient source of instruction, it is his pleasure that the books of the Old and New Law should be read and studied, and that men should not be taken up with other books, which, true as they may be, and containing even Scripture truth, as they may by implication, are not to be confided in without caution and limitation. Hence, Augustine (Book II. *De Ordine Rerum*) often enjoins it on his readers, not to place any faith in his words or writings, except in so far as they have their foundation in Scripture, wherein, as he often says, are contained all truth, either directly or by implication. Of course, we should judge in this manner concerning the writings of other holy doctors, and much more concerning the writings of the Roman church, and of her doctors in these later times. If we follow this rule, the Scriptures will be held in becoming reverence. The Papal bulls will be superseded, as they ought to be. The veneration of men for the laws of the Papacy, as well as for the opinions of our modern doctors, which, since the loosing of Satan, they have been so free to promulgate, will be restrained within due limits. What concern have the faithful with writings of this sort, except as they are honestly deduced from the fountain of Scripture? By pursuing such a course, it is not only in our power to reduce the mandates of prelates and popes to their just place, but the errors of these new religious orders also might be corrected, and the worship of Christ well purified and elevated."

All this was well; but at this time the Bible, the reading of which Wyckliffe so earnestly recommended, and the authority of which as the guide of religious faith he so earnestly advocated, was a sealed book except to the learned. Attempts, indeed, had been made from the time of Alfred to embody the Scriptures in the English tongue, and thus make them accessible to the community at large, instead of confining them to those favoured few, almost wholly of the ecclesiastical order, who could master the Latin translation. But as such attempts were hostile to priestly domination, they had either been discouraged or suppressed, so that they had ended in the translation of a few detached portions

of sacred writ into Saxon English, or rhyming paraphrases of Scripture history adapted to the popular taste. These versions, too, had in no case been literal, and consequently abounded in such misconceptions and errors as rendered their aid a very doubtful benefit. By his recommendations, therefore, to study the Bible, and judge for themselves independently of priestly authority, Wyckliffe had bound himself in honour and in conscience to furnish the people with the means of discharging that duty, by translating the whole Word, and translating it faithfully and literally into their own tongue. The result was that earliest edition of the entire Scripture in English, commonly known as Wyckliffe's Bible. His writings had already prepared the way for this daring attempt, and several were willing to aid in its accomplishment. This important work the Reformer is supposed to have commenced soon after the year 1381, when he was silenced as a public teacher in Oxford, and obliged to retire to his secluded rectory of Lutterworth; and with the aid of his learned and zealous coadjutors, the work was accomplished part by part, and appears to have been fully completed previous to the time of his death. Of the feeling which this decisive achievement excited in the breasts of the churchmen we have a distinct exposition in the fierce vituperations of Knyghton, written only a few years after the Reformer's decease. "Christ delivered his gospel," says Knyghton, "to the clergy and doctors of the church, that they might administer to the laity and to weaker persons, according to the states of the times and the wants of men. But this Master John Wyckliffe translated it out of Latin into English, and thus laid it out more open to the laity and to women who could read, than it had formerly been to the most learned of the clergy, even to those of them who had the best understanding. In this way the gospel pearl is cast abroad, and trodden under foot of swine, and that which was before precious both to clergy and laity, is rendered, as it were, the common jest of both. The jewel of the church is turned into the sport of the people, and what had hitherto been the choice gift of the clergy and of divines, is made for ever common to the laity."

Of the other particulars of Wyckliffe's eventful life as connected with the religious history of the period, we can only give a very summary notice. So highly was his reputation established for talent, learning, eloquence, and religious patriotism, that in 1374 he was sent from the English court in a diplomatic capacity to the court of Rome, then held at Bruges, and which was attended by ambassadors from France and England. Three years after, occurred his memorable

trial before the convocation held in London, of which mention has been made in another portion of our history, and where he would probably have been consigned to martyrdom, but for the effectual patronage of the Duke of Lancaster and Lord Percy. Even at this early period, as we are told by Walsingham, nearly all the Londoners were Lollards—a reproachful term by which the followers of Wyckliffe had begun to be distinguished. In the following year (1378) he was again summoned to answer for his writings and opinions before a synod held at Lambeth; but

Wyckliffe was chiefly known in England, and afterwards to the world at large, as a Reformer and controversialist. While his preaching to the flock of this little town, as appears from certain homilies in manuscript still extant, consisted chiefly of expositions of the errors of the established religious system, he was still more at pains to show them the better way, as it was unfolded in the authoritative pages of revelation. But while the pulpit of Lutterworth was thus the centre of irradiation for England, to the remotest parts of which his doctrines were

gradually carried, the writings which his unwearied pen produced were disseminated over Europe at large. The zeal with which they were transcribed, and the inquiry they must have awoken, is attested by the fact, that at Prague, 200 volumes of works attributed to him were condemned to the flames. Of course, many of these volumes would now only class as pamphlets; but collectively, their bulk would equal the voluminous writings of St. Augustine. Much indeed has been said of their contradictory character, and their obscurity; but when it is remembered at how early a period he appeared, how much he was isolated from those sources by which his successors were en-



LUTTERWORTH CHURCH.—From Nichols' Leicestershire.

on this occasion the citizens of London, alarmed for his safety, assembled in great multitudes round the place of meeting, so that the trial was abandoned. His life of labour and anxiety, however, his literary conflicts, in which he stood alone against a formidable and merciless hierarchy, and the persecution that continually hung over his head, had so weakened his health, that soon afterwards he sickened at Oxford, and it was hoped by his enemies that he could not recover. In this case, the mendicant friars, hoping to extort a retraction of the bitter truths he had written against them, sent a deputation, who exhorted him to repent, and make confession of his errors. Having heard them to an end, the apparently exhausted man caused himself to be raised in the bed by his servant, and fixing his eyes upon the tormenting monitors, he exclaimed in a deep determined voice, "I shall not die, but live, and again declare the evil deeds of the friars." The crest-fallen deputies hastily retired, and Wyckliffe recovered from his ailment.

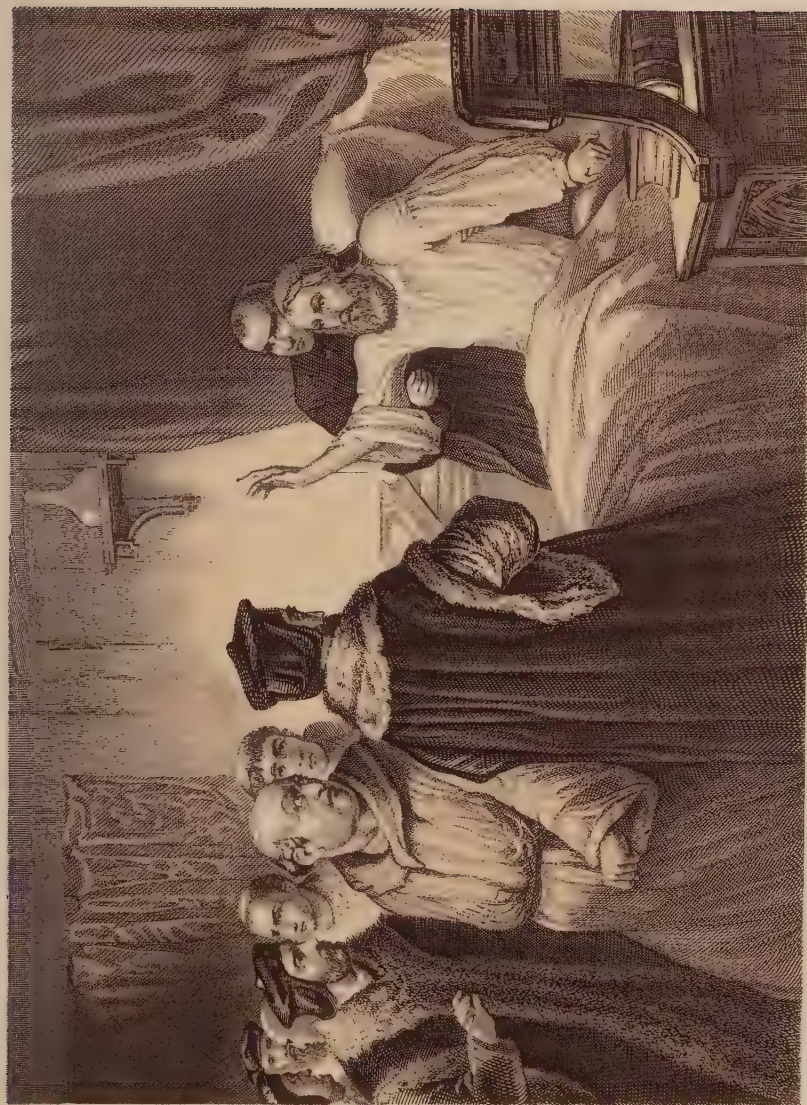
It was as the rector of Lutterworth, to which clerical office he had been presented in 1375, that

lightened and confirmed, and how much he was obliged to attempt, the marvel rather is, that he should have written so clearly and so truthfully. The Lollardism of England, and the Hussite doctrines of Bohemia and Germany, by which the Reformation of Europe was heralded and prepared, may be traced to the pulpit and the parsonage study of Lutterworth.

The death of Wyckliffe was in character with his life and actions: it was at his post, and while employed in his sacred duties. At the age of fifty-eight his manifold toils and anxieties had brought on paralysis, from which he never fully recovered; and two years afterwards, on the 28th or 29th of December, 1384, while engaged in the service of the church at Lutterworth, he was attacked by a stroke of palsy, of which he expired on the 31st of the same month. Thus he died in peace, although his enemies had so often attempted to bring him to the stake. All that they could do was, forty years after, when clerical dominion had resumed for a season its old ascendancy, to cause his bones to be disinterred and burned, and his ashes to be thrown into the river Swift, at Lutterworth; but as old Fuller, in

WYCKLIFFE ON HIS SICK-BED ASSAILED
BY THE FRIARS.

One of the most notable of the early English reformers was John Wyckliffe, who was born about 1320, at Hipswell, near Richmond, in Yorkshire. He was educated at Oxford; became master of Balliol College; and afterwards held successively the livings of Ludgershall, in Buckinghamshire, and Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. At that period there arose a dispute between Edward III. and the Pope touching the homage and tribute due by England to Rome. Wyckliffe took up the controversy with zeal, and charged the Pope with simony, covetousness, ambition, and tyranny. The church grew alarmed, and Wyckliffe was summoned before a convocation at St. Paul's. Proceedings were stopped, however, by the queen-mother at this time; but when Wyckliffe challenged the doctrine of transubstantiation, and translated the Scriptures into English, he was proclaimed a heretic and his writings publicly burned. *During a dangerous illness in 1379, certain friars and civilians visited his sick-bed, and asked him to revoke, before his death, certain expressions he had used against the mendicant friars. Rousing himself on his bed, he cried with energy: "I shall not die, but live; and shall again declare the evil deeds of the friars". And he did live until 1384, and most faithfully fulfilled his promise.*



WYCKLIFFE ON HIS SICK-BED ASSAILED BY THE FRIARS

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his *Church History*, quaintly observes, "the Swift conveyed them into the Avon, Avon into the Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they to the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wyckliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."¹

CHAPTER IX.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

A.D. 1216—1399.

Change in English society—Formation of a middle class—Rural life—Condition of agriculture—Manorial establishments—Houses and furniture of the period—Dress and personal ornaments during the different reigns of this period—Fopperies during that of Richard II.—Female dress and ornaments—Chivalrous sports—Tournaments—Combats—The ordeal combat—Peaceful sports—Banquets—Classes of English society, and their modes of life, as described by Chaucer—The Tabard inn—The host—CHIVALROUS classes: the knight, the squire, the yeoman—ECCLESIASTICAL classes: the prioress, the monk, the summoner, the pardoner, the Oxford clerk, the good parson, the ploughman—Classes of LAW and MEDICINE: the doctor of physic, the serjeant-at-law—MERCANTILE classes: the merchant, the tradesman, the shipman—RURAL classes: the franklin, the reeve, the miller—Sketch of the wife of Bath—Architecture of the period—Introduction of the pointed arch—Ecclesiastical buildings—Early English style—Decorated style—Castellated buildings—Walls, courts, and defences of English castles—Progress of science and literature—Preference given to metaphysical speculation—Tokens of intellectual revival—Universities of Cambridge and Oxford—Character of the students—Chaucer's Oxford clerk—His description of Clerk Nicholas—Eminent scholars of the period—Robert Grosstete—Gilbert Anglieus—John Ardern—Matthew Paris—Roger Bacon—Poetry of the period—Early English poets—Layamon—Robert of Gloucester—Robert de Brunne—Laurence Minot—Robert Langland—Chaucer—Gower—Condition of Scotland—Scottish merchandise, manufactures, and ship-building—Scottish music—Progress of the people arrested by the war with England—Literary Scotchmen—Michael Scott—John Duns Scotus—John de Fordun—Early Scottish poetry—Thomas the Rhymer—John Barbour.



THE transition state which a community must undergo before some great beneficial change, had now ended in England, and the season had already commenced, in which the disadvantages of that change were to be superseded by its benefits. The odious distinctions of Saxon and Norman, like those of Saxon and Dane, had at last melted away; the races once so antagonistic, had become one people; and those energies which had hitherto been

wasted in mutual contention and extermination, were concentrated and directed to a common aim. Every inhabitant of the land was now an Englishman, while the leading events in which he bore a part had assumed a general and national character. The great question now at issue was, the advance of English liberty, and the promotion of English prosperity.

One evidence of this happy change is to be found in the condition of the rural population. They no longer exclusively consisted of master

¹ "At the end of the fourteenth century French was still the official language in England, of all the political bodies and high personages whose existence was connected with the Norman conquest. It was spoken by the king, the bishops, the judges, and by the earls and barons; and it was the language their children learned as soon as they could speak. The position of the aristocracy, which had preserved it for three centuries and a half, amidst a people speaking a language quite different, had not been favourable to its progress; and when compared with the French of the court of France at the same period, it was rather antiquated and incorrect in grammar and pronunciation. Some expressions were used in it which were peculiar to the provincial dialect of Normandy, and the manner of pronouncing, as far as can be judged from the orthography of the records, much resembled the low Norman accent and pronunciation of the present day. . . . The nobles and the courtiers being very fond of poetry, but disdaining to write verses or compose books, the troubadours who sang for the court and the castles, could find pupils only among the trading classes or the inferior clergy, who, being of English origin, spoke English in their usual conversation. The effort which these men had to make in order to express their ideas and feelings in a language which was not that of their infancy, detracted from the perfection of their works, and made them less numerous. At the end

of the thirteenth century, most of those who, in the towns or in the cloisters, felt a taste or a talent for literature, endeavoured to treat in English most of the historical and imaginative subjects which had hitherto been treated of only in pure Norman.

"A great many attempts of this kind made their appearance all at once before the year 1350. A part of the poets of that period, and such as were most in favour with the higher classes of society, still wrote verses in French; others, contenting themselves with the approbation of the middle classes, composed for them in their own language; and others, combining the two languages in the same poem, changed them in every alternate couplet, and sometimes at every second line. At this period the scarcity of good French books written in England became such, that the higher ranks of society were obliged to procure from France the romances and tales with which they diverted themselves in the long evenings, and the ballads which enlivened their banquets and festive parties. But the war of chivalry which broke out at that time between England and France, inspiring the nobility of both nations with reciprocal aversion, lessened, in the eyes of the Anglo-Normans, the attractions of the literature imported from France, and obliged all gentlemen who were nice on the point of national honour, to content themselves with the reading of works produced at home." *Thierry's Norman Conquest.*

and slave; their sole inheritance was no longer that of enjoyment or endurance. From both ranks, but especially the latter, a middle class was forming, created by the political necessities of the times, and the yeomanry of England were soon, both in point of influence and number, to form a sufficient counterpoise between the oppressors and the oppressed. There was now a peasantry in the land who could sit under their own roof tree without fear of dislodgment, and eat the fruits of their industry in open day, without having it snatched from their hands. They still had lords indeed, and proud ones too; but what was a noble without his yeomanly followers, by whom his lands were enriched in peace, and his banner upheld in war? Or what other refuge could sovereignty itself find amidst the changes by which it was constantly imperilled?

In coming, however, to the particulars of rural life during this period, we must confess that our knowledge is still very scanty. From gleanings that can be obtained among the earliest agricultural accounts and documents, some of the estates must have been very large, as well as plentifully provided. From that of the elder Spenser, in the reign of Edward II., it was stated that his enemies carried off 1000 oxen and heifers, 1200 cows and their calves, 500 cart-horses, 28,000 sheep, and 2000 hogs. Such, in all likelihood, were the estates belonging to the highest of the English nobility. But in descending from these extreme to more common cases, let us take, as an example, the parish of Hawstead, in Suffolk, as detailed in Sir T. Cullum's history of that district. The manor-house, which was of large extent, was surrounded by a moat, and had two court-yards and three gardens, with its due establishment of pigeon-house, rabbit warren, and fish-ponds. The tenants were thirty-two in number, who held of the lord of the manor, and did him service for the land they occupied, the wages with which they were repaid being in kind and money; and independently of the tenants, he held in his own hands 572 acres of arable and 50 of meadow land, with sufficient pasturage for the live stock of the manorial farm. The persons employed in such an establishment were—a steward, who presided at the manor courts, kept the accounts of the farm and family, and took charge of the domestics; a bailiff, who superintended the whole farming operations; a head harvest-man, elected by the tenantry themselves, and confirmed in office by his lord; and a sufficient staff of ploughmen, plough-drivers, carters, shepherds, swine-herds, and deys or labourers of all work. This was a large establishment to provide for; but in looking to the live stock, we find, that the manor of Hawstead had ten horses, ten oxen, one bull, twenty cows, six heifers, six calves, ninety-two sheep, 200 two-year-old sheep,

five geese, thirty capons, one cock, and twenty-six hens. In these, independently of the gardens, fish-ponds, rabbit warren, and pigeon-house, we have a sufficient guarantee that the manor was abundantly victualled, not only for all its inmates, but the additional purposes of show and hospitality.

In the domestic architecture of this period, we find that comfort, and even elegance, were beginning to be blended with that grim security which was still indispensable. While the towers of lordly mansions were, therefore, assuming a more graceful appearance, the decoration of halls and apartments was more carefully studied. One effect of this was to sweep away the cumbrous tapestry and hangings of needle-work with which the walls were concealed, and substitute in their place paintings of subjects selected from popular romance or Scripture, and surmounted with scrolls containing a legend or a text applicable to the event delineated. Windows also of glass, painted or transparent, were now in use; and at the latter part of the present period, they were made with lattices, to open and shut at pleasure. In the articles of furniture, the unwieldy tables were exchanged for light tressels, and chairs in their form and carving were assimilated to the architectural improvements that had taken place in public buildings. One of the chief objects of domestic splendour was the bed, the outer coverings of which were generally of the richest fabric, such as satin or velvet, beautifully embroidered with various flowers and figures, or the armorial distinctions of the owner; and underneath, the sheets were of cloth of Rennes, which was linen of the finest texture. Andirons were now introduced as graceful supporters of the burning logs, instead of allowing them to consume on the hearth; and fire-screens with ornamented feet and stands. These descriptions, however, as yet, are only applicable to the homes of the rich; but in regard to the houses of the poor, and even of the middle classes both in town and country, we are still unable to speak with certainty.

In this, as in other periods of our history, the subject of costume is so multifarious and complex—so utterly removed from the fashion of our own day, and therefore so difficult to describe in words—that we should be unable to convey an intelligible account of it without a reference to those pictures that speak to the eye more distinctly than any form of language. To these ancient illustrations, therefore, upon which we have largely drawn for this department, we must refer the attention of the reader. In these we can perceive that fashion still continued to ebb and flow with its wonted restlessness. In these changes we can also, in some measure, detect the character of the reigning sovereign as illustrated in the attire of his grandees

and courtiers, and of the aristocracy at large who followed such a prevalent example.

During the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II., when the wars with France and Scotland were



COSTUMES FOR THE FOUR SEASONS, TIME OF EDWARD II.—Sloane MS. 2435.

alternated with popular discontent and civil commotion, we can perceive, even from their dress, that men were astir, and braced for a life of action. This was indicated not only by the tight hosen and shoes, or short boots, that formed an essential part of everyday male costume, but by the close sleeves of the under tunic, on which buttons were worn from the wrist almost to the elbow. Over this succinct dress, a large cloak

with ample sleeves, and having a cowl attached, was usually thrown in foul weather, or in travelling. But the recent introduction of velvet and cloths of gold and silk, soon produced cloaks of more striking cut, as well as elegant ap-



LADIES' HEAD-DRESSES, TIME OF EDWARD I.—Royal MS. 15. D. II.

pearance; and the practice of escalopping the edges of garments, and especially of sleeves, was carried to a most inordinate extent, especially in the earlier part of this period. An exquisite of the thirteenth century, with his long sleeves

fashioned in this manner, must have been a most grotesque spectacle; and his picture suggests to us the idea of a compound figure in heraldry, half-man half-dragon, rather than a living and human reality. Such was the "slyttering" of robes which Chaucer described, and which his predecessors had been pleased to admire. This love of finery, which so elongated and adorned the sleeves, also ascended to the head-dress of the male sex, which still continued to be a cowl, but which was wreathed into every form that the caprice of the wearer could devise, from the cap of a licensed merry-andrew to the turban of a stern and formal Saracen.



SCALLOP-EDGED DRESS. Harleian MS.

Of the female dress of the reign of Edward I., the examples are not only numerous, but in many cases indicative of simplicity and elegance. The hair, as seen in the accompanying illustration, was not plaited as formerly, but turned up behind, and inclosed within a network of gold, silver, or silk thread. In some cases, a round cap or hat was worn; in others, where the head was uncovered, the hair appears to have been carefully crisped or curled. We cannot, however, so highly commend the gorget, which seems to have been a prevalent fashion in female



FEMALE COSTUME, TIME OF EDWARD I.—(1). From a monument in Staindrop Church, Durham. (2). From a brass in Minster Church, Kent.

head-dress during this reign. This was a neckcloth wrapped two or three times round the neck, and fastened on either side of the face above the ears with abundance of pins, stuck so close that they seemed to be secured in the skin of the wearer.

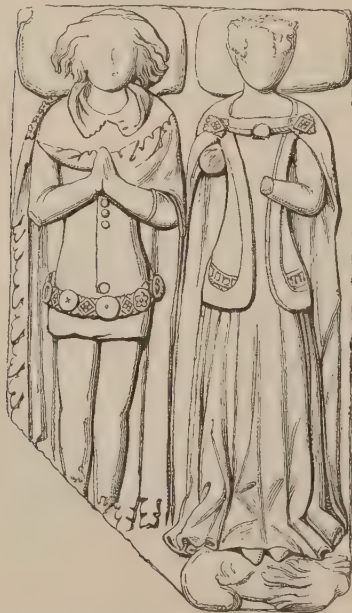
In some instances, however, where a better taste seems to have kept this extravagance in check, the gorget was loosely drawn over the lower part of the face in the form of a muffer; and as such, it forms a precise, demure, and not altogether ungraceful article of female costume. The simple, yet rich and gracefully flowing robes by which these figures are distinguished, indicate a more improved taste than that which is generally supposed to have belonged to the period, and suggest the predominating influence in female fashion which may have been exercised by Eleanor, the amiable queen of the stern and unbending Edward Longshanks.

With the reign of Edward III., such a change of costume commenced, as seemed to intimate a thorough revolution in the national character and circumstances. The ascendancy of effeminate favourites had vanished; a recoil into active life and enterprise had commenced; and the long trailing robes which had been stealing into use during the close of the preceding reign, seemed to be borne away upon the wings of the national revolution. The chief garment of the young

streamers, however, that had come into vogue, were retained, although not of such longitude as before, for they reached no farther than the knee,



COSTUMES OF THE TIME OF EDWARD III.¹



COSTUMES OF THE TIME OF EDWARD III.—William of Windsor and Blanche de la Tour, from their tomb in Westminster Abbey.

nobles was now the *cote hardie*, a tight close-fitting dress buttoned down in front, and girt to the hips with a rich girdle. The preposterous sleeve-

instead of descending to the ankle. Sometimes the sleeves terminated at the elbow, and had attached to them long streamers by way of prolongation. Over the cote was thrown a very long mantle lined either with silk or with fur, which last article had been introduced into England during the reign of Edward I., and adorned with serrated edges. But during this long reign of Edward III., the fashions were so mutable, that it is difficult to convey any definite idea of them. They shifted and changed from long to short garments, and from short to long: sometimes they were wide and flowing, and sometimes straight and narrow. Among these innovations, were beaver hats, long hose of two colours, pointed shoes richly embroidered, and a long-tailed cowl, that was drawn over the head, and buttoned under the chin. Beards, also, which had been curtailed or shaven during the period of Edward II., were trained into luxuriance under the reign of his son, but probably not until the royal beard had reached the length of full manhood. These mutable fashions of the period were thus summed up in their essentials by the following well-known rhymes of a Scottish satirist:—

"Long beards heartless,
Painted hoods witless,
Gay coats graceless,
Make England thriftless."

In the above sketch from various authorities of the period, several of the peculiarities we have mentioned may be detected, although confined within sober limitations.

¹ Reading from the left, the figures are—(1), From the monumental brass of Lady Stapleton, Ingham Church, Norfolk; date 1365. (2), From the effigy of Lady Berkeley. (3), From the tomb of Roger Curdiston, Rupham Church, Norfolk; date 1337. (4), *Burgess*, from a monumental brass at Lynn. (5), *Doctor of medicine*, from Sloane MS. 2435.

But the gay and luxurious reign of Richard II. was a season at which the frenzy of fashion reached its height and could go no farther. The male dress now consisted of a jacket so short as to be thought utterly indecent, and composed of two different colours; and to this a pair of hose was attached, also parti-coloured, and sometimes of as many hues as the rainbow. The outer mantle that was thrown over this harlequinade, was as odd as the inner dress, which it was meant not to conceal but to set off; for its edges were snipped from top to bottom into the shape of leaves and other vagaries, letters and motives were embroidered upon it like fêtiçhes or phylacteries; and the sleeves, which were sometimes as wide as the body itself, trailed upon the ground in full grandeur. As for the head-dresses of the men, those that are delineated in the illuminated MSS. of the period are almost as various as the heads they cover. Sometimes they resemble an old Persian

All this extravagance in costume was bad enough; but one peculiarity in the fashions of the time was still worse—this was a gown reaching from

the chin to the heel, closed in front, and furbelowed at the sides, so that when the forked beard of the wearer was not seen, he might have been mistaken for a woman. We can easily imagine how the reappearance of an exquisite arrayed in all the finery of that age would in our day be the most startling of apparitions. It is to be observed, too, that this more than feminine love of rich and showy attire was not exclusively confined to the noble and the opulent; it was imparted by the masters to their servants, as part and parcel of themselves;

and they, too, ruffled along, as we are told, in suits of silk and satin, and in cloths of damask, green, and scarlet.

As display in dress is generally an epidemic, and as male and female fashions generally act and react upon each other, we can scarcely expect the ladies to have been exempted from those weaknesses in which the stronger sex so liberally indulged. The dressing of their locks and fashion of the head-covering were, therefore, continually undergoing new changes; sometimes the hair being plaited, and at others worn turned up in a net-work; sometimes adorned with natural flowers, and sometimes with wimples, that varied into every form from the simple to the ridiculous. In the same manner, the length as well as form of



CRACOWES.—From Harleian MS.



HEAD-DRESSES, TIME OF RICHARD II.—(1), From Harleian MS. 1319. (2), From Royal MS. 15 D. iii.

tiara, sometimes a Geneva skull-cap, and sometimes a sort of hat with a brim of very small dimensions. But the most fashionable kind of hat or bonnet was a high circular covering, like a lady's muff or grenadier's cap, also black in colour, and seeming, from the stiffness of its texture, to be made of some kind of felt. Not the least remarkable part of this strange costume was the shoe; and how our ancestors could contrive to walk in spite of such an incumbrance, will always be a subject of wonderment; for the toe, instead of ending with the foot, is projected about fourteen inches farther, and terminates in a sharp point. In the illuminated MSS. these shoes have an odd resemblance to radishes. We are also informed that these long extremities, which appear to have been made of elastic materials, were sometimes turned up and fastened to the knees with silver chains, and thus the wearer, if bound upon some active enterprise, could shuffle along with less impediment. These preposterously-shaped shoes were called "cracowes," from Cracow in Poland, the place whence the fashion was imported by the Bohemian followers of Anne, the queen of Richard II.



COURT COSTUMES, TIME OF RICHARD II.—Harleian MS.

their dresses was altered, so that while sometimes the ladies were likened to horned animals on account of their head-attire, at others they were com-

pared to "peacocks and magpies that trailed still shorter tails in the dirt." In the reign of Edward III. the ladies usurped an undue portion of the male attire by assuming the cote hardie, with its narrow long hanging sleeves, and a kirtle shaped like a loose jacket or surtout, bordered with velvet or fur, and ornamented with jewels; and as if this had not been sufficiently masculine, they also on gay public occasions girt themselves with small swords stuck through pouches, which they wore in front. In the reign of Richard II. splendour in female dress attained its height, so that the be-gemmed, bedizzened, parti-coloured beaux of the period were fully matched by the glittering belles at whom they arrayed themselves so extravagantly. It is just, however, to add that the female costume was at this time in much better taste than the attire of their admirers; and that, while it was more succinct, and better adapted to the natural figure than in former periods, it had also parted with the long sleeves that formed such unnatural appendages.

In mentioning the sports of the period, those connected with war hold the most prominent place. Defensive armour had now improved from a partial covering to a complete *cap-a-pie*, and from chain or mail to plate armour that covered the wearer from head to foot. Adroitness in movement under such a load being only the result of long and laborious practice, it was therefore necessary to redouble those exercises in riding and in pel and quintain encounters, by which ease and dexterity could be attained; and to these was also added the graceful amusement of riding at the ring, which holds such high distinction in the festivals of the day. This consisted in carrying off upon the point of a lance a small ring suspended in mid-air, while the rider passed it at full gallop; and he who succeeded in such a difficult feat, was reckoned the most dexterous in the use of his weapon, and best able to unhorse an antagonist in real encounter. While such were the military sports of the high in rank, the commons had full occupation in acquiring dexterity in archery; and the village green was crowded with stout yeomen contending with the long bow, and striving who should send his arrow right into the centre of the target, amidst the cries of "i' the clout! i' the clout!" But of all these contentious public amusements, nothing was comparable with the tournament, which,

not only in splendour, but also in generous military excitement, reduced the gladiatorial exhibitions of ancient Rome to utter barbarism and insignificance. From the long and brilliant warfare both in Scotland and France, the English had acquired an unwonted passion for these martial exercises, while the peace that followed gave ample scope and leisure for its gratification. The stirring spirits of the land must still be up and doing although peace had been proclaimed, and fight in all love and courtesy with each other, when they could do it no longer in hate and against an enemy. Happily, also, for the tournament, while it had the renowned heroes of Crecy and Otterbourne to contend in the lists, it possessed in Froissart the very Homer of chivalry, to delineate its grandeur and chronicle its achievements.

These tournaments were of various kinds. Sometimes they celebrated a private event, such as a marriage in a noble family, and sometimes a national victory, or a royal coronation: in the former case, the lists were established in the neighbourhood of the baronial castle; and in the latter, at some noted part of the kingdom, such as Oxford, or Smithfield in the metropolis. The



PLATE ARMOUR, TIME OF EDWARD I.¹

most splendid tournament that probably had ever been assembled in England, was held at Smithfield during the reign of Richard II., and lasted five days, while the combatants were not only the bravest knights of England, but also those of the Continent. Every effort was wont to be made on such occasions to aggrandize the event, not only by the high renown of the warriors, who were frequently invited from every country, but the beauty of the ladies, the gorgeousness of the pavilions, and the rich banquets with which the combats of the day were closed. The mode of combating was also various; sometimes consisting of a joust with headless lances, or a close encounter on foot with blunted two-handed swords, by which strength and address were fully exhibited, with no worse result than a few bruises, or a broken rib or two; and sometimes the spears were sharpened, and the swords edged and pointed, while the warriors closed at *outrance*, and often fought it out to the death. At times, also, the combatants fought in pairs, one man taking

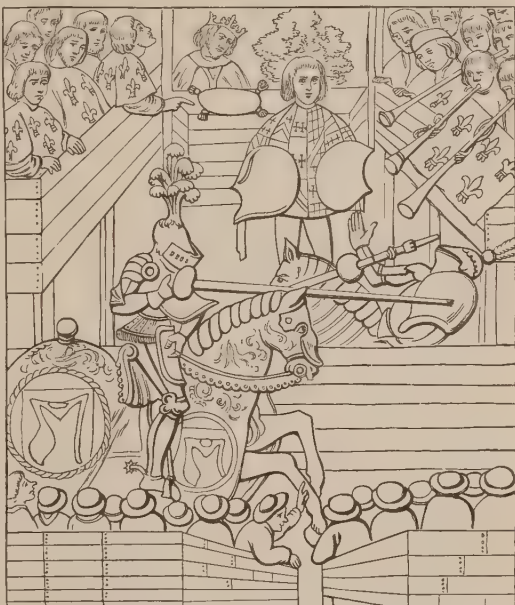
possession of the lists and challenging every comer in succession; and at other times, it was a regular *mêlée*, in which all the knights, arranged in two equal parties, fought as in a real field of battle. Of course, when such hot fearless spirits

¹ This figure represents Sir John D'Abernon, from a monumental brass in Stoke d'Abernon Church, Surrey.

encountered, and when ladies looked on and applauded, each man did his uttermost, and dreadful wounds and even death was frequent, and a complete mutual extermination might have been the consequence, but for the authority of the king or the marshal of the tournament to arrest the havoc at his pleasure. In this case, he had only to cry "Ho!" and throw down his truncheon, when the knights in an instant reined up in mid career. But even already the death-knell of these chivalrous pageants had been sounded, and an agency had risen up under which chivalry itself was to disappear; for the hidden power of "villainous saltpetre" had been brought to light, and its first terrible explosions been heard. Cannons had actually been used at the battle of Crecy; and thus a new era of destruction and civilization had commenced. Knighthood was soon to find, that barbed steeds and an ample panoply of Milan plate armour were utterly bootless in a charge against a park of artillery.

Other encounters, however, than those of the regular tourney were common in such iron days of chivalry, among men who, in a season of peace or truce, were too impatient to wait for the proclamation of a regular "passage of arms." Neighbours quarrelled, and reasoned out the controversy with sword or lance; and armed knights meeting upon the highway would often invite each other to a tilt, in which one or both might be wounded to their hearts' contentment. Any question, or even no question at all, was sufficient to kindle such inflammable souls, while spectators were always at hand to applaud every good blow. Sometimes, however, a single combat was to be fought upon more public and important grounds, and was therefore attended with a considerable share of that solemn preparation which graced the tournament. One of these related by Hector Boece, the Scottish historian, is too remarkable to be omitted. Sir David Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, and Lord Wells, the ambassador of Richard II., having differed at a solemn banquet in Scotland about the valour of their respective countrymen, resolved to settle the question in their own persons; and to make the trial more difficult as well as more conspicuous, London bridge was selected for the place of combat, while the ensuing St. George's Day (of 1390) was appointed for the day of meeting. Attended by a mighty crowd, who mustered to the settlement of this great national assize, the two champions entered

these strange lists; and at sound of trumpet, rode in furious career against each other with grinded lances. But in the shock, Lindsay sat so firmly that a cry of foul play rose among the on-lookers, who declared that, contrary to the law of arms, he had fastened himself to his saddle. On hearing this, Lindsay leaped from his war horse, to show the falsehood of the charge, and then bounded once more into the saddle although laden with his heavy armour. The combat was

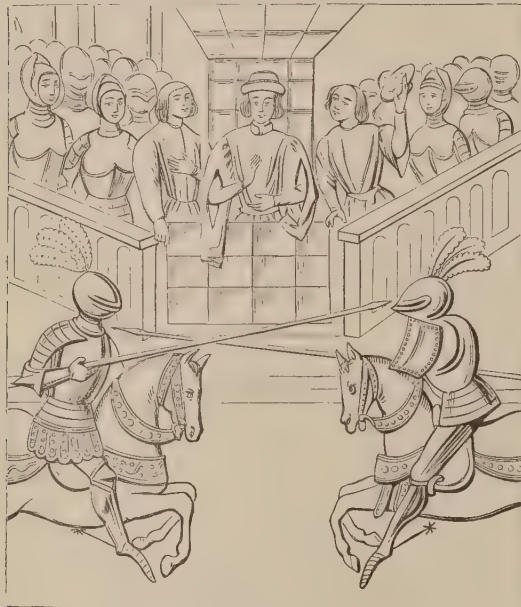


TOURNAMENT, from the Life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Ex. MS. apud Bib. Cot. Julius E. IV.

renewed, and the second course passed with equal fortune; but in the third Lord Wells was hurled to the ground with such force, that he lay without sense or motion. On this, Earl David dismounted, embraced the fallen man to show that he had done nothing in hate but all in honour, and afterwards continued to visit his antagonist every day at his lodging, until he was healed. It was a noble and touching sequel to what we might otherwise condemn as savage or puerile. But this was not the only generous trait that softened the fierce wars of the two contending nations. When the desperate battle of Otterbourne was ended, each captor said to his English prisoner, "Sir, go and unarm you, and take your ease; I am your master;" and, adds Froissart, "they made their prisoners as good cheer as though they had been brethren, without doing to them any damage."

But besides these various modes of contention, there was the ordeal combat, which formed not only an essential part of chivalry, but was incorporated with the civil institutions of almost every country in Europe. This kind of trial was a natural result of the Northern immigrations and conquests, and the Teutonic character impressed upon the renewed state of society, when in every doubtful matter, a blunt-witted but warlike people had recourse to the arbitration of their sword. With a view to humanize the spirits of the Norsemen, and probably to render such combats less frequent, the clergy identified them with religion,

when, at his accession, no less than forty gauntlets were thrown upon the floor, representing as many charges of high treason, and challenges to single combat. Battles of this kind were arranged with the most scrupulous precision. After the charge had been made, and the ring or glove of challenge given and received, the day of trial was appointed by the king, and lists were paved to the extent of sixty paces in length and forty in breadth, where the combatants could bestir themselves without interruption. The accuser then entered, mounted and fully armed; he thrice called on the accused, who at the third summons



SINGLE COMBAT.—From Froissart MS. British Museum.

rode into the lists; the charge was again read, and a denial returned; and no other resource being thus left, the oaths of battle were administered, by which, among other things, the hostile parties swore that they would fight fairly without aid from magic or witchcraft, or from herb, or stone, or any charm whatever by which they might gain the victory. The combatants then betook themselves to solemn prayer, and afterwards rose in readiness for battle. As it was a life and death conflict that followed, in which one if not both was certain to fall, the battle was waged first with spears, afterwards with swords, and finally in close grapple with daggers; and when one party was at last beaten down, so as to be unable to rise or defend himself, this was full proof of his guilt, in which case he was dragged by the heels from the lists, and generally hanged, whether quick or dead, upon a gibbet, as a convicted traitor. This kind of ordeal combat, like the tournaments, was only reserved for knights, or squires of stainless and ancient escutcheon who

and took them under their own especial management; and as such a mode of trial was considered a direct appeal to Heaven, they endeavoured to fence it with such solemn observances as would have been sufficient to deter most appellants from the lists. But the chivalrous spirit was not to be so restrained. Men who wore gilded spurs on their heels, and were impatient of the shadow of insult or contradiction, refused to intrust their honour to clerical keeping; and thus the ordeal combat passed away from the control of the ecclesiastical to the secular tribunals. Most of these appeals, too, were in cases of treason, and were therefore best fitted for the decision of kings and magistrates. Challenges of this nature, which had been sufficiently frequent in England, were plentiful during the reign of Richard II., but still more so during that of his successor,

were eligible for knighthood. But the commons too—men who were not entitled to fraternize with high-born chivalry—could also be charged with treason, and would give the lie to the charge; and how in such a case was the question to be settled? They, too, behoved to have their ordeal combat, although they might not wage it in chivalrous form, and therefore they were allowed to fight it out with weapons suited to their degree. In their case, therefore, the battle was fought on foot, the combatants being defended by skull-cap and habergeon, and armed with the two-handed sword, or the pole-axe and dagger. But still there were classes not conversant even with such weapons, but who were entitled to claim their full share of justice, and make it good by fair mastery and manhood. In this case, they were allowed to enter

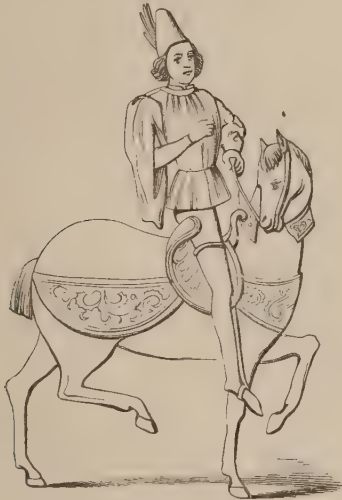
the lists armed with a staff and sand-bag, and to maul each other to death, or at least into a frank confession. Here the readers of Shakspeare will remember the case of the armourer and his man, mentioned in the second part of *Henry VI.*, which was a veritable incident.

With these chivalrous pastimes, combined with hunting, hawking, and gaming, the aristocracy of England found full occupation for whatever intervals they enjoyed during this eventful period. As chivalry also promoted a love of splendour, this tendency was exhibited not only in rich armour and gay changeful attire, but in nume-

tury of campaigning in Scotland. In this manner, therefore, the English nobility recruited their fortunes or acquired new ones, and the headlong expenditure of the day had a fearful effect upon the coffers of France.

Among the rivalries in rich living by which this era was distinguished, nothing was more natural than that the banquet should rank next in importance to the tournament itself. What, indeed, was the spoil of victory worth without enjoying it? and where could it better be enjoyed by a still unintellectual people than at the festive board? Brave men accordingly were signalized not only by their feats in arms, but their sumptuous and frequent dinners, and the crowds of noble guests who assembled to enjoy them. It is no wonder, therefore, if we find that in the middle of the thirteenth century, at the marriage feast of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, 30,000 dishes were served up at table; and that next century, a monk on being promoted to an abbacy, celebrated his installation by a banquet of 3000 dishes. In the same century, also, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, spent the enormous sum of 22,000 pounds of silver in house-keeping in one year, while the drain of his cellar amounted to 371 pipes of wine. What was the style of cookery that prevailed at these banquets we still are unable distinctly to ascertain; but the dishes were sufficiently artificial, and so highly seasoned, that they are described as "brenning with wildfire." It was to be expected that in such a style of living Norman abstinence should at last give way, and accordingly, besides the two meals a-day, which were now protracted to an unwonted length, sundry refectations, which served as apologies for dainty eating and drinking, were served up during the course of the day.

But of the manners, habits, costume, and external characteristics of the various classes of English society at this period and towards its close, no account can equal that which Chaucer has given in his "Prologue" to the *Canterbury Tales*. The scene is the Tabard inn, the date of meeting 1383, and the persons assembled twenty-nine men and women, the representatives of different classes of society, who are all bound on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Thomas à Becket. The growth of inns had already been rapid in our comfort-loving metropolis, when we find that during the time of Fitz-Stephen it had nothing better than a single cook-shop, a fact which he quotes as a striking proof of the civilization to which London had already attained. "Here," he says, "according to the season, you may find victuals of all kinds, roasted, baked, fried, and boiled; fish, large and small; and coarse viands for the poorer sort, and more delicate ones for the rich, such as venison, fowls,



KNIGHT OF THE TIME, TRAVELLING COSTUME.—Froissart MS. British Museum.

rous throngs of attendants, and a sumptuous style of living, in which the highest endeavoured to excel their equals, and inferiors to vie with those above them. This expensive competition will serve, independently of other motives, to show why a war with France was in greater favour with the English nobility than one with Scotland. According to the chivalrous mode of warfare, while the rascal multitude were hewn down without mercy, squires, knights, and men of high degree were taken prisoners, and allowed to compound for their deliverance; and thus war was the exchequer of the brave and daring, with which they could repair their estates and maintain their expensive style of living. But while little in this way was to be got from the Scots, it was different in the case of the French, whose dukes, counts, and chevaliers were so wealthy, that "egregious ransom" was certain to be obtained from them; and in this way, one such victory as that of Poitiers, besides the glory of the action, was more profitable than half a cen-

and small birds. No number so great, of knights or strangers, can either enter the city at any hour of day or night, or leave it, but all may be supplied with provisions; so that those have no occasion to fast too long, nor these to depart the city without their dinner." Now, however, the Tabard inn was only one of several hostleries in the suburb of Southwark. It was so called, from having a tabard or knight's coat, with the arms embroidered on it, painted upon the sign-board. Here the chambers and stables, the poet tells us, were wide, and all the company

them to Canterbury on the morrow. But this is not all: it must be a merry pilgrimage, and therefore, to cheer the way both in the going and return every one must tell a story, while the best narrator is to be rewarded with a supper. The proposal is so welcome, that he is at once appointed governor of the expedition, and judge of the merits of the expected tales; and that no demur about the order of commencement should be felt, he makes them "draw cuts" as to who shall begin, with the proviso that the shortest cut shall carry it.

What wight of the present day does not here recognize the mode of solving many a school-boy difficulty upon the ticklish question of precedence?

After this worthy landlord, let us consider his guests, as they are seated round the supper table. And first in rank as in worth, comes the knight, "a very perfect gentle knight," as the author tells us, in whom he gives us a pleasing portraiture of the best features in the chivalry of the period. Ever since he could ride he had been a lover of the honoured order to which he belonged, and had cultivated the virtues which the knightly vow enjoined—



THE TABARD INN, Southwark.—From a sketch by J. W. Archer.

were accommodated with the best. The landlord was in good keeping with his inn, for he was a man of such aspect, bearing, and management, that he was fit to have been a "marshal in a hall," where his office would have been to arrange the places of lords and noble dames, and the order of their entertainment. With his imposing portly person, measured step, and judicious conversation, as one that "was wise and well ytaught," he was also a "right merry man," who could season his good cheer with lively conversation. All this was nothing more than necessary at a time when landlords of inns were not merely the attendants, but also the hosts of the company in the proper sense of the term—receiving and entertaining the guests, of whatever rank, as visitors, and presiding at the banquets they had prepared for them. In this way, he sits down with Chaucer and the twenty-nine pilgrims to the excellent supper, where there was "victual of the best," and abundance of strong wine, and takes a principal part in the conversation. So eager, too, is he to promote their happiness, that, understanding the nature of their pilgrimage, he proposes to accompany

truth and honour, freedom and courtesy. He had been faithful to the noble of whom he held in fee, and had served him in his wars; he had also seen service beyond most men both in Christendom and Heathenesse, and everywhere been honoured for his worth. When the poet proceeds to detail, we might have expected to find some mention of the knight's achievements at Crecy and Poitiers; but as these were too nigh and too recent for the purposes of poetry, Chaucer prefers telling us that he had been at the capture of Alexandria, that he had served in Prussia against the Lithuanian idolaters, that he had fought in Spain against the Moors, and that in his military capacity he had been employed both in Africa and Asia. He had been in fifteen mortal battles, and thrice in single combat in the lists, where each time he had slain his antagonist. And yet, with all these chivalrous deeds and travels in many lands, it is touchingly added, that he was "meek as a maid," and had never in speech given offence to human being. In all these we recognize him as one of the last relics of the crusading spirit, by which chivalry was matured to its full height. His equipments were

of that simple kind that best suited such a character, being a good, but not a showy horse, and a short cassock of fustian, somewhat soiled with his coat of mail, for he was just arrived from a voyage, and eager to discharge his religious

ately wound up with the following substantial qualifications:—

“Curteis he was, lowly, and servisable,
And carf before his fader at the table.”

Such was the stuff of which the master-spirits

of the great events of the day were composed; and some score of years after, this youth was probably the wise in council and strong in battle, a gallant knight and a skilful leader, such as Henry V. loved to cherish. But the future who knows? and therefore he is not troubled with dreams about Azincourt: when it comes it will find him ready to a point. Meanwhile, there he goes careering upon his white horse, to tell his sins before the shrine of St. Thomas—not very heavy ones, if we may judge from his manner. As the



CANTERBURY PILGRIMS.—From Lydgate's Tale of Thebes. Royal MS. 18 D. ii.

duties on landing, by a pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas à Becket. Most fitly, indeed, was such a character made to tell the heart-stirring, yet pure and gentle tale of “Palamon and Arcite.”

And now succeeds his young son the squire.

As the father was the type of that stern and sober age which predominated under Edward III. and the Black Prince, when the wars with Scotland and France gave full occupation to the best and the worst of English society, the son is one of those gay young gallants whom the more joyous reign of Richard II., like a sunshine, had called into full life and flutter. And yet, no thoughtless profligate was he, but one worthy to call the “perfect knight” his father. In appearance, he was about twenty years old; but in his capacity of squire, he had already seen some campaigning in Flanders, Artois, and Picardy, where he had borne himself gallantly in the hope of gaining his lady's favour—for without such a motive, he would have been unworthy of the spurs which he hoped to win. He was also in love, not poetically or platonically only, but in good earnest, so that under the influence of his passion he slept no better than a nightingale. And then, too, he was well fitted by his accomplishments to win even a proud lady's favour; for independently of his military character, which had commenced so fairly, he could sit his horse firmly and ride gracefully, compose songs and sing them, write and limn almost like a clerk, and show his skill in the joust, and his nimbleness in the dance; while his happy temper was such, that he was generally singing or playing on the flute all day long. All these accomplishments are appropri-

outward appearance and dress of such a youth were matters of the highest importance, Chaucer presents him to us as of fair shape and stature, and wonderfully nimble in movement—with his locks curled as if they had been laid in a press—his dress embroidered like a meadow with red and white flowers, while its chief article is a short gown with long and wide sleeves. In attendance upon both knight and squire, was only a single servant, but still too worthy a personage to be dismissed with hasty notice; for he was a yeoman—one of those who were now fast rising into a middle class in England, and who held their snug little farms by a tenure of military attendance or service without the degradation of bondage; and as such men took an equal share with their lords in the toils of campaigning and the dangers of battle, a reciprocity of feeling and frankness of intercourse was the natural result of such an union. He is described as having a nut-head—round, or brown, or hard as a nut, or perhaps all three—while his outer clothing consisted of a coat and hood of green. This was the characteristic costume of a forester, which, Chaucer informs us, he was; and in addition to his green hood and jerkin, he wore, as the insignia of his craft, a green baldric, a horn at his side, and on his breast a St. Christopher of silver. His weapons, too, were in full conformity, for they consisted of a sword and buckler hanging at his side, a sharp dagger, a mighty bow, and a sheaf of arrows feathered from the plumage of the peacock, which he carried in his belt; while it is shown that these perilous shafts could be directed into instant use by the bracer of

leather which he wore upon his arm. Thus fully equipped either for distant or standing fight, he is too important a person in that worshipful company to be treated as a mere underling, or compelled to follow in humble silence; and when his turn arrives, perhaps his tale of the gay greenwood will rank among the best.

After these representatives of the military profession in its higher and lower stages, we now turn to those of the church, who, as might be supposed, form a considerable part of the pilgrimage. And first comes Madame Eglantine, the gentle prioress, clothed in her wimple or neck covering "full semely ypinched," her handsome black cloak and white tunic beneath, indicating the Benedictine order; and carrying dependent from her arm a string of coral beads, to which was attached a gold locket, having engraved upon it the simple posey, *Amor vincit omnia*. It is evident from her character that this *amor* has no reference to the earthly passion: this she forswore at the altar, and well has she kept her vow. And yet, how fitted she was to be admired and loved, from the description of her noble fair forehead, "almost a span broad," her nose long and well proportioned, her eyes gray, and "her mouth full small and thereto soft and red!" Her education had well qualified her for such high church office, for she sang the church service "entuned in her nose full sweetly," and could speak French fairly and fluently. It is noted, however, that hers was such French as was learned at Stratford-at-the-Bow, so that she did not understand such as was spoken at Paris. This Stratford school was evidently the prototype of those female modern boarding schools in or near London, where French was taught so admirably, that its pupils, on visiting the French capital, were able to discover that the Parisians could not speak their own language. She had also been taught to eat so daintily, that not a morsel should fall from her lips, or a drop of sauce from her fingers, while travelling from the dish to her mouth. Such was the finished table education of a young lady of rank when forks were unknown. In her character she was so humble, that she disliked her high rank on account of the stateliness it obliged her to assume; so tender-hearted, that she would weep if she but saw a mouse dying in a trap; and so benevolent, that she kept a family of small hounds which she fed with roast meat, milk, and wastel bread. How else could a prioress expend the affections of a heart so uncorrupted and unsoured? But the best of her good qualities remains to be noticed: her speech was so pure, that her only oath was "By Saint Loy." This was wonderful continence of tongue, when we remember for how many centuries the English were renowned over the world as a nation of hard

swearers. Their kings swore upon the throne, through the whole gamut of blasphemy, each having his favourite note, from the loud-sounding "By the splendour of God!" thundered from the deep chest of William the Conqueror, to the "Od's fish!" whistled through the lips of Charles II. Bishops, abbots, and priests swore, and that so copiously, and with such wonderful inflections and variations, that it seemed as if in many cases their theological studies had only enlarged their nomenclature of swearing. And as for the military men, "our armies in Flanders," who swore so terribly, were but the lees and dregs of the English soldiery of Crecy and Azincourt, who marched, charged, fought, and even died swearing, inasmuch that the French, whose favourite vice lay in a different direction, were astonished at this incomprehensible prodigality of wickedness, and were wont to call an Englishman a "God-damn-me," from the watch-word that was constantly on his lips. The fashion was adopted by the different classes of civil society; and through all its ranks, men and women swore so ruthlessly, that a mouth could scarcely open but out there flew an oath. These oaths, too, generally varied in form, like garments or personal ornaments, according to the fashion of the age or occupation of the swearer. It was a vile national characteristic; and being national, it was so infectious, that even the devout and virtuous fell into it as part and parcel of the current speech of the realm. Viewed in this light, Chaucer's prioress was indeed a miracle of goodness, and her "Saint Loy" was innocence itself compared with the deep-mouthed expletives of her travelling companions.

After her comes a monk, and such a monk as was well qualified to be an abbot. This, however, was not on account of his learning, but his love of riding and skill in hunting, which were certain to recommend him to the patronage of the noblest. His stable was his library, where he had many a dainty horse; his greyhounds were as swift of foot as a fowl is of flight; and all his cares were for hare-hunting, upon which he spared no cost. He was a true clerical Nimrod of the fourteenth century, and many such there appear to have been in England. Even his taste is shown in his pilgrimage, for though bound on a religious duty, his embossed bridle jingled in the wind as loud and clear as a chapel bell, as he ambled along upon his sleek berry-brown palfrey; the sleeves of his gown were edged at the cuff with fur of the richest, and his hood was fastened under his chin with a gold pin, curiously headed with a love-knot; while his face, which was in keeping with his portly figure, shone as if it had been anointed with oil. His deserts will doubtless promote him to

an abbey, where his stud and his pack will be amplified tenfold. With the monk was a friar, of different but not more commendable character and pursuits. While the former was well provided for by his monastery, and had no care for the morrow, the latter, belonging to a mendicant order of the priesthood, is dependent upon his own industry, and his acceptance with the people. But in this he is so successful that he scarcely needs to envy his more showy brother. This man is described as "a wanton and a merry," full of dalliance and fair language, and who, to make his speech all the sweeter, affected a lisp in his utterance. Moreover, he could sing well and play upon the harp and rote; and while he sang, his merry musical eyes twinkled in his head like stars in a frosty night. Then, in person, he was as strong as a champion, while his neck was as white as a fleur-de-lis. Who could resist such attractions? Not the jolly franklins to whom he was a welcome guest—not the taverns that were his favourite haunts—not the women, of whom he was the gentlest and easiest, as well as most attractive of father confessors. Accordingly, wherever he went, the daintiest cheer awaited his coming, the richest dole blessed his departure, and he was the best beggar, as well as the merriest man in all the house. His garb was in full harmony with his character, so that he was more like a pope than a cloisterer; his semi-cope was of double worsted, voluminous, and round as a bell, and his tippet was always stuffed with pins and knives, as presents to bestow upon the pretty women who were his penitents. To sum up his character, while he eschewed the society of the poor as if they had been very lazars, and stuck to the rich and opulent, he could also "devour widows' houses," so that if they had but a shoe, he would manage in his begging to extract a farthing. Such were the qualities most in vogue among the mendicant friars of the day; and such men, the poet, like the rest of his tuneful brethren who prepared the way for the Reformation, was little inclined to spare.

But a still worse character was to succeed; this was the sompnour or summoner, one of those ecclesiastical officers whose vocation was to serve citations upon offenders for trial in the church courts. The friar, whose order depended upon public charity, made himself all things to all men, though not exactly in the sense of the apostle; but the summoner, who had no such necessity, being an office-bearer dressed in a little brief authority, exhibited all the sensuality and knavery of the former, but without those jovial qualities with which they were disguised. A more disgusting personage, indeed, than this sompnour could scarcely be described, and he seems to have held, though with many aggravations, the same

odious characteristics that were attributed by distressed genius to the bum-bailiffs of a later period. And first, as to his personal appearance, he had a "fire-red cherubim's face" (a fallen one, of course), which was so scalded, welked, and bempbled, that children fled from its presence, while no brimstone, litharge, or quicksilver, could quench the flame, or purify the foul source from which it was kept in fuel. But, indeed, his mode of feeding rather cherished it, for garlic, onions, and leeks were his favourite dainties, and strong wine as red as blood his chief drink, in which he indulged so deeply, that in his cups he would become as vociferous as a madman. To complete this loathly description, we are informed that he was as "lecherous as a sparrow"—but what else could such a face and such habits betoken!—and moreover, that he was a pimp, who not only ministered to the guilt of others, but taught them how to brave its consequences with the church, or buy its remission. With all his ugliness, he has a very comfortable opinion of his personal attractions, and endeavours to heighten them, by wearing upon his head a garland of most preposterous amplitude. He also sets up for a scholar and philosopher, upon the strength of a few Latin sentences which he has picked up in office, and which he utters like a jay without knowing their meaning, but is glad to cut the matter short whenever a better scholar than himself is disposed to enter with him into controversy. Did the church select such a summoner by way of giving the culprit a foretaste of coming punishment? Side by side with this sompnour, like a brute superstition coupled in leash with brute sensuality, rides a pardoner, one of those miserable pedlars of the small wares of the church, who travelled from town to town, and from country to country, selling dispensations for sin, and exhibiting miraculous relics, by which a crowd could be advanced whole leagues heavenward for as many pence. These were the men upon whom such writers as Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Sir David Lindsay especially delighted to fasten, as the most legitimate objects of their satire, when graver personages might not be safely assailed. He has brought with him from Rome a wallet brimful of pardons, as well as a mail stuffed with miraculous treasures, such as a veil of the Virgin Mary, a fragment of St. Peter's sail, and other commodities of like wonderment, made for the nonce out of rags, stones, and other such rubbish. He has for his badge a vernicle or miniature picture of Christ, copied from the miraculous impress on the handkerchief in St. Peter's Church, sewed upon the front of his cap, to show that he had actually come from Rome; and his long lanky hair, as straight and yellow as flax, streams from under it, and overspreads his shoulders.

Side by side he rides along with his fast friend, the sompnoir; and letting their vocation for the time go to sleep, they cheer the dullness of the way by a lusty song in chorus, of which the burden is "Come hither, love, to me."

It was fortunate for a church so soon doomed to perish, that she had better guides than these, so that she might fall at least with dignity, if she could not survive with honour; and accordingly, besides the gentle prioress, who has passed by like one of the lambs of her own fold, we have the Oxford clerk mounted upon his lean horse, and musing deep and learned thoughts as he wends along undisturbed by the din of such uncongenial brethren. But we shall have more of him anon, when we come to treat of the men of learning, among whom he takes his proper place. But now comes the best of Chaucer's characters, in "the good man of religion," the poor parson of a country town; a sketch which Goldsmith evidently had before his eye, when he delineated his "country clergyman," and Cowper, when he sought to describe "a preacher such as Paul." It is indeed too good, too beautiful and apostolic for other handling than that of Chaucer himself, and therefore we pass it by with lingering look and a reverential bow. This portrait, however, we may mention, has an interesting pendicle attached to it, in the brief description of the ploughman, brother to the parson; and in this peasant we see the effects of such a ministry upon the humble orders of a rural population.



Ploughman and Plough.—From MS. of *Piers Plowman*.

He is a true man of toil and industry; a true son of the church, to which he pays tithe well and fairly; and a true Christian in the highest sense of the term; for—

"God loved he beste with alle his herte
At alle times, were it gain or smerte,
And then his neighebour right as himselve;
He wolde thresh, and therto dike and delve,
For Christes sake, for every poure wight,
Withoutten hire, if it lay in his might."

Having thus considered the principal personages of the church, the learned professions of law and medicine should rightly follow; and of these, the Canterbury pilgrims contain the appropriate types. And first comes the doctor of physic.

An imposing person he certainly was, for he was clothed in red Persian silk, lined with taffeta and sendal, and in all the world none could speak like him upon matters of medicine and surgery. No patient could therefore be so unreasonable as to tamper with his prescriptions, or be doubtful of a cure. And, moreover, he had read all the learned works of his profession written by its greatest masters—Dioscorides, Hali, Avicenna, Averrhoes, Galen, Serapion, and many others, whose very names could have called up health itself "from the vasty deep," though pill and potion had been set aside. But with all this vast reading, we are slyly told, that "his study was but little on the Bible;" a usual consequence of half-learning, or knowledge of a science as yet crude and imperfect: the doctor was either sceptic or materialist, or one who was indifferent to religion altogether. As a man, however, must believe in the supernatural even though he should discard all religion, and be afraid of ghosts though he should have no fear of a God, our learned physician, with all his wondrous professional knowledge, put his chief trust in the stars, and consulted them in every difficulty. With him it was not enough that the medicament should be made according to the strictest rule; there must be a propitious twinkle in the sky for the hour and mode of its application. All this devotion to the stars, however, was subservient to a less elevated feeling, for he "loved gold in special," and was the most charmed by the glitter

of his fee. And now comes the serjeant-at-law, wary and wise, and full of reverence and discretion. Men of his profession were of higher office and standing in the days of Chaucer than at present; for the most learned of their number frequently acted as judges; and that they needed to belong to the wealthy classes of society is evident, from the splendid

feast which they usually gave on their first investment. It was a great dinner "like to the feast of a king's coronation," continuing for seven days, and upon which he was to expend not less than 400 marks. He was also to present a gold ring to every one who had been at his investiture throughout the whole court, and give new liveries or suits to all the members of his household. So we are informed by Dugdale, in his *Origine Judiciales*. It is no wonder, therefore, that we are told of our serjeant:—

"Justice he was ful often in assise,
By patent, and by pleine commissioun;
For his science, and for his high renoun,
Of fees and robes had he many on."

The poet also informs us, that although no man could be so busy as he, yet he always seemed busier than he really was. Who has not recognized this superfluous activity and imposing bustle in any of our modern courts of law? It was even already a characteristic of the profession. At his fingers' ends also he had every case and judgment that had occurred since the days of William the Conqueror, and therefore no emergency in special pleading could take him by surprise, or find him without a precedent. Besides his professional coif, he wears a "homely medley coat," girt with a silken girdle that was adorned with small bars. We are told that he had often been at the parvise, which is supposed to be another name for the paradise, a place attached to the universities and schools of learning, where "sophistry" was taught to young students in training for the legal profession; and Dugdale mentions a paradise of this kind at or near St. Paul's Church, probably from its convenient neighbourhood to the Inns of Court. At these places tyros attended to perfect themselves in law and logic, and old practitioners to show their dexterity; and it was probably in the last capacity that Chaucer's learned serjeant had often frequented the metropolitan "parvise."

The time was approaching when England's merchants were to be princes, and its traffickers the honourable of the earth; and it would have been strange therefore if their representatives had not duly figured among the Canterbury pilgrims. Even already there was Michael de la Pole, who had become Earl of Suffolk, and lord-chancellor to Richard II., though only the son of a merchant; and a merchant also was the worshipful John Philpot, who, in the same reign, hired ships, mariners, and 1000 soldiers at his own proper cost, and gave battle to Mercer and the Scottish fleet, whom he completely defeated. So rapidly, too, had the profession risen in importance, that while in the reign of Edward III. the merchant tailors' company had only two earls and one bishop among its honorary members, in the following reign they had increased to four royal dukes, five bishops, ten earls, and ten barons. The merchant of Chaucer is every way worthy of such a noble fraternity, for his chief point of patriotism is the guardianship of the seas, and his principal theme of conversation the increase of his profits. But with all this communicativeness, the *per contra* side of his ledger was so prudently concealed, that

"There wiste no wight that he was in dette."

There he sits "high on horse," clothed also in "motley," or as we learn from the costume of the period, a garment of red lined with blue, and

figured with white and blue flowers; a Flanders beaver on his head, while his boots are clasped fair and handsomely upon his feet, and his peaceful forked beard is in full harmony with the thoughtfulness of his countenance and gravity of his discourse. But he is not the only representative of traffic in the company, for Chaucer has also introduced a group of tradesmen consisting of a haberdasher, carpenter, weaver, dyer, and tapestry-maker. And fully did the appearance of these men indicate how well the trades of England were already cared for, and their dignity supported. They were all clothed in the rich livery of their order; the knives they wore at their girdles were mounted with silver instead of brass, and so were also their girdles and pouches; and while each for appearance might have been a substantial burgess advanced to the dais of his guild hall, he might for wisdom have filled the office of an alderman. So also thought their wives, who by such a promotion would have been entitled "madame," and enabled to bear their mantles in queen-like style at wakes and festivals. Another son of traffic, and that, too, of high importance, figures among the pilgrims, in the person of the shipman. He is a veritable sailor of the period, who can not only navigate but fight his ship, and do a little smuggling on his own account while conveying the freight of his owners. But these were the days when a man might be merchant, sea-captain, supercargo, buccaneer, and smuggler all in one, and supplement his loss in one department by gain in another, so as never to return from a voyage empty-handed. "And certainly," says the poet notwithstanding, "he was a good fellow." The hot sun had embrowned his face, and by many a tempest had his beard been shaken; yet now, when mounted on horseback, he sits so awkwardly and rides so painfully, that it is evident he would rather be in the Bay of Biscay in a stiff gale, and wishes himself once more on board his good ship the *Magdalene*.

From the town we now turn to the country, and from mercantile to rural society and occupation. And here the franklin appears, with his sanguine complexion and "beard white as a daisy," clothed in a surcoat of red lined with blue, with bars or stripes of fringe or lace over it; an anlace or dagger at his side, and a silken purse at his girdle. In Chaucer's time, a franklin was a personage of such high importance as to be classed immediately after the nobility, holding his lands *frank* or free directly from the king, for which he paid homage but not feudal service; but after this period the multiplication or subdivision of such holdings so much lessened the consequence of these dignified vavasors, that at the time of Queen Elizabeth they seem to have been of not much higher

account than the common peasantry; and therefore the clown in the *Winter's Tale* exclaims, "Let boors and *franklins* say it, I'll swear it." Our worthy franklin, however, is wholly unconscious of the coming deterioration, and bears himself with the full dignity of one who held the high offices of sheriff and knight of the shire. In his mode of living he was the beau-ideal of a great substantial landholder; for in his habits he was "Epicurus' own son," while his reputation for hospitality made him the St. Julian of his county, the patron saint of travellers. Such was the profusion of good cheer, and the liberality with which it was bestowed, that "it snowed in his house of meat and drink," while the table, a perpetual fixture in his hall, was covered all the long day. In looking more closely at the bill of fare of such a paragon of country luxury, we find that abundance rather than quality was the chief distinction; and that the materials were such as were within the reach of every English landholder. It consisted of ale and wine, and bread and baked meats, and birds of game and stewed fish, varied according to the season; but not a word either of foreign dishes or foreign cookery. This jolly franklin, in short, appears to have been one of the earliest of those patriotic squires, who believed that the best of all the world was carefully culled and deposited within our own island, and that of all human foods, whether for luxury or sustenance, there could be nothing like the "roast beef of old England." A more particular account of the gastronomic science of this period is to be learned from Chaucer's sketch of that essential personage, the cook, who accompanied the pilgrims to Canterbury. This cook, whom they had with them to "boil the chickens and the marrow bones," appears from this circumstance not only to have been skilled in savoury stews, but in making the most of everything. What kind of stews or soups these were, we cannot ascertain; but in addition to the chickens and bones, the powder called "marchant tart," and "galingle" or sweet cypress, formed part of the seasoning. He could also make "mortrewés," which we learn from a receipt in a work on ancient cookery, consisted of pork or other meat brayed in a mortar, with milk, eggs, spices, and other additions, and coloured very deeply with saffron. He could make "blanc-manger," we are told, with the best; and from the intimation we may conjecture that this was a frequent dainty of the period. But how was this blanc-manger made? If a receipt in cookery so late as 1575 was the same as that used in the time of Chaucer, the bill on cruelty to animals should have been introduced into parliament at least four centuries ago. It thus begins: "Take a capon and cut out the braune of him alive." After this Abyssinian commencement, the

operator is directed to "parboyle the braune tyll the flesh come from the boone, and then dry him as dry as you can, in a fayre clothe; then take a payre of cardes, and card him as small as possible; and then take a pottell of milke, and a pottell of creame, and halfe a pound of rye flower, and your carded brawen of the capon, and put all into a panne, and styre it altogether, and set it upon the fyre, and when it beginneth to boyle put therto halfe a pound of beaten sugar, and a saucer full of roose water, and so let it boyle tyll it be very thicke; then put it into a charger till it be colde," &c. We believe our readers have now got enough of this blanc-manger. In addition to these delicate processes, our cook could make pies, and perform every process of roasting, seething, broiling, and frying. It is added, that he well knew a "draught of London ale," an intimation of the superiority of that kind of brewage which the capital enjoyed not only then, but at a later period. We learn from the accounts of Archbishop Warham's feast, given in 1504, that the ale of London cost five shillings a barrel more than that of Kent.

Another important rural personage is the reeve or land-steward, whom Chaucer presents in strong contrast both in person and character to the jovial kind-hearted franklin. He is, in fact, such a man as the Peter Pounce of Fielding, or the Gilbert Glossin of Scott, showing how the factor or land-agent of a wealthy but indolent squire will enrich himself at the expense of his employer. In the short sketch of his history which the poet gives us, this reeve had originally been a wright and carpenter; but probably feeling that his genius lay elsewhere, or longing for more profitable occupation, he became the land-steward of a young nobleman who had not yet entered his majority. He knows the produce of every inch of the estate, every hoof in the live stock, and every feather in the barn-yard so accurately, that "none auditor could on him win" by an undue demand; but all this watchfulness is for his own sake, on account of the comfortable reversions which such circumspection yields him. It does not therefore surprise us to be told that he lent his lord the money that rightfully belonged to the latter, and got both thanks and good interest in return. Such a man must play the tyrant over all the other officials, and keep them at a distance from the principal, to secure his own exclusive possession, and therefore —

"Ther n' as balliff, ne herde, ne other hine,
That he ne knew his sleight and his covine;
They were adradde of him, as of the deth."

His whole appearance was so close, penurious, and money-loving, that his character could not easily be mistaken. His beard was shaven close to the chin, and his hair cropped to the ears;

his dress was gathered and tucked about him like a friar; and a rusty blade, with which he no doubt hoped to protect his winnings, dangled by his side. With all his growing wealth, too, he was choleric of countenance and attenuated in person, so that his long callous legs were as lean as two staves. It is noticed, also, that in the array of pilgrims, he ever rode the hindmost—as if suspicion of all mankind had become his predominating principle. Already, he has a fair home upon a heath, overshadowed with trees; and who can tell how soon it may be exchanged for the mansion-house itself?

Another of the agricultural representatives is the miller, but a very different personage from the reeve, being a stout carl for the nonce, compacted of brawn and bone, and having courage commensurate to his appearance. And that this was not more than necessary is evident, when we remember, with what kind of customers he had to deal, and how often he had to enforce his multures with a bold front and strong hand. Accordingly, he supports his character for prowess at the public wrestling matches, where he had often carried away the ram, the prize of the victor, from every competitor. Some of his displays of strength, too, would have been rather startling in modern gymnastics; for he could heave a strong door off its bar with his shoulder, or break it, by running a-tilt at it with his head. Such were probably the crowning exploits to which the village Samsons of the period aspired. His beard was red, and broad as a spade; his nostrils were wide and black; and as if to add to the formidable character of his aspect, a wart was upon his nose, garnished with a tuft of red hair, like the bristles of a sow's ear, while his mouth was as wide as a furnace. Such a man was not likely to go about unarmed, and therefore he carried at his side a sword and buckler; but to show withal that he was a merry good fellow, he carried a bagpipe under his arm, which he blew up on the departure of the pilgrims from the town. A white coat and blue hood constituted the chief parts of his costume. In character, he appears not merely



BAGPIPER.—From an sculpture in Beverley Minster.

to have been roisterous but sensual, as his physiognomy indicates; while in his trade, he was as ready as his

brethren of the craft to intromit with the corn that passed through his hands, and even subject it to a triple toll. And yet, with all this, Chaucer sarcastically adds, that he had a "thumb of gold," an expression already used to designate an honest miller.

But how shall we describe the Wife of Bath, whom we have omitted to the last? Chaucer's prioress is a beautiful impersonation of all that was gentle and devout in the womanhood of England; but as for this wife of Bath, she is the very type of its forwardness, frivolity, and sensuality. And yet the poet strives hard, and not unsuccessfully, to make us admire, or at least excuse her. She was somewhat deaf; she was "gat-tothed," or as some of the MSS. read it, "cat-tothed," that is, having her fore-teeth placed in the jaws like a cat's; and she was over-bold of countenance; but on the other hand, she had a bright rosy complexion and well-proportioned ample form, while her loud and somewhat free discourse was excused by her cheerful temper and exuberant love of merriment. As dress to such a person was a matter of first importance, she had such store of apparel as, in this particular, to exceed even the gay dames of Ypres and Ghent—the two fashionable cities of the middle ages; her kerchiefs were of rich stuff, and flowing amplitude; and as it was at church on great festivals that she was wont to parade her finery, no woman of the parish might go before her in this particular without overturning her Christian charity. But besides being a frequent church-goer, she was a first-rate pilgrim; for already she had been thrice at Jerusalem, besides visiting Rome, Cologne, Spain, and France, in her devout peregrinations to holy shrines. No one, however, who knows what merry meetings and festive trips these pilgrimages were, can fail to discover how earnest a devotee they could find in such a woman as the wife of Bath. Five husbands she has already had, and it is evident that it will not be long before she has obtained a sixth. For her present pilgrimage she is well "ywimpled," with a foot-mantle girt about her waist; a pair of bright scarlet hose fairly laced, and shoes soft and new adorn her limbs and feet; upon her head she wears a hat as broad as a buckler, and upon her heels a pair of sharp spurs.

Such were the Canterbury pilgrims; and in them we see the different classes of which English society was composed, and the appearance and mode of life by which each was distinguished. In the colouring, Chaucer no doubt took that liberty which from time immemorial has been conceded to every poet. But from the air of life and truthfulness that pervades every portrait, we can be assured that an original had sat for it. He had seen them all, he had associated with

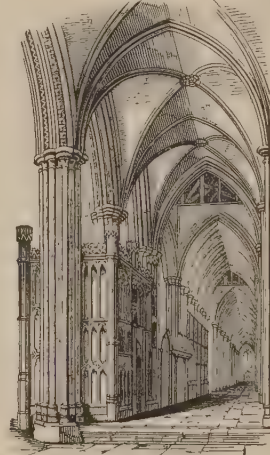
them, he had marked every particular of their character and bearing, and not only so, but of their costume to the minutest point; and having thus collected his sketches, it was natural for him to select the chief hall of his favourite inn, the Tabard, as the background of his picture.

The transition which the English mind was undergoing from Saxon barbarism to Norman refinement, marked though it was in the living aspect of the period, was still more distinctly indicated in the stately buildings with which England was now overspread, the diversified character of their structure, and the graceful style of their ornaments. Upon this important department, therefore, in the history of English progress, it is necessary to expatiate with more than ordinary length and minuteness. We must premise, however, that this architectural epoch, in point of date, does not entirely coincide with that of the civil and military narrative; so that it will be necessary to go back to the accession of Richard I. for its commencement, and to trace the progress of Gothic architecture from that time to the end of the reign of Richard II.

This period is marked by great changes: it included the rise and decline of two important styles—the **EARLY ENGLISH** and the **DECORATED**; it saw Gothic architecture attain its highest perfection—its culminating point—and it witnessed the commencement of its decline. During this period most of our finest buildings were erected. The cathedrals of Salisbury, Lincoln, Ely, Westminster, Beverley, Hereford, York, and Peterborough, offer fine examples of Early English; while those of Ely, York, Exeter, and Lichfield, have portions equally good of the Decorated style.

We have seen in the previous Book the origin of the pointed arch, which was destined to work such important changes in architecture. This innovation arose from necessity; and having been once given to the world, it was taken up and carried out in all directions. Its applicability was instantly seen: it set free the genius of the architect, and he attempted and executed designs which, a few years before, he could not even have conceived. The change at this period must have been truly wonderful; and even now, if we compare the

buildings of the Norman and the Gothic periods, we are astonished that it could have been so speedily effected. The broad distinction of **EARLY ENGLISH** from **NORMAN** architecture consists in the use of the pointed instead of the semi-circular arch. This was employed not only for windows, doors, and pier-arches, but also for vaulting. And here its vast superiority is more especially shown; it gave greater elevation to the roofs, which were now carried up at an acute angle to a marvellous height, and over spaces of all dimensions. The flat ceiling entirely disap-



NORTH AISLE, Salisbury Cathedral.

peared, and with it the cumbrous round-headed arches and their massive piers. The walls were reduced in thickness, and to compensate for this, large projecting buttresses were added, to strengthen them where strength was required. The towers assumed loftier proportions, and, to complete the upward tendency of the lines, the spire was added.

In comparing a Norman with an Early English building, the eye is struck with the heavy and flat appearance of the former, and the light and graceful aspect of the latter. In the Norman the horizontal line prevails, but in the Early English the vertical. The pointed arch carries the eye to the apex, the slender vaulting shafts and groining ribs conduct it to the point of the roof, and on the exterior the buttresses, ending in pinnacles, and the high pitch of the roof itself, all tend in the same direction. Norman architecture appears like what it is—the mark of the conqueror placed on a prostrate land; while the Early English shows the revival of the national mind, and its freedom established anew.

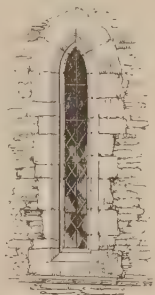
One of the leading peculiarities in the exterior



GROINED ROOF, Salisbury Cathedral.

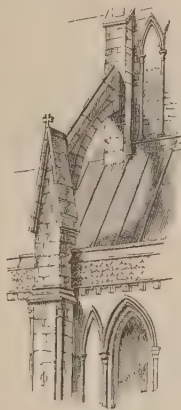
of an Early English building is the form of the windows, which, throughout the early period of the style, are very plain, particularly in small churches. They are narrow in proportion to their height, and terminate in a pointed arch; and, from resembling the blade of a lancet, are usually known as *lancet windows*. In cathedrals and other large buildings, the windows, frequently combined two or more together, are carried to a great height, are richly and deeply moulded, and the jambs ornamented with slender shafts. Of these, the window in the transept of York Cathedral, known as the "five sisters," is one of the most beautiful examples. On the eastern and western fronts of small churches the windows are often combined in this manner, with a circular window above, and a richly moulded door below; but in large buildings there is often more than one range of windows, and the combinations are very various. Choice examples occur at Salisbury, Beverley, and York.

The doorways are in general pointed, and in rich buildings sometimes double; they are usually moulded, and enriched with the tooth-ornament.



LANCET WINDOW,
Comberton.

mere strips of masonry, serving no constructive purposes. In this style, from the greater lightness of the walls requiring something to resist



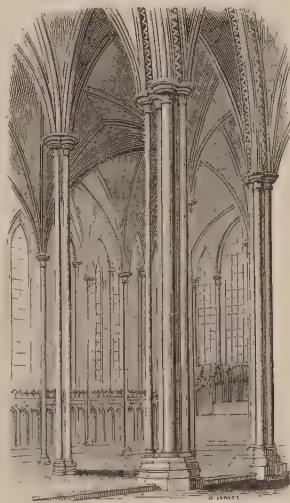
FLYING BUTTRESS,
Beverley Minster.

the outward pressure of the vaulting, they were much increased in projection, and were even sometimes, under the name of *flying buttresses*, carried forward to support the clear-story. Excellent examples of these may be seen at Westminster, Lincoln, &c.

In the interior we find the pillars reduced to very slender proportions, and, as if to give still greater lightness of appearance, they are frequently made up of a centre pillar, surrounded by slight detached shafts, only connected with the pillar by their capitals and bases, and bands of metal placed at intervals. These shafts are generally of Purbeck marble, the pillar itself being of stone, and, from their extreme slenderness, they appear as if quite inadequate to support the weight above them. Some of the best examples are to be seen in Salisbury Cathedral. The architects of



NORTH-WEST TRANSEPT, Beverley Minster.



DETACHED SHAFTS, Lady Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral.

The buttresses form a very important feature of Gothic buildings; in the Early English they are very conspicuous, while in the Norman they are

this style carried their ideas of lightness to the utmost limits of prudence, and their successors have been afraid to imitate their example.

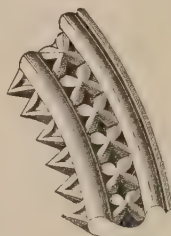
The capitals differ materially from those of the Norman style. The abacus, instead of being square, is circular, and is generally made up of two bold round mouldings, with a deep hollow between. The foliage is peculiar, generally very gracefully drawn, and thrown into very elegant curves; it is usually termed *stiff-leaved*, from the circumstance of its rising with a stiff stem from the neck-mould of the capital, as may be seen in the accompanying example. The trefoil is commonly imitated, and is very characteristic of the style. The presbytery of Lincoln offers a fine example of this kind of foliage, especially in the capitals; and beautiful specimens of



EARLY ENGLISH CAPITAL,
Salisbury Cathedral.

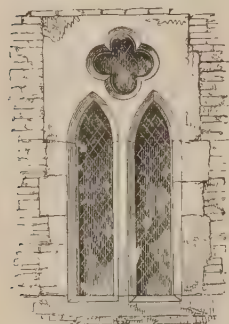
its applicability to flat surfaces occur in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

The mouldings of this style are very important, have great boldness, and produce a striking effect of light and shade. They consist chiefly of rounds separated by deep hollows, in which a peculiar ornament, called the *dog's-tooth*, is used, whenever ornament can be introduced. This ornament is as characteristic of the Early English as the zig-zag is of the Norman.

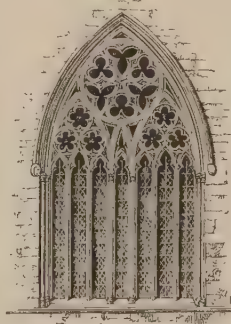


DOG'S-TOOTH ORNAMENT.

As has been already stated, a common arrangement of the windows in an Early English front, was to place two lancet windows side by side, and a circular or lozenge-shaped one over them. Though separated on the outside, these lancets



EARLY ENGLISH WINDOW, Lillington.



GEOMETRICAL WINDOW, Ripon Minster.



DECORATED WINDOW, Garsington, Oxford.

were in the interior combined into one design by a wide splaying of the openings, thus giving the first idea of a compound window. These lights were gradually brought closer together and inclosed under one moulding. Other lancets and circles were added, and the stonework between reduced to a mere bar, which was afterwards moulded. Thus arose that tracery destined soon to work such an important change in Gothic architecture. But though tracery was now generally used, there was little variety in its form, and the architects confined themselves to the lancets and circles, which are continually repeated in various combinations. Such windows, with the plain circles in the head and the peculiar mouldings of the style, are the latest which can be called Early English. Good examples of them are found in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. Tracery appears to have been introduced in the latter part of the reign of Henry III., but its progress was only gradual, so that it is very difficult to draw a line between the Early English and the succeed-

ing Decorated. In the beginning of the reign of Edward I., the tracery became a more decided feature, but the forms were still geometrical, though much more varied. In addition to the circle, we have lozenges, trefoils, quatrefoils, squares, &c., and from the prevalence of these regular forms, it is usually called the GEOMETRICAL DECORATED style, and is a transition to the more fully developed or Flowing Decorated. The Geometrical Decorated is perhaps the most beautiful of all the phases of Gothic architecture. It retains much of the Early English character, but is more defined and more finished in all its parts. The mouldings, though they have lost something of their boldness, have gained in decision, by small flat fillets on the rounds, which give an additional sharpness to the shadows. The conventional foliage of the Early English is laid aside; nature is sedulously copied; and we find at no period such truthful imitations of natural foliage; the vine with its grapes, the oak with its acorns, the hazel with its nuts, the maple, the water-lily, and even the sea-

weed, are all exquisitely carved. The human figure also was never more finely delineated than during this period, as is exemplified by the effigy of Queen Eleanor in Westminster Abbey, which will bear comparison with the works of any age. The monuments of this period are among the best we possess, and though the prevalence of geometrical forms gives them a certain formality, the minute accuracy with which every detail of costume, of foliage, or other ornament, is executed, renders them of the utmost value. The beautiful crosses erected by Edward I., to the memory of his queen Eleanor, belong to this period.

The transition from the GEOMETRICAL to the FLOWING DECORATED was very natural; the junction of two circles suggested the flowing line, and this once commenced, gave such facilities for filling up the large windows which now came into use, and such freedom to the imagination in designing new forms of tracery, that the varieties are innumerable.

The following summary of its rise and progress may be sufficient for our present purpose:—

First. PURE EARLY ENGLISH, in which the windows are merely simple lancets, either single or two or more combined, or included under one moulding, with or without circles or lozenges above.

Second. TRANSITION, in which the openings are brought close together, and the spaces between pierced, and an imperfect kind of tracery formed.

Third. GEOMETRICAL DECORATED, in which tracery is fully developed but geometrical forms still used. This includes also a kind of tracery called intersecting, made by carrying arches from the mullions to the window head.

Fourth. FLOWING DECORATED. This includes an endless variety of forms, the main distinction of which is that the lines of the tracery, instead of being confined to stiff geometrical figures, flow easily one into another. In the earlier examples geometrical forms are mixed with them, but in the later or more fully developed ones they are discarded. This period is what is generally known by the term DECORATED, and nothing can exceed the rich and gorgeous effect of its large windows, especially when filled with stained glass, which was now in its highest perfection. A fine example of this is seen in the west front of York Cathedral.

Fifth. Another transition, in which straight lines, horizontal as well as perpendicular, began to be used among the tracery, and which led to the

Sixth, or PERPENDICULAR period, which was not fully introduced till after the epoch now under consideration.

In the DECORATED style the arches are not so lofty and the pillars not so slender as in the Early English, and the detached shafts are only used in

the early part of the period. The equilateral form prevails both for arches and windows, and the vaulting, and consequently the roofs, are not of so high a pitch as in the preceding style. The buttresses are large and projecting, frequently ornamented with canopied niches containing figures of saints, and usually terminated in richly crocketed pinnacles. Canopies, either straight-sided or of the ogee form, are much used over windows, doors, and porches. They often project, and are ornamented with rich and large finials and crockets. The doors and porches are deeply recessed, and very richly ornamented with mouldings and foliage, and



YORK CATHEDRAL, West Front.

have frequently also niches containing figures of saints or subjects from the Scriptures. The doorways in the west front of York Cathedral are the finest examples we have of this kind, and the front

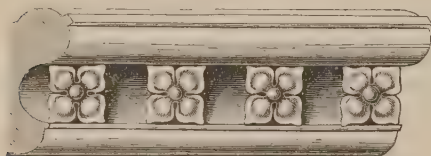
itself is considered by Rickman, to be "nearly if not quite the finest west front in the kingdom." The upper part of the towers is Perpendicular, showing the transition from one style to



BALL FLOWER.

the other during the progress of the building. Among the ornaments used in mouldings in all situations, are two which are very characteristic of this style: these are the ball-flower, and the four-leaved flower, of which examples

are here given. The mouldings, too, have undergone a considerable modification; the deep hollows have almost disappeared, and the rounds assume a form known as the roll moulding.



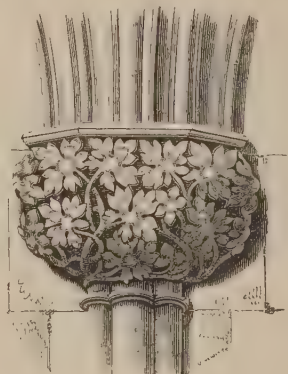
FOUR-LEAVED FLOWER, West Front, York Cathedral.

One of the most characteristic features of the Decorated style is the foliage, in which, as has been said before, natural forms were very generally imitated, were drawn with the greatest freedom and elegance, and used in all places. The capitals differ in several important features from those of the Early English. In the latter, the foliage generally rises from the neck moulding, on stiff stems, and curls over under the bell of the capital; but in the Decorated, it is generally carried round in the form of a wreath, making a complete ball of leaves, as in the example from Selby.

Such was the Decorated style in its purity—the perfection of ecclesiastical architecture—and such it continued until the latter part of the reign of Edward III., when, for greater strength and facility of construction, the straight line was introduced into the tracery of the window heads, and the mullions carried through the whole length of the window; the flowing lines of the tracery were gradually laid aside, and were superseded by rectangular forms, which also pervaded every part of the design. The prevalence of upright lines naturally suggested to Rickman the name of Perpendicular for the style, and by which it is appropriately known. But though it originated in the reign of Edward III., and that of Richard II. was a period of transition, it was not fully established until the succeeding reign, and it will therefore fall to be discussed under the next period of the history.

The castles erected during the period of which we are treating exhibit a remarkable union of picturesque beauty with solidity and strength. The masonry is of the most careful and finished description, but the buildings are not overloaded with ornament, the architects trusting more to the outline of their masses than to lesser decorations. Of this the round tower of Windsor Castle is a well-known example. It is quite plain in its details, but its immense size and its bold outline gives a character to the mass of discordant materials, ancient and modern, of which the castle is composed, and at a distance

unites them into one picturesque whole. Without the round tower of William of Wykeham, Windsor Castle would be a meaningless collection of unconnected objects. The same boldness of ideas



DECORATED CAPITAL, Selby, Yorkshire.

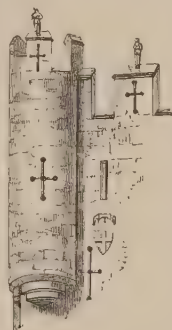
prevailed throughout; and military as well as ecclesiastical architecture seems to have attained its greatest perfection at this time.

The Edwardian castles differ from the Norman in many important particulars;¹ the solid keep becomes developed into an open quadrangle, defended at the sides and angles by gatehouses and towers, and containing the hall and state apartments ranged along one side of the court. The term keep is no longer applicable, and around this inner ward or bailey, two or three lines of defence are disposed concentrically. Such castles frequently inclose many acres, and present an imposing appearance. The parts of a perfect Edwardian castle are—the *inner bailey*; the *walls of the enceinte*, single, double, or triple; the *middle* and *outer baileys*, contained between the walls; the *gatehouses* and *posterns*, or small doors in the wall; and the *ditch*, which was usually filled with water. The *inner bailey* contained the hall, often of great size, the chapel, the better class of apartments, and an open court. The offices usually were placed in the *middle bailey*, on the outside of the wall of the hall. The *outer bailey* contained stabling, sometimes a mill, &c., and often a mound of earth, or *cavalier*, to carry a large engine. The walls were strengthened by towers, either circular, square, oblong, or multangular, projecting both outwards and inwards. Such towers were all capable of being defended independently of the castle, and usually opened into the court and upon the walls by portals, regularly defended by gates and a portcullis. The gatehouses are distinct works, covering the en-

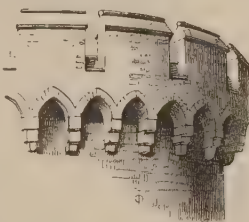
¹ See an article by G. T. Clarke, *Archæological Journal*, vol. I., from which much of the information in this notice is extracted.

trance: they contain gates, one or two portcullises, holes for stockades of timber, and loops raking the passage. Overhanging the arch at either end, are funnels for pouring down boiling liquids upon assailants, and above are ovens and flues for heating them; and from the front of these gate-houses, the drawbridge was lowered over the ditch. These gateways had frequently a barbican attached. This was a passage between high walls, in advance of the main gate, and having an outer gate of entrance, which was defended by towers and the parapet, connected with the main gateway. The gates or *bars* of York have had barbicans, but they are all destroyed except Walmgate.

There is a very perfect specimen at Alnwick, and another at Warwick, where the portcullis is still in use. The top of the wall was defended by a battlemented parapet, the opening of which sometimes bears stone figures, as on the bars of York, and as at Alnwick, and Chepstow. These battlements are frequently pierced by cruciform loops or *balistraria*. In many cases a bold corbel table is thrown out from the wall, and the parapet placed upon it, so as to leave an open space between the back of the parapet and the face of the wall. The space is divided by the corbels into holes called *machicolations*, which overlook the outside of the walls. If the parapet be not advanced by more than its own thickness, of course no hole is formed; this is called a *false machicolation*; it is used to give breadth to the top of the wall, and is common to all periods. One of the finest examples of a tower of this period is Guy's Tower at Warwick. It is in an almost



BALISTRARIA,
Micklegate Bar, York.



MACHICOLATIONS,
Herstmonceux Castle, Sussex.

perfect state, from the dungeon in the rock to the top of the parapet. Its plan is composed of three segments of circles on the outer, and a flat face on the inner side; its different stories are vaulted, and retain their original arrangement, and its machicolations are bold and perfect. Clifford's Tower, York, is another fine example, and offers a beautiful specimen of the masonry of the time.

Another peculiar form of tower also occurs at this period; it is one in which a circular tower

is set upon a square base, which dies gradually into the circle, producing a very singular effect. Examples occur at Kidwelly and Chepstow. At Caernarvon the towers are octagonal, while at Conway they are circular. Among the castles erected or enlarged during this period in Wales, are Caernarvon, Conway, Pembroke, Kidwelly, Caerphilly, Harlech, Flint, Morlais, &c.; and in England, Windsor, Warwick, Raby, Alnwick, Bolton, Queenborough, Lancaster, &c.¹

The Norman and Edwardian, the solid and concentric, may be regarded as the two great types of English castles, of which other military buildings are only modifications.

The progress of society in science and literature now remains to be noticed. The strong English mind, already conscious of its strength, was groping in quest of those subjects that were most congenial to its character, and upon which it afterwards laboured with such happy effect. Fortunately, too, instead of expending its first efforts upon the more attractive departments of literature, and thus allowing itself to be allured into a less useful track, it directed its whole ardour towards the substantialities of intellect, and toiled in the quarry of thought. Metaphysical investigation, directed by the rules of Aristotle, was now the chief task of every scholar; and although the direct results were of little worth, the indirect effects were of the highest consequence. It was of much importance not only that men should ascertain at the outset what things cannot be known and what things are not worth knowing, but that the mind should be sharpened and invigorated by such a process for the acquirement of what is really worth having; and considering how effectually this was attained at last, we can forgive the otherwise trivial investigations of the choicest intellects of England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In this incessant pursuit of shadows the physical sciences had little chance. Law and medicine, indeed, could not be dispensed with, and had therefore a competent proportion of students; but astronomy, which was connected with the revelation of future events, and geometry, which was confounded with the legerdemain of figure-casting, were either imperfectly studied, or pursued only with a reference to the miraculous powers with which they were supposed to be connected. In this way, ordinary scholars who ventured upon the study of Euclid at this period seldom got further, we are told, than the "ass's bridge"—that is, the fifth proposition of the first book. In the same manner, the study of chemistry, as yet in its infancy, was used merely in the form of alchemy, for the discovery of the *elixir*

¹ For illustrations of castles of this period, see the cuts on pages 410, 439, and 494 of this vol.

vite, and the transmutation of metals. These were active preliminary trials, and earnest interested experiments; but a considerable time was still to elapse before the quack-salver became a physician, the star-gazer an astronomer, the gold-seeker a chemist, and the mere pedant or pretender a man of true science. Latin still continued to be the common language of the learned; but in England it was no longer cultivated with that especial care which had formerly been bestowed upon it as the first and greatest essential of scholarship. Instead of this, it was merely a vehicle of communication, and as such, was used without reference to elegance or even common grammatical rule. The necessity already existed, and the period was at hand, when England, no longer dependent upon a barbarized Latin, was to create a language of her own sufficient for every intellectual purpose.

Amidst this new impulse, as may easily be imagined, the great English schools of learning rapidly rose into existence; and the universities of Bologna and Paris, the oldest in Europe, were followed at no long interval by those of Cambridge and Oxford. In a former chapter we have had occasion to mention the origin of the university of Cambridge. Its large barn, that was so speedily filled to overflowing, was the infallible promise of a better state of things, and accordingly, between A.D. 1256 and 1351, or less than a century, nine colleges had been erected and endowed. Oxford at the same time went on with nearly equal rapidity, so that between 1249 and 1379, seven colleges were included within its university. It cannot, however, be maintained, that either the stately decorum, the learning, the plenty, or the *otium cum dignitate* with which these solemn halls are now so fruitful, were to be found in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. An idea, indeed, of their general scholarship, as well as modes of teaching, may be surmised from what has been already stated about the learning of the day; while the inferior grade of their students can be equally conjectured from the different pursuits in which the aristocracy were still employed. Each university is supposed to have had 30,000 scholars; and in a national population of little more than 3,000,000, we wonder that the love of learning could at any time have congregated such a huge proportion of worshippers. But house-room and bread were to be obtained as well as books at these colleges; and, therefore, while the studious repaired to them in tens, the idle thronged to them in hundreds. So says Anthony à Wood, who informs us, moreover, that they were habitually guilty of thieving and other enormities; that they had neither tutors nor observance of discipline; and that they thrust themselves into the

privileges of students merely that they might be exempt from civic jurisdiction. Even already, therefore, there were town-and-gown riots in the streets of Cambridge and Oxford between the citizens and the collegians, while weapons more formidable than fist or stick were often used in the *melée*. These riots also were sometimes diversified with internal broils, in which the hungry students, on account of the leanness of their commons, broke out against their superiors, and attempted to carry the larders by storm. The early records of these time-honoured universities abound with strange tales of riot and mutiny. Sufficiently lowly and homely also must have been the occasional duties of the "poor scholars," when we find two of them, in the "reeve's tale" of Chaucer, sent to the mill, to have the college corn ground during the sickness of the manicle. But even to a much later period, the sizarships of the universities were equally humbling. Two sketches of Chaucer give us a distinct idea of the better classes of students at the close of this period, both as to their character and pursuits. The one is the gentle clerk of Oxford, in the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*:—

"As lene was his hors as is a rake,
And he was not right fat, I undertake;
But loked holwe, and thereto soberly.
Full thredbare was his overest courtierpy,
For he hadde gotten him yet no benefice,
Ne was nought worldly to have an office.
For him was lever han at his beddes hed
A twenty bokes, clothed in black or red,
Of Aristotle, and his philosophie,
Than robes riche, or fidel, or sautrie.
But all he that he was a philosophre,
Yet hadde he but litel gold in cofre,
But all that he might of his frendes hente,
On bokes and on lerning he it spente,
And besily gan for the soules prais
Of hem, that yave him wherwith to scolaie.
Of studie toke he moste cure and hede.
Not a word spake he more than was nede;
And that was said in forme and reverence,
And short and quike, and ful of high sentence.
Sounding in moral vertue was his speche,
And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche."

Such was the grave student retired from college and waiting for a benefice, but without murmur or impatience. It will be noticed, too, that although a philosopher, he did not, like his brethren, make a trade of his knowledge, by reading the stars, casting nativities, or selling the delusive promises of alchemy. The other sketch introduces us to a different, and yet, in some points, a similar personage:—

"A poure scolur
Had lerned art, but all his fantasie
Was turned for to lerne astrologie.
And coude a certain of conclusions,
To demen by interrogacions.
If that men asked him in certain houres,
When that men shulde have drought or elles shoures;
Or if men asked him what shulde falle
Of everying, I may not reken alle."

This student's attention, however, to the stars was mixed up with more terrestrial pursuits; and the following description of his usual routine presents us with a curious medley of play and study adapted to the fashions of the age:—

"This clerk was cloped hendy Nicholas;
Of derne love he coude and of solas;
And therto he was slye and ful prive,
And like a maiden meke for to se.
A chambre had he in that hostelrye
Alone withouten any compaignie,
Ful festisly ydight with herbes sote,
And he himself was swete as is the rote
Of licoris, or any setewale.
His almageste, and bokes grete and smale,
His astrelabre, longing to his art
His augurin stones, laven faire apart,
On shelves couched at his beddes hed,
His presse ycovered with a falding red.
And all about there lay a gay sautrie,
On which he made on nightes melodie,
So swetely, that all the chambre rong:
And *Angelus ad virginem* he song.
And after that, he song the kinges note;
Ful often blessed was his mery throte.
And thus this swete clerk his time spent
After his frendes finding and his rent."

Amidst such ample means of study, and acquirement of literary distinction, it is natural that we should expect a plentiful harvest of illustrious names. But still the list is scanty enough, and especially in those departments of learning that were the most diligently cultivated. Thus, in metaphysics, we have only Alexander de Hales, the Irrefragable Doctor, who died at Paris in the middle of the thirteenth century; and William Occum, the Invincible Doctor, who died at Minich in the middle of the fourteenth. Occum, who was the pupil of the celebrated Duns Scotus, became afterwards his antagonist, and in controversy evinced a keenness of intellect scarcely inferior to that of his renowned preceptor. It speaks little, however, for the fostering care of England at this early period, that such men, and even Scotus himself, were fain to accept of charges in foreign universities; but it may be, that the Scotch, and afterwards the French wars, absorbed too much of the wealth and patronage of England, to allow the claims of such persons a full and fair recognition. In mathematical science, one of the most distinguished was Robert Grosstete, or Greathead, so called, says the quaint Fuller, from his large stowage of brain. This distinguished prelate, who flourished during the first half of the thirteenth century, was not only esteemed in his own day for his scientific attainments, and patronage of learned men, but subsequently won a still higher reputation in the ecclesiastical history of England, as a harbinger of Wyckliffe and the Reformation. Such, indeed, was his independence and hostility to Papal usurpation, that when the rescripts of Rome were sent to him to be published and enforced, instead

of obeying, he was wont to throw them into the fire, if he found them in any way opposed to the liberties of his country or the rights of the English church. Of alchemists, three or four are mentioned as being of note in England during this period, but their names may well pass away with the science they cultivated. In medicine, the earliest writer was Gilbert Anglicus, who lived in the thirteenth century; and in surgery, John Ardern, who lived in the fourteenth. But with regard to the former science, it was as yet too closely connected with charms and conjurations to be of much avail; while in surgery, the practitioners were still nearly as helpless as their brethren who stood round the bed of the Archduke of Austria (Cœur de Lion's enemy) and knew not how to amputate his gangrened leg, until the cook decided the difficulty by one downright trenchant blow of his cleaver.

During this stirring period, there was abundance of subjects as well of inspiration for the historians, and therefore, from the beginning of the thirteenth to the close of the fourteenth century, the writers of this kind were sufficiently numerous, whose collected works form a valuable cyclopedia of English history. This, however, is merely to be understood in reference to historical fulness and accuracy, as these authors were merely chroniclers, while the Latin in which they wrote was sufficiently dry and unclassical. An exception, however, must be made in behalf of Matthew Paris. This author, who, like the

Ofsetta ofsetta lac'tennis tabul' impressa m.c.v.



MATTHEW PARIS. from the Cambridge MS.—Supposed to have been drawn by himself.

others of that class, was an ecclesiastic, belonged to the Benedictine order of monks in the monastery of St. Alban's, and had been much employed in the affairs of government by Henry III. His mind was no doubt thus freed from the narrowness of the convent, and his views enlarged as well as his knowledge increased and rectified upon the great leading events of English history. His chief work, entitled *Historia Major*, is a history of the country from the Norman conquest

to 1249, the year in which he died; and while his style is bold, free, and eloquent beyond all his compeers, he manifests a generous sympathy for the losing party, and describes with deep feeling the sufferings of the oppressed Saxons, as well as indignantly exposes the crimes and the tyranny of those kings and rulers under whose oppression they were afflicted. But he evinces a still nobler intrepidity in his exposures of the arrogance and duplicity of the court of Rome in its transactions with England, and lays open its iniquities without scruple. This, indeed, was much for a monk, especially as he stood alone in his integrity; for the other chroniclers could see no failing in their sovereign pontiff, or mutability in their infallible church. Hence the disfavour into which his history has fallen among Roman Catholics in general, and the attempts that have been made to overturn his authority; and while some have sought to effect it by contradicting his statements, others have endeavoured to prove that no such writer as Matthew Paris ever existed, and that the work which goes under his name is nothing more than an historical romance and the forgery of a later period.

But of all the scientific men of the period, none is for a moment to be compared to Roger Bacon. He stands alone and unapproached, and in the varied range of ancient languages, grammar, and theology, of geometry, geography, astronomy, and chronology, of chemistry, optics, and mechanics, he carried his investigations in each to the utmost limits of which the age was capable, and mastered all that could be known or acquired; after which, his earnestness in imparting that knowledge to the world was fully equal to his diligence in acquiring it. It was not wonderful, however, that with such a vast amount of acquirements, he should have been considered not merely a great scholar but a mighty magician, and that his studies should have been supposed to have had a more ambitious aim than the mere acquirement of knowledge. To this, indeed, his researches in alchemy and astrology gave some occasion; for as these were still enrolled among the regular sciences, they formed a part of his studies, and appear to have secured a considerable share of his belief. Roger Bacon was born at Ilchester, near A.D. 1214. He was first educated at Oxford, and afterwards at Paris; and as Aristotle's philosophy was less in vogue at the university of the last-mentioned city, when Bacon repaired thither, than it afterwards became, he thus, in a great measure, escaped those artificial trammels by which his researches in science might have been retarded, or even positively arrested. On returning home with a doctor's degree, he entered the order of Franciscan friars, and from this period (1240) to the close of his

life in 1292, he wholly devoted himself to study, in which he was so well aided by munificent patrons, that in twenty years he spent 2000 livres in the purchase of books and philosophical instruments. Such a sum at that period was equivalent to many thousand pounds of the present day. But while his labours were so justly appreciated by the discerning few, it was otherwise with his brethren of the cloister, who hated him for his superiority, and maligned him as a cultivator of the forbidden arts of magic. Perhaps his censures of the ignorance and immorality of the clergy, and his expressed opinions of the necessity of a reformation in the church, lay at the bottom of all this rancour. He was also the devoted friend of Grosstête, who, though a bishop, had begun to suspect that the pope was no other than Antichrist. On account of these alleged offences, Roger Bacon was forbid to lecture to the students of the university, and afterwards almost wholly debarred from intercourse with his friends, so that he sometimes was in want of the necessaries of life. Fortunately, he at length found a powerful patron in the Cardinal-bishop of Salina, who, on his accession to the popedom under the title of Clement IV., effectually interested himself in freeing the philosophic monk from all further persecution during his pontificate. But during that of Nicholas IV., the hostility of the priesthood broke out afresh with double vigour, and Bacon, after ten years of close confinement, died, as has been supposed, in prison. So formidable was his reputation as a master of the black art, that even after death, his unpublished manuscripts were secured under lock and key, as infernal spells and conjurations, until, as we are told, they were utterly consumed by insects. Such was the brief history of a man so far in advance of his age, that it was as unfit to understand as it was unworthy to possess him.

The writings of Bacon, as enumerated by their modern editor Dr. Jebb, consisted of five works on grammar, six on pure mathematics, seventeen on mechanics and general physics, ten on optics, six on geography, seven on astronomy, one on chronology, nine on chemistry and alchemy, five on magic, eight on logic and metaphysics, nine on medicine, six on theology, twelve miscellaneous—101 in all. This list may serve to indicate the variety of his literary and scientific acquirements. The chief of these works was his *Opus Majus*, which he drew up at the desire of Clement IV. Of his many wonderful discoveries, they were rather daring guesses and surmises of what might be accomplished, than immediate or positive results. And yet, what valuable suggestions these guesses were, and how fully they were wrought out and verified in after ages! Take the following examples:—"A vessel may be so con-

structed, and oars therein so disposed, as to make more way with one man in her, than another vessel fully manned." "It is possible to make a chariot which, without any assistance of animals, shall move with that irresistible force which is ascribed to those scythed chariots in which the ancients fought." Here we have prophetic anticipations of steam-travelling both by land and water. The next instance is still more remarkable:—"It is possible," he writes, "to make instruments for flying, so that a man sitting in the middle thereof, and steering with a kind of rudder, may manage what is contrived to answer the end of wings so as to divide and pass through the air." Is not this the balloon, invented five centuries afterwards, as well as the attempts still in progress to direct its course? All this and more, he declared, might be done without the help of magic, for the attainment of objects which magic could never accomplish. With the composition of gunpowder he certainly was acquainted, without knowing that the Chinese had previously made the discovery; and as for the telescope, although he does not appear to have made one, he assuredly gave directions for its formation in the following remarkable words:—"We can so shape transparent substances, and so arrange them with respect to our sight and objects, that rays can be broken and bent as we please, so that objects may be seen far off or near, under whatever angle we please; and thus from an incredible distance we may read the smallest letters, and number the grains of dust and sand, on account of the greatness of the angle under which we see them; and we may manage so as hardly to see bodies when near to us, on account of the smallness of the angle under which we cause them to be seen; for vision of this sort is not a consequence of distance, except as that affects the magnitude of the angle. And thus a boy may seem a giant, and a man a mountain." To this account of Bacon it is only necessary to add, that his process of philosophizing was according to that inductive system which his illustrious namesake afterwards so successfully established by his *Novum Organum*.

Amidst this cultivation of literature and the sciences, the progress of poetry comes now to be considered. We have already seen that in England, as in every country of Europe, the first poetical efforts were in Latin, as yet the only language in which cultivated thought was embodied. But while other nations threw off this bondage, and fitted their own speech for the purposes of an exclusively national literature, the case was different in England, where two languages contended for the mastery, while those who used them were of rival races, and hostile interests. In this case, the troubadour sang his

lays in the *Langue d'oc* and the *Langue d'oïl* of France, and the gleeman his ballads in the rude uncultivated Saxon of Germany, while each had but a half auditory to understand and applaud. For the purposes of poetry one language must finally prevail to the exclusion of the other, and after a protracted struggle, the predominance was finally obtained not by that of the court but the people. It is interesting, too, to mark the struggle which the muse of England experienced after she had thrown off the language of the Conquest, but before she had acquired a definite form of speech. The first attempt of the kind with which we are acquainted, is Layamon's translation of Wace's *Metrical Chronicle*, about the middle of the twelfth century; but this attempt is so characteristic of a transition period from one language to another, that it is still impossible to decide whether it should be considered a Saxon version or an English one. This was followed in the thirteenth century by translations or imitations of the French romances, and in the fourteenth by the histories of England, written by Robert of Gloucester and Robert de Brunne in verse. A better poet still was Laurence Minot, who took for his theme the victories of Edward III. in France, upon which he produced several ballads that were rewarded with high popular acceptance. These, indeed, were rude attempts; but at each struggle the language of England was expanding, as well as assuming a definite form and character. A still better poet than those we have mentioned was Robert Langland, Langelande, or, as he is commonly called, Langland, with whom the history of English poetry properly commences. He was a secular priest, born at Mortimer's Cleobury in Shropshire, and lived during the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. It is also said that he was one of the earliest followers of Wyckliffe, a fact that seems to be fully borne out by the character of his writings, in which he boldly inveighs against the abuses of religion and the dissolute lives of the clergy. His poem entitled *The Visions of Piers Plowman*, is an allegory consisting of twenty passus (pauses or breaks), exhibiting a series of dreams supposed to have visited him on the Malvern Hills, Worcestershire. This Piers, his hero, who is intended to impersonate the Christian life, receives from Grace four strong oxen, called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, to plough up the gospel field; but as if these were not enough, four stout bullocks are added to harrow it, whose names are Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome. Artificial and uncouth though his allegory was, yet it abounds in vigorous delineations; but a still greater fault than its allegorical character consisted in his following the old Saxon model of poetry, by constructing

his lines upon the principle not of rhyme but alliteration. It was well that such a plan was superseded at the outset by his contemporary and immediate successor, Geoffrey Chaucer.

As Chaucer lived during a troubled period, and was connected with many of its public



GEOFFREY CHAUCER.—From Houbraeken.

events, his biography is that of a politician as well as poet. He was born in London, as is supposed, in 1328, was educated at Cambridge and Oxford universities, and after having travelled in France, Holland, and other countries, he studied municipal law in the Inner Temple. He commenced his career as a courtier, first as page, and afterwards as gentleman of the privy chamber and shield-bearer to Edward III.; and when that monarch invaded France in 1359, Chaucer attended his royal master as a soldier, and was made prisoner by the enemy near the town of Retters. How long he remained in captivity is unknown; but in 1367 we find him again in England, and in receipt of a handsome pension from the king; and in 1373 he was sent on an embassy to Genoa, a mission which introduced him to the acquaintanceship of Petrarch. Another embassy on which he was sent to France in 1377, to negotiate a marriage between Richard, Prince of Wales, and Mary, daughter of the French king, fully shows the account in which he was held at the English court, and the confidence his royal master reposed in him. This, however, was but an uncongenial element for such a poet, and from 1384 to 1389 he appears at one time as an exile, and at another a prisoner in the Tower, in consequence of his connection with certain public events in which he was upon the losing side. Hitherto his productions as a poet had been confined to the *Parliament of Birds*, which he wrote on the occasion of the marriage of his patron, John of Gaunt, in 1358, to Blanche of Lancaster; the *Book of the Duchess*, in consequence of the death of Blanche in 1369; and the

poems entitled the *Black Knight*, the *Legend of Good Women*, and the *Flower and the Leaf*, after the accession of Richard II. After efforts so few and far between, it was fortunate for his future renown as well as present peace, that he abandoned the throng of courts and the intrigues of politics for his own proper vocation. The last ten years of his life were spent in studious retirement, during which he produced his immortal work of the *Canterbury Tales*, and in it, the solid foundation upon which the majestic structure of English poetry was afterwards erected. It was, indeed, fit that such a production should be the established poetical standard to all future ages in England; for who of our poets has since surpassed, or even equalled him? As yet, only one Shakspeare has been given to the world and one Chaucer, and in these we are tempted to feel as if they were of themselves enough—as if their reduplications would be superfluous.

Contemporary with the great author of the *Canterbury Tales*, was his friend John Gower—the “moral Gower,” as Chaucer has affectionately called him, and which has since continued to be his honourable and established designation. Gower, had he stood alone, would undoubtedly have been a poet of high distinction; but as it is, his mild lustre has been almost extinguished in the far superior brightness of the other. His principal work, the *Confessio Amantis*, had its origin in a singular incident which he mentions in the poem. Already favourably known as a verse-maker, he had taken boat one day upon the Thames, when the royal barge passed by, having Richard II. on board. The king saw and recognized the poet, who adds:—

“He bade me come into his barge:
And when I was with him at large,
Among other things said
He hath this charge upon me laid.
And bade me do my business,
That to his high worthiness
Some new thinge I should book,
That he himself it might look.”

Proud to be so commissioned as poets have seldom been, Gower obeyed the royal behest, and the *Confessio Amantis*, although written in such a profligate age, possesses, independently of its poetical merits, a moral tone and purity that well justifies the title with which his name has descended to posterity.

The condition of Scotland is now necessarily connected with that of England, in consequence of the relation which the two countries bore to each other—a relation which, though so hostile in its immediate character, was finally to end in union and incorporation. From the reign of Malcolm Canmore to that of Alexander III. inclusively, Scotland had been distinguished by a line of energetic sovereigns, under whose administration

the country, originally so sterile, and its people, so barbarous and of so many hostile races, were rapidly rising in civilization and political importance. We have mentioned in a former Book the introduction of the Flemings into Scotland, and the impulse which they gave to the commencement of its manufactures and commerce. Malcolm Canmore and his queen also encouraged the arrival of foreign merchants into Scotland; and such rich foreign produce was soon imported into the country, that Alexander I. presented to the church of St. Andrews an Arabian horse on which he was wont to ride, with its rich accoutrements, a silver lance and shield, a splendid horse-cloth, and Turkish armour of various kinds. David I. was also distinguished for his attention to foreign commerce; and his burgh laws for the regulation of trade show not only his solicitude on this subject, but the important fact, that the dyeing and manufacture of woollen cloth had been already introduced into Scotland. So plentiful, also, was the trade in fish, already a source of national wealth, that during the same reign, as we learn from a MS. in the Cottonian library, the Frith of Forth was often covered with boats manned by Scottish, English, and Belgian fishermen. Berwick was now the great Scottish port for foreign commerce, while Perth was properly as yet the capital of the kingdom, and a town distinguished for its wealth. Leith, Stirling, and Aberdeen are also mentioned as places possessing some trade and shipping. It was much, indeed, that such a country at the commencement of the reign of Richard I. of England, could repurchase its independence for the then very large sum of 10,000 marks, and that in the succeeding reign of John, it could pay 15,000 by the treaty of Berwick. Ship-building, too, seems to have been one of the departments of Scottish commercial enterprise, and Matthew Paris tells us that one of the large vessels which accompanied the fleet of St. Louis on his first crusade in 1286, had been built at Inverness for continental service. Nor, amidst this new stir of commerce and manufacture by which the country was enriched, were those arts neglected by which its manners were refined and softened. Even at this early period music was a favourite study of the Scotch, while their musical instruments were the harp, the pib-corn, and the bagpipe. We are also informed by Giraldus Cambrensis, that the music of the Irish, who played only upon the harp with brass strings and the timbrel, was inferior to that of Scotland, for which reason they were wont to repair thither "as to the fountain-head of perfection in that art." In this way the progress of Scotland went onward from reign to reign, and all seemed to promise that her only contention with her power-

ful rival would be that which now so happily prevails—the contest of industry, and intelligence, and moral worth. But by one fatal accident all this was arrested and thrown back; and the first utterance of the Scottish muse in her own native tongue, was a touching lamentation over the disaster:—

"Quhen Alysandyr, our Kyng, wes dede,
That Scotland led in luive and le,
Away wes sons of Ale and Brede,
Of Wyne and Wax, of Gamyn and Gle;
Oure gold was changyd into lede.
Cryst, born into virginyte,
Succour Scotland and remede
That stad is in perplexyte!"

This was the death-wail of which Berwick was the funeral-pile. So great and prosperous had that town grown at the death of Alexander III., and so numerous were its inhabitants, that in the chronicle of Lanercost it is termed a second Alexandria. The sea, it added, is its wealth, the waters were its walls, and its rich citizens were very liberal in their donations to religious houses. But after its capture by Edward I. in 1296, and the indiscriminate massacre that followed, Berwick never recovered its consequence, but became a mere debateable town and place of strife between the English and the Scots. Then followed those long wars in which Scotland fought not merely for independence but existence, and in which every art and occupation were thrown aside except those of self-defence and plunder; and a dreary interval had to elapse before her deeds were fitted for any other record than that of mere military achievement.

It is not, however, to be supposed that amidst the prevalent ignorance and barbarism which this death-struggle entailed upon the country for years, Scotland was merely illustrious by the deeds of Wallace, Bruce, and the Douglasses. On the contrary, the bright intellects whom she produced in her darkest hour, gave a fair presage of what might be expected when happier days succeeded. One of these eminent men was Sir Michael Scott of Balwearie, the contemporary of Roger Bacon, and, like him, not only distinguished by his scientific attainments, but also by the character of a magician and necromancer. Sir Michael, who is supposed to have been born at Balwearie in Fife about the year 1214, after exhausting the limited knowledge which his country at that time possessed, went to Oxford, where he studied the sciences of astronomy, chemistry, and geometry, and the Latin and Arabic tongues. Still reckoning these attainments insufficient, he subsequently repaired to the university of Paris, where his theological attainments procured him the title of doctor in divinity, and his scientific knowledge that of Michael the Mathematician. He afterwards travelled through

France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, everywhere adding to his acquirements, and establishing, on account of his devotedness to astrology, a high reputation in magic and knowledge of the future. After years of travel, during which he wrote essays on astrology, translated the greater part of the works of Aristotle from the Arabic, and produced several treatises upon the sciences then most in vogue, he returned to Scotland soon after the death of Alexander III., and was sent as one of the ambassadors to Norway, to bring home the young queen Margaret, in consequence of her being espoused to the son of Edward I. In the troubles that followed, his name disappears from history, and all that can be guessed is, that he withdrew himself as much as possible from the din, and gave himself wholly up to his favourite researches until his death, which occurred in 1292, the same year in which Bacon also deceased. Notwithstanding his exclusive renown among his own countrymen as seer, wizard, and necromancer, the works of Michael Scott, of which several have been printed, and the testimony of his learned contemporaries, prove him to have been one of the most acute intellects, as well as one of the most learned and universal scholars of his day.

Another eminent northern genius of this period was John Duns Scotus, a man whom England and Ireland have been eager to claim for a native, and of whom any country might well be proud. It seems certain, however, that Scotland was his native country, as the name (Scotus) had long ceased to be applied to Ireland, and that the town of Dunse in Berwickshire was either his birth-place or residence. He was born in the latter part of the thirteenth century, but at what precise date cannot be ascertained. Having been instructed in the elements of learning by the Franciscan friars, who were struck with the early signs of acuteness which he exhibited, he was carried off a prisoner to England along with his preceptors, in one of those destructive irruptions of the war of Edward I., in which neither priest nor layman was spared. After his liberation, John of Dunse repaired to Merton Hall, Oxford, and made such proficiency in the studies of logic, mathematics, and theology, that in 1301 he was appointed professor of divinity, and became so renowned as a lecturer on the sentences of Peter Lombard, that Oxford was crowded with students, of whom 30,000 attended his prelections. From Oxford he was sent to Paris by the Franciscans, to defend the doctrine of the immaculate conception, which he did with such logical acuteness, that the impugnors were confuted, or at least confounded and silenced, and the honorary title of Subtle Doctor was conferred upon the successful champion. He had also a keen con-

trovery on the subject of Divine grace with Thomas Aquinas, in opposition to whose followers, called the Thomists, he founded a sect in theological science called the Scotists, who were soon diffused throughout all the churches and schools of Christendom. Immense as were his writings and literary labours, Duns Scotus died at Cologne in 1308, while founding a university, being at that time not more than forty-four, or as others declare only thirty-four years old. His written works alone, which were collected and published in 1639, filled twelve folio volumes! It would be difficult, indeed, either to describe the almost religious adoration with which his authority was received, or the influence it exercised over the intellect of Europe in this period of struggle and transition: it was said of him, that he could have been the inventor of philosophy if it had not previously existed—that his knowledge of all the mysteries of religion was so profound and perfect, that it was rather intuitive certainty than belief—and that he wrote so many books, that one man is hardly able to read them, and no one man is able to understand them. Even, however, when the supremacy of Aristotle was passing away, and solid intellectual realities taking the place of idle sophisms, the writings of Duns Scotus held a high place, and were quoted with respect by the master spirits of the revolution. And such the feeling still continues to be, even in the present scrupulous age, among those who examine his mountainous tomes, and are able to appreciate them. To them it appears nothing wonderful that such a man should have reigned as an infallible pope until the popery itself of science and literature was overthrown.

Very different from the pursuits of the preceding persons were those of John de Fordun. This worthy priest, a native of Fordun in Kincardineshire, and born about the middle of the fourteenth century, seems from his earliest days to have had a heart glowing with patriotism, as well as a mind directed to the writing of history. These feelings naturally suggested the great task of his life, which was to recover, if it were possible, the history of his native country—that history which Edward I. had so mercilessly endeavoured to destroy. This, indeed, was a labour such as few national historians have encountered; and he set about it with a diligence and in a manner such as the task fully required. To find his materials he was obliged to traverse Britain and Ireland, pursuing his investigations from town to town, and from castle to castle, gathering whatever document, relic, story, or tradition, was to be found about his native country, and securing them in his pilgrim's wallet for future consideration and arrangement. After his quest was ended he sat down in Aberdeen, of the church of

which he was a canon, and there, during the years between 1387 and 1399, employed himself in his important work, entitled the *Scotichronicon*, in five books, the last three being a history of Scotland from 1056 to 1153. Being arrested in his labour of love by the infirmity of old age, he handed over the rest of his materials to Walter Bower, who continued the *Scotichronicon* to the year 1436. A history undertaken under such singular disadvantages, as well as at such a credulous period, might be expected to abound in more than the ordinary share of fable; but still the full value of the work it is not easy to estimate. It secured those perishable national records which otherwise might have been irretrievably lost, and thereby became the ground-work of future Scottish histories. Judged also by its own intrinsic merits, the *Scotichronicon*, both in matter and style, will bear a fair comparison with those numerous English chronicles of the period which were written under happier auspices.

In turning from philosophy and history to poetry, we find that there the fervour of Scottish genius was not wanting. We have not the same means of ascertaining its early history in the northern as in the southern division of the island, but from the origin and character of the Scottish Lowlanders, we are warranted in concluding that they, too, had their gleemen and troubadours, and that every district had its favourite lay or romance. It is still more interesting to find that the emancipation of the poetry of Britain from the old Saxon and Norman tongues into that which was finally to become the standard English language, commenced, not in England but in Scotland. The specimen we have already quoted as the oldest of the kind, possesses a regularity of measure, and harmony of language, which the versification of England did not attain until more than a century afterwards. But we have not merely the small specimen alluded to for our warrant in the assertion, that Scotland was properly the birthplace of English poetry. At the time when the lament on the death of Alexander III. was written, there was a poet of high eminence in Scotland, whose chief work, after having disappeared for centuries, was discovered and published in our own day. We allude to the poetical romance of *Sir Tristram*, and its author, Thomas Rymer.

Over the history of this early poet much of that mythic obscurity is to be found, which so much aggrandized the names of Ossian and Homer. He is sometimes called Thomas the Rhymer from his poetical character, and Thomas of Ercildoune from the name of the village, now called Earlston, in Berwickshire, his place of residence. From early notices it may be inferred that he was born as early as 1219, and composed his

poem about 1250, and that his life extended over a great part of that century, as we find him still alive at the period of the death of Alexander III. in 1286. When we remember the original twofold application of the title *vates*, we need not be surprised if Thomas the Rhymer, in such a rude period, was reckoned a prophet as well as poet, and that from the natural love of the marvellous the former predominated over the latter character. His predictions were preserved, while his *Sir Tristram* was allowed to sink into forgetfulness; and while subsequent authors continued to speak of him as a prophet, his predictions in rhyme were cherished like household treasures in most of our Scottish cottages even till a very recent period. It was only perhaps the publication of his works by Sir Walter Scott, which showed that "true Thomas" was a poet, and nothing more. With regard to the merits of *Sir Tristram*, it is generally allowed that as it was the first, it was also the best of our early poetical romances.

But the muse of Scotland soon found a more stirring as well as important occupation than the writing of chivalrous fictions. The terrible struggles that ensued on the death of Alexander III., and the long war of independence which Scotland waged against England, produced whole Iliads of warlike adventure, and veritable knights as gallant as those of the Round Table, while a spirit had been already evoked, and a language created every way fitted to express them. And when this war had ended, and ended so successfully for Scotland it would have been strange if the country had produced no poet to raise the hymn of liberty, and record the deeds by which it had been achieved. That poet was John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen. He is supposed to have been born in or near A.D. 1332, and was one of the commissioners appointed to treat with England about the ransom of David II. During his boyhood, therefore, many of the old veterans of the Bruce's wars must still have been alive, while the deeds of the hero himself, now fully appreciated by the deliverance they had wrought, must have been the theme of general conversation and eulogium. In a happy hour, accordingly, for Scotland and its history, he chose the deeds of the "good King Robert" for his theme; and the result was his poem of *The Bruce*, which he finished in 1375, when Scotland was under the peaceful reign of Robert II., and the English fully occupied with their conquests in France. Besides its being a record of "soothfastness," as he assures us, and which he well might do from the recentness of the events, the life of Bruce abounded in adventures sufficiently brilliant and wonderful for the purposes of poetry, so that while the worthy archdeacon produced a true

history, his work was also a complete epic. Of the poetical merits of *The Bruce*, it would now be needless to speak: these are so well attested, that Barbour is now universally classed in the highest rank of epic poets. Alas! that the language should now be becoming obsolete and unintelligible in which he described the battle of Bannockburn and the blessings of liberty! It is gratifying to find, that poor though his country was, and illiterate though the people were reckoned, his patriotic task was not unrequited, for a yearly pension was assigned to him from the exchequer during life. It would have been well if richer and happier countries had followed such an example!

In this manner was laid the broad and deep foundation of British intellect—the base upon which such a goodly superstructure was to be erected. The process indeed was slow, and carried on amidst much groping and uncertainty; much was done imperfectly, as well as much that might well have been omitted; but the great and final result has been such as to justify the toil, and palliate the mistakes of a commencement. The origin of our national science and literature was not to be the work of a few years, even as its benefits were not to be limited to a few centuries or confined to a single country; and therefore several generations had to pass away before a foundation could be laid that was adequate to such a stupendous edifice. And yet, even already, in those men we have enumerated as the intellectual workmen of

the present period, we read the promise of their illustrious successors—of the master architects by whom the walls were raised and the ornaments constructed—the Bacon, the Shakspeare, the Milton, the Newton, the Watt of future ages.

In this commencement also of British literature and science, by which their subsequent course and character were to be so mainly influenced, an important fact is involved, which we should do well to take into account. It is—that not one, but two national communities were employed in this common work. A wide and multifarious range was to be embraced, for which the qualities of a single national intellect might have been insufficient, and therefore England and Scotland brought simultaneously their respective energies and resources to the effort—and this, too, in a mood, and under circumstances the most unlikely for any common concert and co-operation! Even while they were employed in a contest which, from their mutual affinity, was embittered with all the rancour of a civil war, they were yet at one in this important object—and all the more effectually, perhaps, at such a stage of the process, on account of their separation from each other, and their proud contentious rivalry. It was an intellectual accordance which the sword could not divide, nor mutual injuries weaken. It was a pleasing type of that future political union of the two nations, for which such unintentional co-operation was one of the best preparatives, as well as most substantial recompenses.

BOOK V.

PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD III.—86 YEARS.

FROM A.D. 1399—1485.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

England. 1399 HENRY IV. 1413 HENRY V. 1422 HENRY VI. 1461 EDWARD IV. 1470 HENRY VI. (restored). 1471 EDWARD IV. (restored). 1483 EDWARD V. 1483 RICHARD III. Scotland. 1406 JAMES I.	1437 JAMES II. 1460 JAMES III. France. 1422 CHARLES VII. 1461 LOUIS XI. 1483 CHARLES VIII. Castile and Leon. 1406 JOHN II. 1450 HENRY IV. 1474 ISABELLA and FERDINAND.	Germany. 1400 RUPERT. 1411 SIGISMUND. 1438 ALBERT II. 1440 FREDERICK IV. Popes. 1404 INNOCENT VII. and BENEDICT XIII. 1406 GREGORY XII and BENEDICT XIII.	1409 ALEXANDER V., GREGORY XII., and BENEDICT XIII. 1410 JOHN XXIII., GREGORY XII., and BENEDICT XIII. 1417 MARTIN V. 1431 EUGENE IV. 1447 NICHOLAS V. 1455 CALIXTUS III. 1458 PIUS II. 1464 PAUL II. 1471 SIXTUS IV. 1484 INNOCENT VIII.
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CHAPTER I.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

HENRY IV., SURNAMED BOLINGBROKE.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1399—DEATH, A.D. 1413.

Henry IV. commences his reign—His politic measures—Troubles at the commencement of his reign—Disposal of Richard II.—Royal claims of the House of March—Henry defeats a conspiracy of the nobles—Mysterious death of Richard II.—Its consequences among the French rulers—Troubled state of France—Henry unsuccessfully invades Scotland—Insurrection in Wales—Account of Owen Glendower, its leader—His successful resistance to the English—The Scots invade England—They are defeated at Nesbit Moor—Their signal defeat at Homildon Hill—Henry challenged to combat by the Duke of Orleans—His contemptuous reply—Discontent of the Percies against Henry—Their plots to dethrone him—Their proclamation at Shrewsbury—Battle of Shrewsbury, and defeat of the Percies—The Earl of Northumberland pardoned—Reports of Richard II. being still alive—Disturbances in consequence—Henry's unsuccessful attempts to raise supplies—Rebellion against him in favour of the House of March—It is defeated—Services of Prince Henry against the Welsh—Heroic resistance of Owen Glendower—Disturbed condition of Scotland—Henry captures its young prince, James—The Earl of Northumberland again rebels—Is defeated and slain—Quarrels of the court factions in France—The plots and assassinations that accompanied them—The parties apply to England—The English invade France under the Duke of Clarence—Henry's troubles at the close of his reign—Account of his eldest son, Prince Henry—Last illness and death of Henry IV.



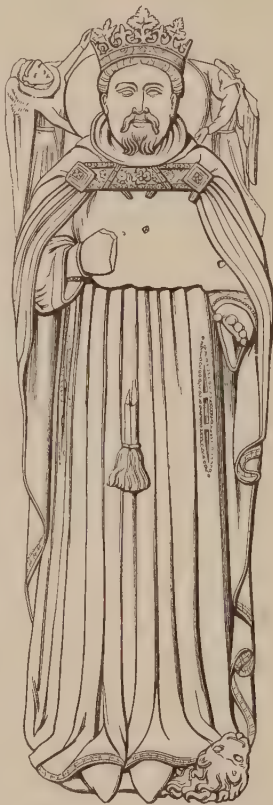
HAVING been seated on the throne of England by the archbishop, on Tuesday, the feast of St. Jerome the Doctor, the 30th of September, 1399, Henry immediately proceeded to exercise the royal authority, and to fill those offices which had become vacant by the removal of Richard.

By that event the power of the justices, sheriffs, and other officers, ceased, "and, therefore," in the language of parliament, "lest justice might be delayed, to the grievance

of the people, the present king named and appointed his principal officers and justices, and took the usual oaths." But the authority of the parliament itself, which had been summoned in the name of King Richard, also expired with his deposition; and at this critical moment it was alike indispensable for Henry that he should have a parliament assembled, and that it should be composed of his friends. He therefore contrived that the present members should be retained, by not allowing sufficient time for the election and return of fresh members. He forthwith directed writs to be issued returnable in six

days, and proclamation to be made at the same time for the parliament to meet for business on the sixth day; assigning as a plausible reason for the shortness of this summons, that it was only for "the profit of the kingdom, and especially to spare the fatigues and expenses of his lieges, and in order that the grievances of the people might have the more speedy remedy."¹

The king then rose from his throne, and "beholding the people with a cheerful countenance," he departed, and on the same day he gave a splendid banquet in the Whitehall to the nobles and the clergy, who attended in great numbers. On the following day, the 1st of October, a deputation waited upon Richard, late king, in the Tower, and there William Thyrning, justiciary, for himself and fellow-procurators, in the name of the states and all the people, notified to Richard the acceptance of his resignation, and the cause and form of his deposition, and then renounced all homage and fealty to him. The parliament met on Monday, the 6th; and the representatives of the commons seem to have been to a man the same individuals that had been summoned six weeks before in the name of Richard. On the Monday following, October the 13th, the feast of St. Edmund the Confessor, and the anniversary of the day on which he had gone into exile, Henry was crowned with the usual ceremonies² in Westminster Abbey.³



HENRY IV.—From his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral.

The parliament was in the best of humours, and the commons more especially went hand in hand with the new king. Many of the obnoxious acts of the late reign were instantly repealed. In the lords the most violent altercation soon ensued. The peers who had appealed the Duke of Gloucester of treason were called to account; but these chivalrous lords were not ashamed to take up the same plea which had been used by the judges in the preceding reign: they said they acted through fear, and sealed that deed under compulsion of Richard. They added, that they were not more guilty in prosecuting Gloucester than the rest of the house was in condemning him on their appeal. There was scarcely a lord present but had been involved in the inexplicable intrigues of the last twelve years. There was plenty of ground for recrimination, and the opportunity was not lost; the terms liar and traitor resounded from every corner of the house; forty gauntlets were thrown upon the floor, as the pledges of battles in the lists. A timid or an unreflecting king would have been lost in this perilous storm, which the firm and crafty Henry managed to subdue. The appellants were let off with the forfeiture of the titles and estates they had re-

ceived from Richard as a reward for their services against his uncle Gloucester. Several excellent statutes were enacted in this first parliament; treason was again reduced to the limits prescribed

¹ *Rot. Parl.*

² *Ibid.*; *Rymer*.

³ "In this revolution of 1399, there was as remarkable an attention shown to the formalities of the constitution—allowance made for the men and the times—as in that of 1688. The parliament was not opened by commission; no one took the office of president; the commons did not adjourn to their own chamber; they chose no speaker; the name of parliament was not taken, but that only of estates of the realm. But as it would have been a violation of constitutional principles to assume a parliamentary character without the king's commission, though summoned by his writ, so it was still more essential to limit their exercise of power to the necessity of circumstances. Upon the cession of the king, as upon his death, the parliament was no more; its existence, as the council of the sovereign, being dependent on his will. The actual convention summoned by the writs of Richard could not legally become the parliament of Henry; and the validity of a statute declaring it to be such, would probably have been questionable in that age, when the power of statutes to alter the original principles of the common law was by no means so thoroughly recognized as at the Restoration and Revolution. Yet Henry was

too well pleased with his friends to part with them so readily; and he had much to effect before the fervour of their spirits should abate. Hence an expedient was devised, of issuing writs, returnable in six days. These neither were nor could be complied with; but the same members as had deposed Richard sat in the new parliament, which was regularly opened by Henry's commissioner, as if they had been duly elected. In this contrivance, more than in all the rest, we may trace the hand of lawyers."—*Hallam*.

In following out his investigations upon this period, the same author goes on to remark, that in the twenty-two years from the accession of Richard II., the constitutional authority of the House of Commons had made surprising progress. "Of the three capital points in contest while Edward (III.) reigned—that money could not be levied, or laws enacted, without the commons' consent, and that the administration of government was subject to their inspection and control—the first was absolutely decided in their favour, the second was at least perfectly admitted in principle, and the last was confirmed by frequent exercise."

under Edward III.; appeals of treason in parliament, of which such an abuse had been made, were abolished. Another great measure was the establishing a law, that the power of parliament should in no case be delegated to a standing commission.

On the 23d day of October, the Earl of Northumberland presented himself in the lords, to deliver a royal message, and then the Archbishop of Canterbury rose, and charged the lords spiritual and temporal to keep whatever resolution they should adopt on this present message a profound and solemn secret. After this Northumberland spoke: he requested their advice as to the mode in which Richard should be treated in time to come; for his master Henry, he said, was resolved that, happen what might, the life of the deposed sovereign should be preserved—and we believe that he here expressed Henry's real wish. The lords answered unanimously that Richard ought to be carried *secretly* to some castle; there to be placed in custody of trusty officers, who should prevent his holding any communication with his former friends and servants. This was the sanction Henry required; and his cousin was privately removed from the Tower accordingly. In the first instance he was conveyed to Leeds Castle, in Kent; but it appears that he was subsequently removed by night from one castle to another, as had been practised with the great-grandfather Edward II.¹

In the course of this same parliament Henry's eldest son was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Guienne, Lancaster, and Cornwall, and Earl of Chester; and he was declared heir-apparent to the throne of England. From the important consequences which arose out of Henry's claim of right to the crown by descent, we must sketch the genealogy of an otherwise quiet and unimportant personage. The young Earl of March, whom Richard had declared his lawful heir, was sprung from the Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, Henry's father. Lionel, the said Duke of Clarence, died without issue male, and his possessions and pretensions fell to his daugh-

ter Philippa, who married Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, the representative of the paramour of Isabella of France, and the murderer of Edward II., the great-grandfather of this Philippa. Many years after the execution and attainder of the notorious Mortimer, his honours and estates were restored to his son by Edward III., and from that period they had remained in the family. From the marriage of Philippa of Clarence proceeded another Roger Mortimer, who was lord-lieutenant of Ireland during a part of Richard's reign, and who had been killed in that country. This last Roger left two sons, of whom Edmund,



LEEDS CASTLE, Kent.²—Grose's Antiquities.

the elder of the two, was indisputably heir to the crown by right descent at the time of the deposition of Richard. But this Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, &c., was only eight or nine years of age: the persons most attached to legitimacy would pause in those times, and in the circumstances of the country, ere they declared for such a child, escorted and surrounded by the horrors of a long minority. In fact, his right was scarcely allowed the weight of a feather: not only was it not discussed, but the very existence of the boy was passed over in silence by lords, commons, priests, and lawyers; and if it occurred to any of the people at that time, the fact is not mentioned. Henry had got possession both of Edmund Mortimer and his younger brother, and he lodged them in Windsor Castle. Some years later the name of Edmund was for the first time brought forward by the insurgents in the north. In other hands the lives of these two captives might have been in danger; but Henry treated them both with great kindness, although they remained in honourable prison till the day of his death. When the claim of the Mortimers is again revived, it is as trans-

¹ Rot. Parl.

² Leeds Castle is a magnificent pile of stone buildings, notwithstanding its having been built at several times, and of different architecture. It is situated in the midst of a beautiful park, and is encircled by a large moat of running water, supplied by a stream which rises at Lenham, and flows thence into the Medway.

mitted by Anne, the sister of this Edmund, who, by espousing Richard, Earl of Cambridge, the second son of Edmund, Duke of York, gave rise to the claims of the house of York, and was the innocent cause of the dreadful wars of the Roses.

Henry, on ascending the throne, was the idol of the people, but he soon found that he had desperate enemies among the nobility. The lords appellants, as they are called, who had been but slightly punished in parliament (one of them, the Earl of Salisbury, was not punished at all) resolved to take a fearful vengeance. During the sitting of parliament they held secret meetings in the apartments of the abbot of Westminster, and there, it appears, they formed a plot for restoring Richard and murdering Henry. About a month after the dissolution, they proclaimed a tournament to be held at Oxford on the 3d day of January,

and the Earl of Huntingdon, brother-in-law to Henry, invited the king to attend. The invitation was accepted, and then a band of desperate men were leagued to make a rush on the king, and kill him and his sons during the jousts. The king had kept his Christmas in Windsor Castle; the conspirators were at Oxford: no suspicion was excited—the blow seemed certain; but on the appointed day one of their number, the Earl of Rutland, eldest son of the Duke of York and first cousin to Henry, who had had the principal hand in the plot, was missing. The day of the tournament wore away, and, as neither Rutland nor the king appeared, they were forced to conclude that they had been betrayed. At this juncture, however, they yet hoped to retrieve themselves by a bold and rapid movement. They knew that Henry had been living at Windsor with only a feeble guard, and that very evening they set out from Oxford, with 500 horse, to surprise him in the castle. The castle, indeed, they surprised early the next morning, but Henry was not there; receiving timely warning, he had gone to London, where he had already issued writs for their apprehension as traitors, and was at that moment collecting troops to crush them. Stupified by their double disappointment, the conspirators lingered about Windsor doing nothing; but the next day the approach of Henry at the head of an immense force, chiefly composed of volunteers from the city of London, roused them from their lethargy, and then they

fled to arm their several retainers. The Earl of Huntingdon rode for Essex and the Fens, but the other chiefs retired towards the west, proclaiming King Richard in all the towns through which they passed. But the popular feeling was everywhere against them, and they were destroyed



REMAINS OF PONTEFRAC CASTLE. 1.—Transactions of the Yorkshire Architectural Society.

to a man by the armed citizens who rose against them, without any co-operation of the king or the forces he had raised. In this manner the spontaneous rage of the people relieved Henry from the trouble and from the odium which generally attend state trials when they are at all prolonged. He, however, ordered that a few prisoners of inferior rank should be tried by the common courts. Ferriby and Maudelein, two monks or priests, who had been chaplains to Richard, were executed in London; and two knights, Thomas Blount and Bennet Sely, were executed at Oxford. Here Henry stopped the red hand of the law and of private vengeance; for he declared that man a traitor that should put another to death in this quarrel.

But the greatest of the victims sacrificed by this furious attempt of the lords appellants, was the ex-king himself. About three weeks after that day on which it had been arranged that Henry should be murdered at Oxford, it was known that Richard had died at Pontefract.

¹ Pontefract Castle was founded by Ilbert de Lacy, who received a grant of the site in the tenth year of William the Conqueror; and the name is said to have been given by him to the borough, which had previously been called Kirkby, on account of some resemblance to Pontfretre in Normandy, his birth-place. The site of the edifice is an elevated rock. The dungeons were of the most formidable kind constructed in Norman castles. The area inclosed by this extensive castle was about seven acres. During the wars between Charles I. and the parliament, Pontefract was frequently besieged in turn by either party. It surrendered, 1649, to General Lambert, after the garrison had been reduced from 600 men to 100. Shortly after it was dismantled by order of the parliament.

Even more than the usual mystery is heaped upon this horrid transaction; and, after all that has been said and written upon the subject, little positive information can be added to what is said by the attached dependent and friend of his family—old Froissart. “How Richard died, and by what means, I could not tell when I wrote this chronicle.” The least horrible supposition is, that by order of Henry and those who acted with him—that is to say, the greatest nobles and prelates in the land—he was despatched by assassins; the most horrible, and which, we grieve to say, is the more probable, is, that he was starved to death.

The details were repeated to King Charles of France, and they so deeply affected him, that they brought on a fit of insanity—the worst of all maladies, to which he had been liable at intervals for more than six years. This king’s greatest anxiety was for his young daughter Isabella—dethroned and left defenceless in a foreign country, in the eleventh year of her age; but his uncles, who, owing to his frequent maladies, had much more power than he, and his ministers and courtiers generally, seemed to have rejoiced at the opportunity afforded of falling upon the English possessions. The Duke of Burgundy thought that, at all events, the French ought to attempt to derive some profit out of what had happened; and without any announcement to the *de facto* government of England—which it suited the project in hand to consider as an usurpation—he fell upon that fragment of Guienne where the English flag still floated; and the Duke of Bourbon at the same time marched with an army as far as Agen, whence he issued manifestoes promising the most favourable conditions to such of the “good towns” as would voluntarily unite with the kingdom of France. None of these towns were so important as Bordeaux, the birth-place of Richard; and there, at first, a sympathy for the unfortunate sovereign seemed likely to second the views of the French. In a spirit of exaggeration, natural to their warm susceptibilities, the people of Bordeaux swore by the Lord, that Richard was the best man in his kingdom, and that the Londoners had traitorously wrought his ruin. But their ardour cooled when they came to consider the propositions of the Duke of Bourbon; and their interests made them prefer the government of the destroyer of Richard to that of the beggared and rapacious King of France, with his merciless uncles. The great enterprise of the Duke of Burgundy, and the march of the Duke of Bourbon, failed completely.¹ France was not in a condition to declare war: she had been drained of her money; the king’s council was nothing but

a scene of discord; and Charles, who had recovered his senses for a season, would not permit hostilities while his daughter was yet in England. The new King of England, on his side, was anxious to avoid a war until he should be more firmly seated on his throne: he sent an embassy to France soon after his coronation, and he gave the most flattering reception to the Bishop of Meaux, the Sire de Hugueville, and Masle Blanchet, who came over as ambassadors from Charles, to request the restoration of his daughter, together with all her jewels, and the sum of 200,000 francs of gold, which had been remitted to Richard, in part payment of her dower. Henry attempted to remove all demands and difficulties, by proposing a marriage between Isabella and his eldest son; but Charles rejected this alliance. The great difficulty on this side did not so much regard the young lady as the money: Henry was poor, and did not like to risk his necessary popularity by demanding grants from parliament, and he consulted the universities, to know whether, by law, the personal obligations of Richard were binding on his successor. The reply of the learned was not such as he expected; but still with the 200,000 francs of gold he could not or would not part, and the French ambassadors returned with the assurance, that the existing truce should be respected, and that Madame Isabella should be restored, but without either the money or the jewels. These negotiations lasted many months. Charles, eager to get back his daughter, consented to receive her with only her jewels (if the French are correct, Henry kept part of these), and to reserve the question of the money for some future discussion. Isabella was carried over to Calais and delivered with great formality to the Duke of Burgundy. As soon as she was safe at Paris, the Duke of Orleans, forgetting the embarrassed state of the government, would have declared war to avenge her wrongs; but the Duke of Burgundy, who was then the more powerful of the two, would not consent to this dangerous measure. Hence there arose a furious quarrel between the rival dukes, and a fearful tragedy, which soon followed in France, was probably in part owing to this altercation.

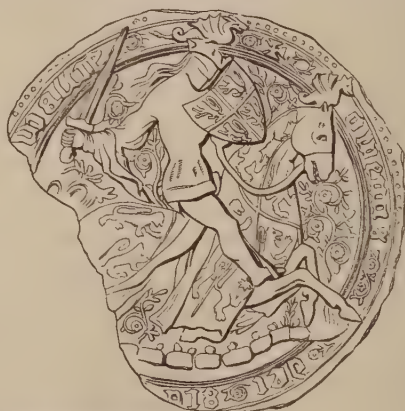
Henry well knew that the unpopularity of Richard had chiefly arisen from the conviction of a warlike people, that he dreaded the dangers and hated the fatigues of the field. The conquest of Scotland was still a popular idea, and the king determined to illustrate the beginning of his reign by an expedition into that country. He was, no doubt, greatly encouraged by the distracted state of affairs at the Scottish court. King Robert was old and weak; his eldest son David, Earl of Rothesay, though brave, and

¹ A. Thierry, *Hist. de Guyenne*; Barante, *Hist. Ducs de Bourgogne*: Froissart.

not without abilities, was dissipated, imprudent, and reckless; he had offended some of the greatest of the nobles, and the Duke of Albany, his uncle, who acted as regent during the king's sickness, aspired to the crown, and was known to be a desperate and remorseless man. Henry's great difficulty, however, was again about money. Popular as the war might be, he dreaded imposing new taxes for its expenses. He preferred having recourse to the old system of feudal service, which, though long out of use, had never been formally abolished. With the consent of a great council, composed exclusively of the lords, spiritual and temporal, it was resolved that the great churchmen should contribute a tenth of their incomes, and that the lay lords should march with their retainers, and serve at their own charges. Henry next summoned all persons enjoying fees or pensions granted by Edward III., by his son the Black Prince, by Richard II., or by his own father the Duke of Lancaster, to meet him in arms at York, under the penalty of forfeiture. He began his warlike proceedings with a high tone, despatching heralds to command King Robert and the great barons of Scotland to meet him at Edinburgh, and there do him homage for that crown as well as for the estates they held in England. The Duke of Rothesay went to Edinburgh, but it was to fight, not to make submission; and Henry was completely

foiled in his attempt to take the castle. He soon found that his unpaid army was badly supplied with provisions; and, in the end, he was forced by famine to make a rapid retreat from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh to the Borders.¹

During his absence in the north a most formidable insurrection—one which was never wholly subdued during his vigorous reign—broke out in the west, under the guidance of the famous Owen Glendower, the most remarkable man of that age. Owen had been an esquire in the household of Richard II., and he retained an affectionate recollection of his old master. After the revolution, he retired to his native district of Glendourdy, and there his loyalty was quickened by an attack made on his property by the great Lord Grey de Ruthyn. He petitioned parliament for redress, and induced an influential member of the House of Lords to take up his cause. But when his just and peaceful petition was rudely rejected, he resolved to take the law into his own hands, and, casting aside the pen, he grasped the sword. He pretended to be lineally descended from the last of the native Princes of Wales; and none of the Welsh disputed his claim to an honour which gave him a wonderful degree of influence. To this ascendancy was added another influence probably quite as powerful on the minds of the superstitious mountaineers. Before becoming a courtly squire, Owen



SEAL OF OWEN GLENDOWER, half size of the original.—From the *Archæologia*.

had studied in the English universities, and had afterwards lived in the Inns of Court as an "apprentice of the law." With the extent of his literary and scientific acquirements we are not acquainted; it was probably not inconsiderable for those times; it was certainly quite enough to make a great impression among the Welsh: nor was it very extraordinary, at a period when

great book-learning was pretty generally associated with ideas of magic, that those poor peasants should set down Owen Glendower as a magician, or as one having intercourse with the invisible world of spirits. Availing himself of the opportunity afforded by the king's absence in

¹ Rymer; *Fordun*.

Scotland, Owen collected a brave band, drove the intruders from his property, and took some of Lord Grey de Ruthyn's people prisoners. When Henry returned, he declared Owen an outlaw; and then Owen, speaking no longer about a few acres of land, boldly declared himself the lawful sovereign of all Wales. Without criticizing his genealogy or right, nearly every Welshman in England, whether in the capital or in the provinces, threw up his business and occupation, and returned to his native mountains. Henry, who was never wanting in decision and activity, marched with an army into Wales, confidently hoping to crush the insurrection at once; but the clerk and esquire displayed the abilities of a general: he avoided an action, led the English by long marches through the most difficult and most desolate parts of the country; and when Henry was obliged to retire (again, as it appears, from want of provisions), Glendower's fame and the confidence of the people were greatly heightened. The king returned in a few months, but with no better success; and a third campaign, which he made in the following year, was a complete failure.¹

A.D. 1402. Henry's mind, however, was at this time irritated by many insults proceeding from very different quarters; and his attention was distracted by plots and rumours in England, and hostile demonstrations in Scotland and in France.

Walleran of Luxemburg, Count of Ligny and St. Pol, who had married a sister or half-sister of the deposed Richard, was not strong enough to be very formidable; but he pursued a course well calculated to vex and even to degrade King Henry. Pretending that it was his especial duty to avenge the death of his brother-in-law, he sent his heralds into England with a strange defiance and declaration of war.² This curious document—the defiance of a petty prince, who assumed the double character of vassal of France and independent prince of the empire—was dated the 10th of February, 1402; but his limited means prevented for some time his acting upon his threat, and when he took the sea, his operations resembled those of a pirate.

In England reports were industriously circulated that Richard was still alive, and that, having escaped into Scotland, he was about to return at the head of an army to assert his rights. Associations were formed in various parts of the kingdom to welcome his return, and to co-operate in his restoration. When a notion of this sort once gains ground, it is proof even against ocular demonstration. We are of opinion that few or none of the leaders were ever deceived, but it

appears certain that many of the people really believed that Richard was alive. Henry issued several successive proclamations against the fabricators of false reports; and in the spring of 1402, Sir Roger Clarendon, a natural son of the Black Prince, nine Franciscan friars, and several other persons, were executed as traitors, for asserting that the late king was living. In the month of June, the Scottish army, indeed, crossed the Borders; but there was no Richard with it, nor did the Scots pretend that he was coming. After doing considerable mischief, this army was defeated at Nesbit Moor. The victorious commander on this occasion was not an Englishman, but a disaffected Scot. The imprudent Duke of Rothesay, heir-apparent to the Scottish throne, had been contracted in marriage to Elizabeth, the daughter of George of Dunbar, the great Earl of March, whose estates and commands lay near the Borders: in spite of his solemn engagement, the prince not only refused the damsel, but married Mariell, the daughter of the Earl of Douglas, the hereditary enemy of the Earls of March. The Earl of March withdrew to his almost impregnable castle of Dunbar, gave up his fealty, did homage to the King of England, and joined in the closest confederacy with the Percies of Northumberland. By his means the road to Edinburgh had been laid open to Henry in 1400, and now after having assisted the Percies in several inroads or forays they had made into Scotland, he defeated the Scottish force at Nesbit Moor. Earl Douglas, who had got a grant of the estates of the Earl of March, immediately prepared to drive him to his ruin, and to revenge this defeat. Ten thousand warriors followed the banner of the Douglas, which flew like a meteor from the Lothians to the Tweed, from the Tweed to the Tyne. Having carried terror and devastation as far as the walls of Newcastle, without finding any force to oppose him, he turned back loaded with plunder, and marched in a careless manner towards the Tweed. During his advance to the south, the Earl of Northumberland and his son the Hotspur Percy, with his deadly enemy the Earl of March, gathered a numerous army in his rear. Douglas, hampered by his spoils, came suddenly upon this force, which was posted near Milfield, in the northern part of Northumberland. He perceived a strong position between the two armies called Homildon Hill, and he had the good sense to seize it. The English, with the people of the Earl of March, occupied the ridges of a neighbouring hill, but they left it to advance to the assault; and Harry Percy (or Hotspur) was about to charge up the hill of Homildon, when March caught his bridle, and advised him to stay where he was, and begin the fight with his

¹ *Walsingham; Rymer.*² *Monstrelet.*

archers. The advice was taken; the English bowmen advanced to the roots of the hill, and shot upwards with wonderful force. Instead of charging at first, as Bruce did the English archers at Bannockburn, Douglas did nothing, but left his people drawn up in ranks on the face of the hill, where they presented one general mark to the enemy. Scarcely an English arrow flew in vain; the Scots fell in heaps without fighting. At last Douglas made up his mind to charge down the hill. As he descended the English bowmen retired a little, but they pulled their bowstrings as they withdrew, and, presently halting again, they sent a flight of arrows so "sharp and strong," that no armour could withstand it; and as he was spurring forward, the Douglas himself was wounded in five different places. He fell from his horse—was made prisoner—and then a complete rout of the Scots ensued. Eight hundred of them remained on the field, and 500, it is said, were drowned in the Tweed. Besides Douglas, whose principal wound deprived him of an eye, Murdach, the son of the Duke of Albany, the Earls of Moray and Angus, two barons, eighty knights (among whom were some Frenchmen), and many other persons of rank, were made prisoners by the Percies. Livingston of Calendar, Ramsay of Dalhousie, Walter Sinclair, Roger Gordon, and Walter Scott, were in the number of the more illustrious slain. The whole affair, as in many similar cases, was decided by the English archers alone.

Such was the famous battle of Homildon Hill, which was fought on Holyrood Day, the 14th September, 1402.¹ While it was fighting Henry himself was engaged much less successfully in Wales, where Owen Glendower had recently gained two splendid victories. In the end of September the king advanced from Shrewsbury; but though he divided his forces into three separate armies, which poured into Wales from three different points, he could never find his active and cunning enemy; while his troops were everywhere encountered and baffled by rains and tempest. Henry at last withdrew, convinced, it is said, that Owen Glendower was a mighty necromancer. On his retreat, Owen marched in triumph through the country, where all true Welshmen now acknowledged him as their legitimate sovereign.²

Nor was this failure the only annoyance which Henry was now suffering. In the month of August of this same year he received a challenge from the Duke of Orleans, the brother of the French king, and uncle of the Lady Isabella. This prince had formerly been the bosom friend and sworn brother of Henry of Bolingbroke; and during his exile in France, encouraged Henry to

dethrone Richard, the husband of his niece. But the Duke of Orleans then acted rather out of spite and jealousy of his uncle the Duke of Burgundy, the *de facto* regent of France, than from any steady affection for Henry; and he was a man accustomed to change principles and systems almost as often as his clothes. His first challenge did not state any grievance whatever: he merely said that he deplored the state of inactivity and neglect of the use of arms, to which he and other princes of France were condemned—that he was anxious to gain honour and good renown—and that, therefore, he wanted to fight, with a hundred French knights armed with lance, battle-axe, sword, and dagger, but without any bodkins, hooks, points, bearded darts, razors, needles, or poisoned darts, against King Henry and a hundred English knights.³ The King of England received the heralds in what was considered a very scurvy manner; and, contrary to the noble usages of chivalry, he made no presents. His answer, which was not returned till the 1st of January, 1403, expressed astonishment at the receipt of such a challenge during a time of truce, and from a sworn brother: he told the duke that he annulled his letters of alliance and brotherhood; and reminded him that he, as a king, was not bound to answer any such challenge except from kings. "As to the idleness of which you complain," said Henry, with a tone of solemnity which looks, however, very like mockery, "it is true that we are less employed in arms and in seeking honour than our noble ancestors: but God is great; and, when it pleases him, we shall follow their footsteps." At the end of his answer he said that he should go to the Continent when he pleased, or when the affairs of his people required; and that he should take with him such knights as he pleased, and that *then*, if he chose, his adversary might come and meet him; he, on his part, hoping, by the "aid of God, our Lady, and my lord St. George," not to let him depart without a sufficient answer. Stung to the quick by the whole tone of this letter, the Duke of Orleans made a most intemperate reply, in which he taxed Henry with the high crimes of rebellion, usurpation, and murder; and he now stated what he chose to consider his personal grievance. "How could you suffer my much redoubted lady, madame the Queen of England, to return to our country desolate by the loss of her lord, despoiled of her dower, and of all the property she carried hence on her marriage? He who seeks to gain honour must support her cause. Are not noble knights bound in all circumstances to defend the rights of widows and virgins of a virtuous life, such as my niece was known to lead? And as I

¹ Rot. Parl.; Rymer; Fordun; Otterb.

² Walsing.; Otterb.

³ Monstrelet.

am so nearly related to her, acquitting myself towards God and towards her as a relation, I reply that, to spare the effusion of human blood, I will gladly meet you in single combat, or with any number you may please. This curious letter was dated in March, 1403; and Henry, though occupied by much more critical affairs, was provoked to return an answer almost immediately. After expressing an anxiety for his own honour, he accused the duke of taking a frivolous turn—of wishing for a war of words, a contest worthy of minstrels. “In regard to the dignity we hold,” wrote Henry, “it appears that you do no not approve of the manner in which we have obtained it. Certes, we are greatly astonished at this, for we made you fully acquainted with our designs before we departed out of France; at which time you approved of our voyage, and promised us your assistance, if we required it, against our very dear lord and cousin, the King Richard, whom God absolve! We wanted not your assistance; and we hold your approbation or disapprobation in no account, since God and our people, the free inhabitants of this kingdom, have approved of our right: this is a sufficient reply to such as would question our right.” The charge of murder he repelled with the most indignant language. “With regard to that passage in your letter where you speak of the death of our very dear cousin and lord, whom God absolve! saying ‘God knows how it happened, and *by whom* that death was done,’ we know not with what intent such words are used; but if you mean to say that his death was caused by our order, or with our consent, we say that you lie, and will lie foully as often as you shall say so; as the true God knows, whom we call to witness: offering, as a royal prince ought, our body against yours in single combat, if you will or dare to prove it.” The quarrel rested here: the King of England and the Duke of Orleans never met; and the latter appears to have been completely defeated in this war of words.¹

But while the Duke of Orleans had been gasconing in France, the Percies of Northumberland, who, more than other men, had contributed to place him on the throne, raised their banner against Henry, and did their best to dethrone him. For services such as the Earl of Northumberland had rendered, a high price is always expected, and that chieftain seems to have set no limit to his demands. Henry, on the other side, was far too wary and politic to give any great increase of power to a warlike family which was already but too powerful. His rewards, however, had neither been few nor inconsiderable, and he seems to have counted on the gratitude and fidelity of the Percies. The greatest of our poets, and

the historians he followed, err in attributing the insurrection to their resentment at the king's order forbidding them to set at liberty or put to ransom the prisoners taken in the battle of Homildon Hill. Henry reserved to the captors all the rights of ransom; and, as a reward for his services at Homildon Hill, granted to the Earl of Northumberland several broad manors, together with most of the lands in England which had belonged to his captive the Earl of Douglas.² The Percies, however, really felt themselves aggrieved, not because they were not allowed to dispose of the captives they had in their own hands, but because they were not permitted to ransom a friend who was in the hands of one who was, at least for the time, an enemy. Sir Edmund Mortimer, who had been taken by Owen Glendower, was uncle to the young Earl of March, who, as far as the right of birth went, was lawful King of England. Henry, who kept the nephew in close custody, was supposed to bear no good-will to the uncle; and when Mortimer's relations requested permission to ransom him by the payment of a sum of money to Glendower, he refused, although he had previously permitted the friends of the Lord Grey of Ruthyn, who had been taken in battle in Wales, to redeem him by paying the Welshman 10,000 marks. Henry Percy showed great irritation at the king's harsh refusal, for the sister of Sir Edmund Mortimer was *his* wife; and his father the Earl of Northumberland, and his uncle the Earl of Worcester, took up his quarrel on this head. Scroop, the Archbishop of York (a brother of the favourite minister of Richard II.), advised these disaffected nobles to treat the king as an usurper, and to draw their swords for the rightful heir—that is, for the boy, the Earl of March. A formidable conspiracy ensued; and the conspirators did not scruple to call in the assistance of the enemies of their country. They formed a close league with Owen Glendower, who thereupon gave his daughter in marriage to his prisoner Mortimer, and promised to co-operate with 12,000 Welsh: they liberated Earl Douglas without ransom, on condition of his joining them with all his vassals: they sent ambassadors to the Kings of France and Scotland, to solicit their aid.

Douglas, true to his engagement, crossed the Borders with a considerable force. The Earl of Northumberland being “sore sick,” Hotspur took the command of the army, and marched towards North Wales to join Glendower. On his road, his uncle, the Earl of Worcester, joined him, with a great body of archers from Cheshire. Expecting the insurgents would make the country near the borders the scene of the war, Henry

¹ Monstrelet; Monk of St Denis; Rymer.

² Rymer.

marched to the north as far as Burton-upon-Trent; but there he learned the direction Hotspur was taking, and, striking off to the west, he so pressed his march, that he reached Shrewsbury, and threw himself between the Welsh and the men of the north. Glendower did not appear; but the king was scarcely in the town, when his scouts informed him that the earls, with banners displayed, were close to Shrewsbury, and that their light horse were already skirmishing with part of his forces. Enraged, but not disheartened, at finding the Welsh had not come up, Hotspur halted not far from the king's army, which issued out and encamped beyond the eastern gate of the town.¹ By this time night was approaching, and it was resolved to defer the battle till the morrow. In the course of the night the confederates sent the king their defiance. This instrument ran in the names of the Percies and of none others: and it was very long, logical, circumstantial, and insolent, charging Henry with perjury, usurpation, murder, tyranny, &c., &c. "For which causes," they concluded, "we do mortally defy thee, thy fautors and accomplices, as common traitors and destroyers of the realm, and invaders, oppressors, and confounders of the very true and right heir to the crown of England and France; and we intend to prove it this day by force of arms, Almighty God blessing us."²

The king could use his pen almost as well as his sword; but he did not think the present a proper time for argument and refutation. Before matters had come to this crisis, he had offered the Percies a safe-conduct to meet him at his court, where he was ready to discuss all questions with them; but this offer they had treated with contempt; and he now told them that he had no time to lose in writing, but that he would "by dint of sword and fierce battle," prove that their quarrel was false and feigned; and he added, that he doubted not that God would give him the victory over false and forsworn traitors. At an early hour on the following day—which was the vigil of St. Mary Magdalene, the 21st of July—Hotspur drew up his men in front of the king. The two armies were nearly equal, consisting each of about 14,000 men. Many years had passed since England had seen her sons thus arrayed against each other; and there was now a short pause, as if the combatants felt this. Henry even sent the abbot of Shrewsbury to propose an amicable arrangement; but his opponents

rejected these offers. Then suddenly he bade the trumpets blow: those on the king's side cried, "St. George for us!" their adversaries cried, "Esperance, Percy!" and the armies joined battle. The first charge was led by Hotspur and Douglas, two old rivals for military glory, and esteemed two of the best lances in Christendom. This charge was irresistible; a part of the king's guards were dispersed; the Earl of Stafford, Sir Walter Blount, and two other knights, who wore the royal arms to deceive the enemy, were slain; the royal standard was cast down, and Henry of Monmouth, the young Prince of Wales, was sorely wounded in the face—notwithstanding which he never ceased to fight where the battle was strongest, or to encourage his men when their hearts were faintest. The charge of the Percy and the Douglas was not well supported; they could nowhere find the king, who fought in plain armour: the royal lines, through which they had broken, formed again, and closed in their rear; and when they turned to cut through them they found them immovable as a wall, and were assailed on all sides by murderous flights of arrows. Hotspur, after fighting against fearful odds, was struck by a random arrow, which pierced his brain, and when his death was known, his followers lost heart and fled on all sides. Henry raised the cry of "Victory and St. George!" Douglas, in his flight, fell over a precipice, and being much hurt, was made prisoner. There were also taken Hotspur's uncle the Earl of Worcester, the Baron of Kinderton, Sir Richard Vernon, and many others of inferior consequence. Douglas was treated as a foreign knight, and kindly entertained; but Worcester, Kinderton, and Vernon were considered as rebels, and their heads were struck off on the field of battle. The numbers that fell in actual combat were said to have exceeded 10,000 men. A three hours' conflict, and the stubborn valour of the combatants, are enough to account for so great a slaughter.³

Old Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, who had recovered from his sickness, was marching with a considerable force to join the insurgent army, when the sad tidings were brought him of the death of his son Hotspur, and his brother Worcester; upon which he turned back in despair, dismissed his retainers, and shut himself up in the castle of Warkworth. He was obliged, however, to surrender himself into the king's hands; and this he did, meanly asserting that his son had acted all along contrary to his wishes and to his express commands. Henry was only cruel on certain great occasions: he acted mildly with Northumberland, who, after presenting a petition to parliament, was pardoned and dismissed, without any fines or penalties.⁴

¹ *Walsing.*; *Otterb.*; *Rymer*.

² This defiance is given at length by Hall, who, however, has confounded Sir Edmund Mortimer with the Earl of March, in which mistake he has been followed by Shakespeare, and even by some modern historians; for example, by Bishop Kennet, in his *Complete History*. The most correct copy of the document is that given in Sir H. Ellis' edition of *Hardyng's Chronicle*, from the Harleian MS. 42.

³ *Otterb.*; *Hall*; *Rymer*.

⁴ *Rot. Parl.*

Soon after the battle of Shrewsbury, Prince Henry was sent into Wales against Owen Glendower, whom he defeated in one or two skirmishes. During this season of difficulties, the conduct of the French was at once paltry and dishonourable: they not only attacked Guienne, but made frequent descents on our coast, and plundered every English ship they could surprise at sea. They captured a whole fleet of merchantmen; they took the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, and they made a descent near Plymouth, at the critical moment when Henry was occupied by the Percies. On learning the result of the battle of Shrewsbury, they retired to their ships, but not before burning the town of Plymouth, and plundering the whole neighbourhood. In this expedition three princes of the house of Bourbon took part; but all this while no war was declared, and the French court pretended that everything of the sort was against their will and orders. Reprisals were made on the French coast; the English sailors associated as they had done in the time of Edward I., and without any direct commission, carried on war on their own account, capturing ships on the high seas, burning the towns on the coast, and not unfrequently penetrating far into the interior of France.¹ These buccaneering expeditions were soon followed by a regular naval warfare between the two countries, which was generally in favour of the English.

A.D. 1404. "It is most strange," says an old historian, "that King Richard was not suffered to be dead after he had so long a time been buried."² One Serlo, or Serle, who had been a gentleman of the bed-chamber to King Richard, and who, according to some, had been engaged in the mysterious murder of the Duke of Gloucester, was tempted over from France by a report that his old master had escaped, and was living in Scotland. Instead of Richard, it appears that he found the court-fool—a certain Ward—who bore some resemblance to the unfortunate king, and that he (Serle) persuaded the poor buffoon to personate Richard. Serle's next performance was to counterfeit Richard's privy seal, and to despatch letters to many of the late king's friends in England, assuring them that he was indeed alive, and shortly would come to show himself openly to the world. These "forged inventions" produced the desired effect on many. The old Countess of Oxford, the mother of Robert de Vere, the unfortunate Duke of Ireland, either credited the story or was a party to the imposition; she caused certain of her servants to publish and bruit abroad, through all parts of Essex, that King Richard was coming; and she distributed a great number of hearts, made of gold and silver, such as King

Richard was accustomed to give to his knights and household to wear as cognizances. The story gained ground, and many simple people firmly believed that the late king was about to cross the Borders with a great power of French and Scots. The vigilant Henry soon learned these reports, and he succeeded in arresting Serle's secret messenger, who gave up the names of the parties with whom he had communicated. A number of monks were immediately arrested; the old countess was shut up in close prison; and her secretary, who had gone about the country affirming that he had *spoken* with King Richard, was drawn and hanged. Shortly after Serle himself was secured, and carried to the king at Pontefract Castle. It is said that he not only revealed everything connected with the ridiculous masquerade, but also confessed that he had had a guilty hand in the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, at Calais: he was drawn on a sledge through every good town between Pontefract and London, where he was executed as a traitor.³

Henry had been exceedingly cautious in demanding grants and aids from his parliament. He was now greatly in want of money to meet the charge of the war in Wales. He endeavoured, however, to escape from the necessity of applying for an aid by a proposition in which he was eagerly seconded by the commons, that he should be allowed to resume all the former grants—that he should be prohibited from alienating the ancient inheritance of the crown without consent of parliament—and that he should *forthwith* appropriate to himself certain portions of the property of the church, so that the commons might be eased of taxes and the king live upon his own.⁴ If this blow had taken effect, probably half of the property of the members of the upper house would have been in jeopardy. The clergy took fire, and the Archbishop of Canterbury taxed the commons with irreligion, and the impious desire of removing the burden from their own shoulders by plundering their betters. Henry ceded at once; and, to conciliate the churchmen, he assured the archbishop that it was his intention and wish to leave the church in a better state than that in which he had found it. The demonstration, however, made a bad impression, and many persons were irritated by the suppression of certain pensions granted by Edward III. and the late king—a measure which was carried during the session.

A.D. 1405. In the beginning of this year the widow of the Lord Spenser, one of Richard's favourites who had suffered at Bristol, ingeniously contrived to liberate the young Earl of March and his brother from Windsor Castle.

¹ Monstrelet; Hall.
VOL. I.

² Speed.

³ Walsing.; Otterb.; Holinshed; Rot. Parl.

⁴ Rot. Parl.

The intention was to convey these boys to Wales, and to proclaim the elder King of England; but they were immediately retaken, and then the lady accused her own brother, the ill-famed Earl of Rutland, now Duke of York, of being privy to this attempt, as also to conspiracies against Henry's life. York was immediately seized, and his estates were sequestrated to the king's use without any trial; but as that of a traitor to all parties, his fate excited no interest. After lingering three or four years in prison, he was released in mercy or in contempt. The king called two great councils of the nobility and clergy at London and St. Alban's; but such was their ill-humour towards him, that they refused to satisfy any of his requests; and more than one of the barons went straight from St. Alban's to the north, where a fresh and formidable insurrection was organizing under the guidance of old Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Nottingham, Scroop the Archbishop of York, Sir John Falconberg, and others. The archbishop, who had given his advice on a former occasion, took up arms on this. Sir John Falconberg and three other knights, who were the first to appear in the field, were beaten and dispersed by the young Prince John, Henry's third son, and the Earl of Westmoreland. A few weeks later the archbishop took the field with the Earl of Nottingham, and posted himself at Shipton-on-the-Moor, at the head of 8000 men. Prince John, with the Earl of Westmoreland, came suddenly upon them. The archbishop did not fight, but, by some means, both he and the earl, his companion, were carried prisoners to the king at Pontefract Castle. Henry intimated to the chief-justice Gascoigne that he must pass sentence upon them as rebels and traitors taken in arms; but that upright judge refused, because the prelate's life was exempt from the jurisdiction of lay courts, and because both he and the earl had a right to a trial by their peers. One Fulthorp, a knight, and probably a lawyer, was less scrupulous, and without any form of trial he condemned both prelate and earl to be beheaded. Scroop died like a brave man, protesting to the last that he had merely wanted a redress of grievances, and that he had never intended evil "against the person of King Henry."

Having punished the city of York with fines

and the temporary suspension of its charters, Henry marched northward with an army of 37,000 men. The Earl of Northumberland fled to Berwick, and implored the assistance of the Regent of Scotland. At Durham Henry caused the Lord Hastings, the Lord Falconbridge, and two knights, to be tried for treason, and, on their conviction, to be beheaded. On the king's approach to Berwick old Percy gave up the town to some Scots, and fled with the Lord Bardolf to Edinburgh. When the English came before Berwick, the Scots set fire to the town and fled. The castle, however, was garrisoned, and the governor refused to surrender; upon this Henry brought up an enormous cannon: the first shot took such effect that it knocked down part of a tower, upon which the garrison, in a panic, threw open the gates. Henry put to death the governor, with four or five of his principal officers. He did not continue his march into Scotland, but turned back into Northumberland, and soon took Alnwick, Prudhoe, Cockermouth, and all the castles belonging to the great earl. Then, from



PRUDHOE CASTLE.¹—Scott's Border Antiquities.

the north, he flew to Wales, where his gallant son, after achieving several victories, was hard pressed by a superior force. Prince Henry had been almost constantly engaged ever since the battle of Shrewsbury against Owen Glendower. In the month of March of this same year (1405) he had defeated the Welsh in a great battle at Grosmont, in Monmouthshire, and taken prisoner Griffith, the son of Glendower; and soon after he reduced the strong castle of Lampeter, in Car-

¹ Prudhoe Castle, which derives its name from standing on a proud eminence, is situated on the south side of the Tyne, between Newcastle and Hexham. The barony of Prudhoe was bestowed by the Conqueror on Robert de Umframville. The castle is conjectured to occupy the site of the Roman station of the first band of the Batavians, called Prodaleta.

diganshire. But now his career was checked by the successful issue of Glendower's foreign negotiations. In the preceding year the clerk, necromancer, or devil, applied for assistance to the French. Properly speaking, there was no government in France—the king was still alternating between the two conditions of idiocy and frenzy—his uncle Philip, the great Duke of Burgundy, was dead, and such authority as the court possessed was monopolized by one of the king's brothers and the queen, who were living together openly in an incestuous adultery. This precious brother was the Duke of Orleans, Henry's bitter enemy and challenger. Still without any declaration of war, it was resolved to equip a great fleet at Brest, and to send over to Wales 8000 men-at-arms, under the command of James of Bourbon, Count of La Marche. The fleet and most of the knights assembled at Brest, but the young Bourbon prince was so well amused by the fêtes of the court, that he kept the expedition waiting, so that many of the knights, having spent all their money, returned to their homes. At last the count went to Brest, but it was in the stormy month of November: most of the ships refused to put to sea, and the expedition ended, for that year, in a petty attack on the poor people near Falmouth. Another expedition was prepared in the course of the following spring. After some fresh delays, 12,000 men in 120 ships (we believe that the chronicler exaggerates numbers) appeared in Milford Haven, under the command of Montmorency, marshal of Rieux, and the Sire de Hugueville, grand-master of the Arbalisters. This force landed in safety; but most of their horses had perished during the voyage, and the troops had scarcely left the ships ere the fleet of the Cinque ports sailed into Milford Haven and burned fifteen of them. Soon after, the same fleet captured fourteen French ships that were bringing over ammunition and stores for the expedition, and it continued to do its duty so well that the invaders could never receive supplies. The French marched upon Haverford-West, where they burned the town, but were repulsed with loss in an attempt to take the castle. Burning and destroying, they marched to Caermarthen, which they took, and being joined in that neighbourhood by Owen Glendower, with 10,000 combatants, they penetrated almost to the gates of Worcester, obliging Prince Henry to keep aloof. But at Worcester the king came up to the assistance of his son, and the French and Welsh retreated a little, and took possession of a high hill. The king followed them, and for eight days encamped his forces on a height opposite. Neither army would quit its position to risk a general battle; but there were many skirmishes, in which, among others, a brother of the French marshal

and two other great lords were slain. At last hunger compelled the allies to fall back upon Wales. The king followed them in their retreat; but it should appear that, engaging somewhat rashly among the defiles, the woods, and marshes, he suffered a severe check at the hands of the Welsh. By this time, however, the French, heartily sick of the poor entertainment they found in Wales, and dreading the approach of a fresh English army, got back to their ships and sailed away for France.¹

Prince Henry remained to carry on the war: as a mere boy, he had shown great constancy and confidence in his own resources; and among the mountains and morasses of Wales, and from dealing with an active enemy, he improved himself in that destructive art which a few years later was so fatal to France. He subdued the whole of South Wales, and made gradual advances in the north; but for a while he scarcely gained a rood of ground without fighting for it; and even to the end, Owen Glendower kept him on the alert, prolonging a struggle for independence with a spirit and an ability which have rarely been surpassed. Some three or four years after the departure of his French allies, Owen, finding himself gradually forsaken by the people and pinched in his supplies, sent a part of his army to ravage Shropshire. The Welsh were cut to pieces in this expedition, and their leaders were taken and executed as rebels. From this time Glendower's history is involved in doubt: that he was fain to go up and down, disguised in a shepherd's habit, to his daughters' and other friends' houses for a time is very probable, but it is still more certain that his unconquerable spirit was not subdued by misfortune—that he again took up arms—and that he died at last a free man among his native mountains, several years after the accession of Henry V. These facts are proved by official documents which have been preserved by Rymer and in the rolls of the English parliament. Owen Glendower's countrymen were ungrateful to the fame of their greatest hero, or, it may be, that their records were destroyed in the horrors which followed subsequent insurrections. It is neither clear where or when he died, nor where he was buried. One tradition says that he was interred at Mornington, in Herefordshire, the seat of one of his sons-in-law; another tradition states, with still less probability, that he was buried in the cathedral of Bangor, where a grave, under the great window in the south aisle wall, is still shown to strangers as the place of his interment.²

Every obstacle seemed to yield to the bravery, address, and good fortune of King Henry, who,

¹ *Walsing.*; *Monstrelet*; *Barante*.

² *Coxe's Monmouthshire*.

in the same year (1405) in which he expelled the French from Wales and drove the Earl of Northumberland into Scotland, got possession (by no very honourable means) of the person of the heir-apparent to the Scottish throne.

The milder vices were comparatively absent, but in other crimes—in cruelty, political intrigue, and an infernal treachery—the Scottish court almost afforded a parallel to that of France. The poor, weak, old King Robert, after being driven from one abbey to another, took refuge from persecution in the Isle of Bute; his eldest son, the brave but imprudent Duke of Rothesay, was thrown into the castle of Falkland (March, 1402), and there, it was rumoured, starved to death by orders of his uncle the regent, Duke of Albany. After this fearful tragedy, the king, trembling for the life of his second son James, sent him on board a ship, which immediately sailed for France. As the vessel was coasting to get into the Channel, she was taken off Flamborough Head (30th of March, 1405) by some English cruisers, and in spite of a truce, carried as a fair prize into an English port. Henry, overjoyed at this lucky accident, shut the prince up in Pevensey Castle. The news of his captivity broke the heart of King Robert, who died about a year after (4th of April, 1406); and Albany retained his power by doing the will of the English king, who could always bring him to abject submission by threatening to liberate his nephew. James, who was only twelve years old when he was captured, remained nineteen years a prisoner in England; but, notwithstanding his captive condition, these were probably by far the happiest years of his life. He was treated with much kindness; his love of study was encouraged; he was allowed masters and books, and occasionally the society of the most refined people in England. His favourite study was poetry; and forming himself on the model of the immortal Chaucer, he became the best poet of his age.

Ambitious, powerful, adroit, and not very scrupulous as was Henry, he continued generally to respect the wishes of his parliament, and the cause of constitutional liberty made great strides during his reign. At the end of 1407, however, the debates took rather a stormy character, and many discontents were awakened by the demand of subsidies.¹ The Earl of Northumberland vainly hoped that these circumstances would favour his great enterprise, of not only recovering his estates and honours, but of dethroning the king. Ever since his expulsion he had been wandering about the world, and labouring like another Hannibal to raise up enemies against Henry. Finding that the Duke of Albany was averse to his

project, the old Percy went into Wales to concert measures with Owen Glendower; he afterwards crossed over to France, and from France he passed to Flanders. His principal refuge and support were found, however, among some nobles on the Scottish border, who opposed the schemes, and were strong enough to despise the authority of the Duke of Albany. With a force consisting chiefly of Scots, he and his friend Bardolf appeared suddenly in Northumberland at the beginning of the year 1408, and surprised several castles. The hardy warrior penetrated as far south as Knaresborough, where he was joined by a few friends of the late Archbishop of York; but on the 28th of February he was defeated by Sir Thomas Rokeby, at Branham Moor, near Tadcaster. The old man was fortunate enough to die in the battle; his friend Bardolf was taken, but he, too, expired of his wounds.²

With the exception of occasional
A.D. 1409. troubles in the Welsh marches, England now enjoyed perfect tranquillity for some years; but a fierce warfare was carried on, irregularly, at sea, in which the French were for some time assisted by the galleys of Castile. The French also attacked the English possessions on the Continent, nor could Henry ever obtain money enough from his parliament to equip any great expedition for their defence. By the beginning of the year 1406 the Count of Armagnac and the Constable of France had taken sixty fortresses and castles in Guienne and Saintonge. The English expected reinforcements, but none arrived, and they were almost reduced to despair. At this crisis it was resolved that the Duke of Orleans should take the command in those parts; but the duke, like the English reinforcements, did not appear, and the Counts of Clermont and D'Alençon left the army that they might join in his amusements at Paris. After this Orleans set out for Guienne; but the season was far advanced—his unpaid troops suffered cruelly from want of provisions and from the inclemency of the weather; and after gambling away all the money which had been destined for the pay of the soldiers, and doing absolutely nothing else, he rode away to Paris, followed by the curses of the miserable remnant of his army.³ At the same time, his cousin and rival, John Sans-peur, or the Fearless, the present Duke of Burgundy, was sent to drive the English out of Calais. Wonders were expected from the emulation of these two princes; but Burgundy's failure was as complete as that of Orleans'. When he had spent all the money which he had obtained by taxing his own vassals, he returned to Paris, and laid the blame of his miscarriage on the prefer-

¹ Rot. Parl.

² Rymer

³ Monstrelet; Monk of St. Denis.

ence shown to the Duke of Orleans, who had emptied the coffers of the state, to carry money into Guienne; and he claimed from the treasurer, who had nothing, immediate payment of his own expenses, and of an enormous debt owing to his father.¹ The French people, of two evils, rather preferred the Duke of Burgundy; but the queen and her paramour Orleans retained their power, and John Sans-peur retired to his states in Flanders, breathing vengeance against his cousin.

The Duke of Berri, uncle to both the rivals, endeavoured, with some good men, to reconcile the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy; for it was seen that their enmity was ruining the country. The latter returned to Paris, to all seeming in a heavenly disposition. He visited his cousin Orleans, who was suffering from a temporary indisposition, and testified a truly fraternal affection. The well-intentioned Duke of Berri was overjoyed at the success of his mediation; and when the Duke of Orleans recovered, he took both his nephews to hear mass in the church of the Augustines. After mass, the two rivals, the better to attest their holy reconciliation, took the sacrament together. All this passed on Sunday, the 20th of November, 1407; and on the Wednesday following, the Duke of Orleans was massacred in the streets of Paris, by eighteen or twenty men employed by his loving cousin the Duke of Burgundy, who openly avowed the fact a few days later. According to a report current at the time, particularly in Flanders, John Sans-peur only anticipated his cousin, who had engaged assassins to murder him. The wretched king, who had a glimpse of reason at the time, wept for the loss of his only brother, and he promised the Duchess of Orleans that he would have justice done. But Charles was powerless, and Burgundy very powerful. Accompanied by his vassals and friends, and 1000 men-at-arms, the duke, who withdrew for a short time, returned to Paris, where there was nothing to oppose him, and where the people received him with shouts of "Long live the Duke of Burgundy!" He had held out hopes that he would reform the government, and reduce the frightful amount of taxes and arbitrary imposts; and on such conditions the suffering Parisians were but too glad to forget his crime. But soon after, both lawyers and priests publicly justified the deed of the duke, who, it was alleged, in killing Orleans, had only rid France of a tyrant, traitor, and monster, who aimed at the crown, and who had practised on his brother the king's reason and life, by sorcery and other atrocious means. In a word, the Duke of Burgundy became absolute master of the government, and began to do everything as he pleased.²

The queen, whose grief for Orleans was greater than that usually shown for the loss of a brother-in-law, retired from Paris to Melun, where she remained brooding over her revenge.³ In the month of June, 1408, the Duke of Burgundy was obliged, by the revolt of his subjects, to go into Flanders; and then the queen, hoping to profit by his absence, returned to Paris, took the reins of government into her own hands, and, acting in the name of her son, the Dauphin Louis, who was not twelve years old, and being supported by some of the princes of the blood, she declared the Duke of Burgundy an enemy of the state, and ordered that troops should be employed on all sides to fall upon him. But Burgundy having gained a famous victory over his vassals at Hasbain, prepared to return at the head of a formidable army, upon which the faction of the Orleanists dispersed, and the queen fled to Tours, carrying with her her helpless husband. On the 28th of November the duke entered with 6000 men into Paris, where he was again received with acclamations. Yielding to necessity, the queen and her party spoke of a reconciliation, upon which the widow of Orleans died of spite and vexation. An apparent reconciliation, however, took place, and the children of Orleans were obliged to embrace the murderer of their father. All this was done in the month of March, 1409, in the good town of Chartres, where the princes and the other great lords swore as usual upon the cross and the evangelists. The thoughtless people of Paris were overjoyed at this family peace, which lasted about four months. Then the Orleanists took up arms to drive the Duke of Burgundy from power, and, if possible, to death. Isabella, the ex-queen of England, widow of Richard II., and now wife of the present Duke of Orleans, died in childbed, and the young duke took for his second wife Bona of Armagnac, daughter of Bernard, Count of Armagnac, and grand-daughter of the Duke of Berri. The Count of Armagnac was a man of great power, courage, and activity; and hence, from the youth and inexperience of his son-in-law, he became the real as well as nominal chief of the Orleanists, who were thence called the Armagnacs—a name memorable in French history. The Duke of Berri, the Duke of Brittany, and the Count d'Alençon, took up arms, and joined the Count of Armagnac, with all the

¹ "Sismondi inclines to speak more favourably of this queen than most have done: 'Dans les temps postérieurs on s'est plu à faire un monstre de Isabeau de Bavière.' He discredits the suspicion of a criminal intercourse with the Duke of Orleans, and represents her as merely an indolent woman, fond of good cheer. Yet he owns that the king was so neglected as to suffer from an excessive want of cleanliness, sometimes even from hunger (xii. 218, 225). Was this no imputation on his wife? See, too, Michelet, vi. 42."—Hallam's *Supplemental Notes*, p. 56.

² Barante. ³ Mon.; Juv. des Ursins; P. de Penin; Barante.

nobles of the Orleans faction. The Duke of Burgundy was obliged to conclude a convention, and to retire from Paris; and then the young Duke of Orleans, with a naked sword in his hand, demanded justice for the death of his father. At this crisis the Duke of Burgundy applied for assistance to the King of England, and Henry immediately sent over 800 lances and 1000 of his best bowmen. This force, small as it was, enabled the Bourguignons, or Burgundians, to drive the Armagnacs from Paris; and in the month of October, 1411, John Sans-peur again entered the capital, where he was received as the deliverer of France. In fleeing from Paris, the Orleanists had made free with a treasure which the queen had deposited in the abbey of St. Denis; and from this moment Isabella cooled in her zeal for the party. Though expelled from the capital, the Armagnacs made head in the provinces on the Upper Loire. The Duke of Burgundy, taking with him the poor king and the dauphin, marched against them; and after a short campaign, laid siege to Bourges. John Sans-peur had not been very grateful for the opportune aid he had received from England; and it was, besides, no part of Henry's plan that one party should crush the other, or, at least, not until he had reaped his harvest out of their mad discord. The late Duke of Orleans had, indeed, been his personal enemy; but that weak man had gone to his account, and the cool-headed Bolingbroke seldom permitted any of his passions to interfere with his deep-laid schemes. The Armagnacs, who had decried that measure in the opposite faction as the extremity of baseness, now, in their turn, applied to England for assistance; and Henry listened with a ready ear to their proposals. As their condition was desperate, he drove a good bargain. In the month of May, 1412, the contracting parties—the Dukes of Berri, Orleans, and Bourbon, with the Count of Alençon (the Count of Armagnac did not appear by name), agreed to acknowledge Henry as lawful Duke of Aquitaine, to assist him to recover all the rights and appurtenances of that duchy, to hold of him by homage all the lands they possessed within its limits, and to give security that the counties of Poitou and Angoulême should be restored to him on the deaths of the present possessors. Henry, on his part, agreed to assist them, as his faithful vassals, in every just quarrel; to enter into no treaty whatever with the Duke of Burgundy or any of his family without their consent, and to send to their assistance 1000 men-at-arms and 3000 archers to serve for three months, they paying the proper wages.¹ Both among the Armagnacs and the Burgundians there were still many individuals not devoid of patriotism—

wise men, who saw the inevitable consequence of introducing an English army into the heart of France. Consultations were held, and at last a conference was agreed upon. The Duke of Burgundy met his uncle, the Duke of Berri, at a place secured by barricades outside the walls of Bourges: great precautions had been taken on either side to prevent surprise and assassination; and so the uncle and nephew embraced each other tenderly over a barrier. After a long conference the Duke of Berri agreed that the Armagnacs would submit to the royal authority: Burgundy, in the name of the king, engaged that the past should be forgotten. It was mutually agreed that the party names of Armagnacs and Bourguignons should never again be pronounced; and that, without any distinction, all Frenchmen should enjoy their liberties and their property in the peace which God had sent them. The young Duke of Orleans was absent; but he soon after attended a family meeting, and swore, with the rest of the princes, to be true to the peace of Bourges. It was further agreed that the Duke of Burgundy should give one of his daughters in marriage to the Count of Vertus, a younger son of the man he had murdered. To show their perfect reconciliation and brotherly intimacy, the two Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans rode together mounted on the same horse.²

Matters were at this point when news arrived that an English army, under the command of the Duke of Clarence, Henry's second son, had landed in Normandy, where the Count of Alençon and some other nobles had joined it. The first condition of the recent peace was, that the Armagnacs or Orleanists should break off all league and confederacy with the English. This they were ready enough to do; and they forthwith sent a deputation to inform the Duke of Clarence that they had made their peace, and that he might return home, as they no longer wanted his assistance. The young duke demanded payment of the expenses of the expedition; and his troops, finding no proper provision made for them, began to plunder the country. An attempt was made, by promises of payments, to gain time in order to collect an army; but, in fact, the money was the least of the objects of the young duke's consideration; and he marched on through Normandy into Maine, while another English division, issuing from Calais, occupied a great part of Artois. There was a sounding of trumpets through the whole kingdom, and every warrior in France was summoned to join the royal standard at Chartres, but the summons was not well attended to, and it was thought better to pay the English the money they demanded. The exchequer had no means, and the

¹ Rymer.² Monstrelet.

Burgundians said that the English ought to be paid by those who had invited them. This was a good argument, but it certainly would not have been acted upon had it not been for this little circumstance:—from Maine the Duke of Clarence had marched through Anjou, and was now threatening to overrun the whole of the duchy of Orleans. Seeing this, the Duke of Orleans hastened to the head-quarters of the English, carrying with him all the money he could raise. The Duke of Clarence received him very courteously; and it was arranged that the French prince should take upon himself the payment of the whole cost of the expedition, and place his young brother, the Duke of Angoulême, in the hands of the English as security. When this was done, it was expected that Clarence would return; but this prince had no such intentions: he marched on for Guienne, and being joined on the road by a few old friends of the English, he traversed the whole of France with an army which did not exceed 8000 men, and got safely to Bordeaux.¹ Such were the last foreign operations of this reign, which was now drawing rapidly to its close.

Although Henry had overcome every obstacle except the wholesome opposition of his parliament, and had humbled or destroyed all his enemies, his last years were far from being the happiest of his life. His able but remorseless career—his successes even more than his misfortunes—had proved to him the insecurity and hollowness of men's hearts: whatever relying faith he had in earlier life was all gone, and he felt that worst species of unhappiness which arises from a confirmed doubt as to the existence of human worth and disinterested affection. In his busy years, when surrounded with actual dangers of all kinds, he was cheerful and communicative, and fond of talking and mixing with the people; but in his later days he became gloomy, solitary, and suspicious. It is very probable that he felt some pangs of remorse, but bad health may have been the disposing cause; for, as long as he was well, he considered that he had only done what was best for his country, and that his constant success was a proof that he had acted under the favour and inspiration of Heaven. Both body and mind had been overworked: he became prematurely old, was afflicted by a cutaneous disorder which some called the leprosy, and was subject to epileptic fits. His devotion assumed a gloomy cast. Before his accession he was suspected of being no friend to the church, and of leaning towards the doctrines of Wyckliffe, as his father, John of Gaunt, had done before him. It was essentially necessary to his success that he should remove this suspicion; and hence, proba-

bly, for a mere reason of state, he passed in the first year of his reign, with the hearty concurrence of both lords and commons, the detestable statute for the burning of heretics; and caused penal fires for matters of religion to be lighted for the first time in England. But it seems to have been from a more inward conviction that, in the tenth year of his reign, he pronounced the severest sentences against all Wyckliffe's writings; and that in the following year he rejected a petition for the revocation or qualification of his statute against heretics or Lollards, and told the commons that the punishment should be made more rigorous and sharp.² It appears pretty evident that, in his latter years, he entertained a jealousy of the popularity of his own son and heir. It is also generally stated that the wild and dissolute conduct of the Prince of Wales was the cause of much uneasiness; but the many virtues of that prince were almost invidiously eulogized, in the latter part of this reign, by the very parliaments that treated his father most harshly; and it has been concluded by an excellent writer, that these records of parliament ought to be taken as a strong presumption that some early petulance or riot has been much exaggerated by the old chroniclers whom Shakspeare has followed with such dramatic effect.³ Allowing, however, the proper weight to this reflection, we should bear in mind the difference of the worship paid to the rising and the setting sun; we should remember that it has been a not unusual practice with popular bodies to contrast the untried heir-apparent with the old king, concealing the vices and making an idol of the former; and we shall be much mistaken if we allow too much to the simplicity and honesty of the age that produced Henry of Bolingbroke. Men were as capable of pitting the son against the father at the beginning of the fifteenth as they were at the end of the eighteenth century. But still, with every allowance for policy and party feeling, Prince Henry may, in the words of another judicious writer,⁴ have been "in the number of those aspiring youths that had mixed pleasure with ambition;" and the popular tales of his youthful freaks may not be wholly without foundation. The stories usually inserted in our histories do not rest on any contemporary authority, but seem, for the most part, to have been first told by Hall and Stow, who wrote in the time of Elizabeth and James I., and who probably took up their accounts from popular traditions that had multiplied and grown during the course of two centuries.

One of these statements, however, of young Henry's outbreaks is too well established by credibility of appearance, as well as importance of moral character, to be thrown aside with the

¹ *Monstrelet; Juv. des Ursins; P. de Fenin, Villars; Barante.*

² *Rot. Parl.*

³ *Hallam, Middle Ages.*

⁴ *Mackintosh.*

rest. It is the well-known case of his violation of the law, and his subsequent submission and atonement. One of his favourites, who is said also to have been one of his personal servants, was arraigned before Sir William Gascoigne, the chief-justice, on a charge of felony. The prince, hoping to overawe the judge, attended the trial; but on the criminal being condemned, he was so transported with passion, that he struck the judge on the face. This was an insult to the law, which is higher than princes; and as such the magistrate felt it: he forthwith commanded the prince to be arrested, and conveyed like a malefactor to prison. And stranger still than this fearless vindication of the majesty of the law, was the dutiful submission of the prince, who silenced his angry attendants, and allowed

himself to be led to the prison of the King's Bench without a murmur. The favour with which the prince, when he became king, continued to regard the chief-justice, showed that the severe rebuke so justly merited had also been rightly received, and turned to the best account.

King Henry was praying before the shrine of St. Edward in Westminster Abbey, when he was seized with his last fit. They carried him into the apartment of the abbot, and there he lay down to die in the Jerusalem Chamber; the name of which is said to have recalled an old prophecy, with the notion he had once entertained of making a crusade for the recovery of the Holy City.¹ He expired on the 20th of March, 1413, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.²

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

HENRY V., SURNAMED OF MONMOUTH.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1413—DEATH, A.D. 1422.

Succession of Henry V.—Popular commencement of his reign—Insurrection of the Lollards—Sir John Oldcastle, leader of the Lollards—Henry V. revives the English pretensions to the throne of France—Troubled state of France at this period—Factions into which the French were divided—Their atrocities—Henry's demands upon the French court rejected—He prepares to invade France—Suppresses a conspiracy—Henry besieges and captures Harfleur—He marches into France—His retreat—He halts at Azincourt—Battle of Azincourt—Mad conduct of the French leaders—Their total defeat—Gallant conduct of Henry—Loss of the French at Azincourt—Henry returns to England—The French attempt to recover Harfleur, and are defeated—Henry again invades France—Continued atrocities of its factions—Henry's successes in France—He besieges Rouen—The French factions continue their feuds—Massacres in Paris—Henry takes Rouen—His treaties with the factions—He advances upon Paris—The Duke of Burgundy assassinated by the party of the dauphin—Alliance of Burgundy with England—Henry marries the French princess Catherine—He is proclaimed Regent of France, and heir to the French crown—He returns to England—Misfortunes to his cause in France during his absence—He returns to France, accompanied by James, Prince of Scotland—His victorious progress—He hangs the Bastard of Vaurus—His triumphant court in Paris—Last illness of Henry V.—His exhortations to the English nobles—His death and solemn funeral.



Henry of Bolingbroke had died unregretted, his successor was welcomed with enthusiastic joy. Henry V. was born at Monmouth, A.D. 1388, and was therefore twenty-five years old when he ascended the throne of England. From the place of his birth, he has obtained in early English history the appellation

of Henry of Monmouth. It is worthy of notice that before he became king, he was thus Prince of Wales by nativity as well as hereditary title; and it is still more remarkable, that his first practice in arms was against those people whom his birth-place had made his countrymen. There was as little promise, however, at his birth, that he should become Prince of Wales as King of

¹ The prophecy was that he should die in Jerusalem. It is probable that the visit paid to him, in the early part of his reign, by Manuel Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople, who came to implore the aid of the English and the other nations of the West, against Bajazet and the Turks, may have had the effect of occasionally turning the active mind of Henry towards the then almost forgotten East.

² "Few candidates for power have united more wariness and watchfulness with daring strokes of policy. He shrank from nothing necessary to his ambitious purposes, and probably was not willing to do what was not absolutely necessary to their success. Men were then, however, very indulgent to such deeds. The measure of state necessity in the fifteenth century was

larger than it is ever avowed or often deemed to be in the nineteenth. His title being exclusively founded on a revolution, he was compelled to adopt popular principles, and to magnify the parliamentary authority from which his own was derived. His most arbitrary measures were proposed under colour of a necessity which prevented them from growing into precedents subversive of the constitution. The princes of his house, by patronizing principles favourable to their own title, promoted the subsequent progress of liberty; although their measures of government, considered in their motives and in their immediate effects, are entitled to no more commendation than those of most other monarchs of their age."—Sir James Mackintosh, *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 351.

England or even of France, for his father at the time was nothing more than the son of John of Gaunt, and Earl of Derby. Not a breath was

made. He immediately ordered that the body of Richard II. should be removed from its obscure tomb in the Friars' Church at Langly, and brought



MONMOUTH CASTLE.—J. S. Prout, from his sketch on the spot.

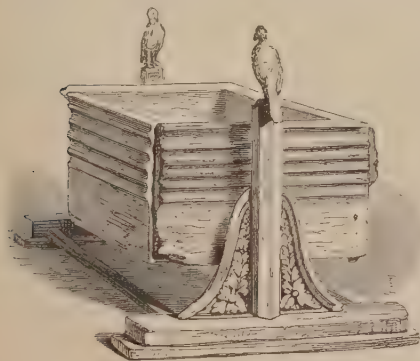
raised in favour of Edmund Mortimer, the Earl of March, who had now grown up to man's estate, nor against the right of Henry, whose peace was pro-



FUNERAL OF RICHARD II.—Froissart MS., British Museum.

with funeral pomp to London, there to be interred among the Kings of England. This was done; and after solemn obsequies, the remains of Richard were buried in Westminster Abbey, close by those of his first wife, the "Good Queen Anne," as he himself in his life had desired. A dead king could do no mischief; but it might have been otherwise with a living prince, whose right to the crown had been formerly proclaimed by a powerful party in the state; yet Henry released the Earl of March from the captivity in which he had been kept by his cautious predecessor, and allowed him to enjoy the estates of his father. Not long after, he recalled the son of the gallant Hotspur from his long exile in Scotland, and restored to him the hereditary honours and lands of the Percies. He pursued the same generous course with other individuals, and the effect was seen in the devoted affection of men who had hitherto been most inimical to the house of Lancaster.²

The first year of the new reign was, however, disturbed by a popular commotion in London. During the sitting of Henry's first parliament, placards were stuck up by night on the church doors of London, stating that there were 100,000



CRADLE OF HENRY V.—Antiquarian Repertory.

claimed the day after his father's death, and who was crowned on the 9th of April following.¹ His magnanimous conduct deepened the favourable impressions his character had previously

¹ Sir Harris Nicolas, *Chronology of History*.

² Walsingham. Henry attended as chief mourner in the funeral procession of Richard.

men ready to assert their rights by force of arms if needful. This announcement was attributed to the religious innovators called Lollards. Their leader, or he on whose strength and talent they most relied, was Sir John Oldcastle, commonly called, in right of his wife, the Lord Cobham. He was "a strong man, and a metely good man of war," and he had been the intimate associate and friend of Henry when Prince of Wales. Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, accused Oldcastle to the king, at the moment, it appears, when he was incensed at the threats of the Lollards. Henry, however, was not in a mind to deliver up a man he esteemed to the tender mercies of an inquisition; he told the archbishop that he himself would talk with Oldcastle and try to bring him to the right way. As Henry had studied at Oxford, he was probably not unacquainted with the divinity of the schools; but his arguments failed to convince his old associate, and then Henry, like other controversialists, grew angry. He began to threaten and to enforce his arguments by references to the statute *de heretico comburendo*, upon which Sir John withdrew from Windsor to his castle of Cowling, in Kent. Upon this, Henry gave up his old friend to Archbishop Arundel, and issued a severe proclamation against the whole body of the sectarians, listeners as well as preachers, and the archbishop cited Oldcastle to appear in his court. Sir John would not suffer any man to serve the summons upon him, and he derided the authority of the church. Pressed by the clergy, Henry sent out an armed force, to which Oldcastle surrendered. He was carried a prisoner to the Tower, but neither captivity nor the formidable front of his accusers and judges could damp his ardour in the cause of religious reform. Alone and unsupported, he pleaded two whole days in the synod of prelates and abbots, who, however, convicted him of incorrigible heresy. He was delivered over to the secular arm, or, in other words, sentenced to the flames; but the king granted a respite for fifty days, and, before that term elapsed, Sir John contrived, or was permitted to escape from the Tower. It is quite certain, after the lengths to which they had gone against him, that the clergy would never have permitted him to live in peace; and Oldcastle may have relied on the co-operation of those who had embraced the same opinions, and may have hoped to obtain security for property and life by force of arms. It is said that he collected a great host of enthusiasts, and made an attempt to surprise the king at Eltham Palace, and that, failing in this enterprise, he ordered the Lollards from various quarters to march towards London, and assemble suddenly in St. Giles' Fields, "above Holborn," on the day after the Epiphany or Twelfth Day. The king was

warned of the plot, and during the preceding day, the mayor of London arrested several suspicious persons in the city. Every alderman was ordered to keep great watch in his ward; and a little after midnight, on the 7th January, 1414, Henry went out of London with a great force, commanding all the gates of the city to be closed and well guarded, in order to prevent the Lollards within the walls from joining those without. In the pastoral meadows of St. Giles, where it was rumoured that 25,000 insurgents were to meet under the orders of Sir John Oldcastle, he found only some fourscore men; but these, it is said, had arms upon them, and, it is added, that some of the number who were caught confessed that they had come thither to meet Sir John Oldcastle. Henry then sent detachments along several roads; but the only assemblage of any consequence surprised was one at Harengay Park, near Hornsey, where certain lords took many Lollards. Oldcastle himself was nowhere seen, and though the king, by proclamation, offered immense rewards for his apprehension, such was the fidelity of his humble followers, that there was not a man found that would betray him. Little mercy was shown to the poor Lollards who were captured, and no great pains could have been taken with their trial, for, on the 13th of January, thirty of them were executed in St. Giles' Fields, being drawn and hanged as traitors, and then burned, gallows and all, as heretics. No great reliance can be placed on confessions extorted from these unhappy men, but the parliament, as well as the king, seem to have believed that the state had been in danger. The commons, in their address, stated that the Lollards had sought to destroy religion, the king, the lords, the bishops, the whole body of the clergy, and all manner of good law; and Henry echoed these sounding charges in his proclamation, wherein, moreover, it was stated that the insurgents had meant to divide England into federal republics, and to appoint Sir John Oldcastle their president. Persecution did not stop short at the wholesale execution in St. Giles'. Sir Roger Acton, a friend of Oldcastle, was taken, drawn, and hanged on the 10th of February. Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, died on the 28th of that same month; but his successor, Chicheley, was not a whit more tolerant. It was enacted in parliament that all judges and magistrates should have power to arrest any individual suspected of Lollardism; that, besides suffering capital punishment, every individual convicted of that atrocious crime should forfeit his lands, goods, and chattels to the king, as in cases of felony; and that the chancellor, treasurer, justices of the two benches, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and all the chief magistrates, should

bind themselves by oath to do their utmost for the rooting up of heresy.¹

When he had been little more than twelve months on the throne of England, Henry suddenly demanded the crown of France, as the representative of Isabella, the wife of the second Edward, in whose right Edward III. had founded his absurd pretensions.² But the claims of Henry V. exceeded *his* in absurdity; for, according to the only admissible construction of that hereditary right on which he rested his claim, the crown of France belonged, not to him, but to Edward Mortimer, the Earl of March. No one, however, acquainted with Henry's love of war, with the spirit of the English people, and with the wretched condition of France, could be much surprised at the project of conquest.

The solemn reconciliation between the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans lasted but a very few months. The father-in-law of the latter prince, the Count of Armagnac, never laid down his arms; and the Duke of Orleans kept away from Paris, where his cousin of Burgundy, who had formed a suitable alliance with the fraternity of butchers in that capital, misgoverned the state.

The Dauphin Louis, who was now approaching the age of manhood, quarrelled with the Duke of Burgundy, and increased the general confusion by intrigues of his own, in which neither his unhappy father nor his mother was respected. The origin of the unnatural feeling probably dated from an earlier period, but from this moment the queen-mother betrayed a deadly hatred of her own son. From instruments and subordinate agents, the butchers of Paris soon became masters: they massacred many individuals; they assumed the "white hood," as a revolutionary distinction; they allied themselves with the turbulent men of Ghent; they sent deputies to all the good towns of France, to induce the people to adopt their device; they forced white hoods on the heads of the Dukes of Burgundy and Berri—on the dauphin—on the king himself—and compelled them all to wear them in sign of their love for the people and the good city of Paris. In all these transactions, the ludicrous

was mixed up largely with the horrible. They murdered, in prison, the Sire de la Rivière, one of the most accomplished and learned men in France; and every atrocity they committed they said was "for the good of France." The more respectable burghers were soon disgusted with the domination of these butchers, or "Cabochiens," as they were called after one of their chiefs; and their resistance was roused when the Duke of Berri employed the master butchers to levy a tax by force for the expenses of a war against the English and the Armagnacs.³ The latter faction were committing much greater crimes than those of the butchers in some of the provinces: they had made an alliance with some English adventurers; and the Count of Armagnac publicly wore the red cross of England over his armour. The Parisians had hitherto been warm Bourguignons, but now they opened communications with the Armagnacs: some priests of the university took courage to preach publicly against the butchers; but it was the rival fraternity of carpenters that humbled their pride. "We will soon see," said Guillaume Cirasse, "whether there be not as many carpenters as butchers in Paris, and as good men!" On the 1st of July, 1413, the butchers beheaded the provost of Paris. This was the last act of their authority: after assembling in the Place de Grève—the scene of more deplorable tragedies in a later revolution—and making a vain show of resistance, they were driven out of Paris. The power of the Duke of Burgundy fell with that of the butchers: in the month of August he quitted Paris and withdrew in haste to his states of Flanders. On his departure, the Duke of Orleans became master of the government; all the officers, ministers, and magistrates were changed, and, notwithstanding solemn promises to the contrary, the Bourguignons were persecuted, imprisoned, or driven into exile. The white hoods and the colours of the Duke of Burgundy disappeared as if by magic, and all Paris, even to the images of the saints, wore the white scarf, the device of the Duke of Orleans. If the queen and her son had agreed in anything, they might have checked

¹ Elmham, *Vit. Hen. V.*; Rymer; *Stow*.

² See vol. i. p. 458.

³ Amidst this chaotic state of the politics of France, Thierry thus explains how the Orleans party came to be known as the Armagnacs:—"In the early part of the fifteenth century, the Count of Armagnac, who had for some time placed himself at the head of a league formed by all the nobles of Gascony, with a view to maintain their common independence by leaning, as occasion required, upon the support of France or of England, made alliance with one of the two aristocratical factions of Orleans and Burgundy, which were then contesting the government of France. He thus engaged in a foreign quarrel, and drew into it his confederates—not so much perhaps from political motives as from private interests; for one of his daughters had married the Duke of Orleans, who headed the party of

that name. Once launched in the disputes that divided the French nation, the Gascons, as might be expected from the impetuosity of their southern temperament, became such active partizans in these disputes, that the name of Orleans soon passed into that of Armagnac; and nothing then came to be talked of in France but the *Burgundians* and the *Armagnacs*. Notwithstanding the generality of this distinction, there were no true Armagnacs but those of the south; and these, identifying themselves with a faction more numerous than themselves, forgot, whilst hurried along by its impulses, the cause which had first brought them into this league—the independence of their mother country. That country's interest, which was their sole true policy, they altogether abandoned; they were now no longer free to change their patron or their allies, but blindly adopted all the influences and motives of a foreign faction."

the tyranny of the Armagnacs; but they were engaged in constant quarrels. As early as the month of December, the dauphin, who before had intrigued with the Armagnacs, wrote an imploring letter to his father-in-law the Duke of Burgundy, telling him that he was little better than a prisoner in Paris, and imploring him to come in force to his deliverance. Early in the following year (1414), the duke marched from Flanders with a great army of Flemings, Burgundians, and Picards: he met no resistance until he came before the walls of Paris; but he found that capital well defended by the Count of Armagnac. Jean Sans-peur was obliged to retreat into Flanders, and after this failure no consideration was shown to him. The Armagnacs made the king sign a proclamation in which he was charged with the "damnable murder" of the Duke of Orleans, and with other crimes and treasons: the forfeiture of all his states was pronounced, and the ban and arrier-ban were summoned to execute the sentence. The Armagnacs took the field, and carried the king with them, to give weight to their proceedings. They captured the duke's town of Compeigne, and then proceeded to lay siege to Soissons. Here the valiant De Bournonville made a firm resistance: he had with him a body of English archers, who defended one of the gates so well that none of the assailants would approach it; but the Armagnacs also had some English, or men of Bordeaux, in their army, and these fellow-subjects opened a friendly communication with each other, the result of which was that the English gate was left open to the besiegers, who entered with the fury of wild beasts. Men, women, and children were massacred; the churches were broken open, the ornaments of the altar pillaged, and the relics of saints, nay, even the consecrated wafers, were trodden under foot. The day after the assault they struck off the head of the brave De Bournonville; and his execution was followed by that of five other knights and some of the principal citizens. About 200 English archers were hanged on the walls; twenty-five gentlemen of the place were sent to Paris, where most of them were hanged or beheaded. From Soissons the Armagnacs marched to Arras, and laid siege to that city. But Arras was a strong place, and Jean Sans-peur, though reduced to great distress, was enabled to furnish it with plenty of provisions and an excellent garrison.

At this moment intelligence was received of the mighty preparations making in England for the invasion of France, and a new treaty of peace and reconciliation was concluded between the Bourguignons and the Armagnacs. Before the latter withdrew from Arras, either by accident or design, the house where the king lodged was

set on fire, and he narrowly escaped being burned to death. On his return to Paris he was again declared to be mad; and the dauphin, who was nominally placed at the head of affairs, concerted a plot to render himself really master of the capital, by expelling both Bourguignons and Armagnacs, together with his own mother. At a given hour the tocsin was to sound from the church of St. Eustace, and the rabble of Paris were to rise in the prince's name, and slay all that opposed him. The plot, however, was discovered; and then the dauphin fled to Bourges, leaving Paris to the power of the Armagnacs, who made a new proscription of the Bourguignons, and drove the wives and children of the exiles out of the city. Soon after, however (in the month of April, 1415), the dauphin, by some cunning manœuvres, made himself master of the capital. His first operation was to seize all the money which his mother had deposited for safety in some of the churches. He then promised the people a speedy redress of the grievances under which they had so long laboured. But the dauphin soon showed that he was as rapacious, prodigal, and dissipated as the worst of those he denounced, and even in Paris which had long been accustomed to an immoral court, his vulgar dissoluteness excited disgust. Not satisfied with publicly entertaining a servant of the palace as his mistress, he shut up his young and beautiful wife in a château at St. Germain-en-Laye. This was a fresh injury to the Duke of Burgundy, who was father of the dauphiness, and it was instantly resented: the states of Flanders, taking up the quarrel of the duke, told the insensate young man that, unless he immediately redressed this and other injuries, the duke would not ratify the treaty of Arras; and that neither he nor his vassals, or any of his subjects, would take up arms to defend the dauphin or France from the attack of the English. Before this the duke had gone from Flanders into his states of Burgundy, where he assembled Caboché, Legoix, and the other chiefs of the Parisian fraternity of butchers. The Count of Armagnac at the same time was carrying on a private war in the south; the Count of St. Pol was doing the same in the north, and peace and good order existed nowhere.

Such was the hapless condition of France when Henry proposed to conquer it.¹

Before arming, the King of England negotiated at some length. To the peremptory demand of the crown of France no answer was returned. About a month later (in August, 1414) Henry intimated that he would be satisfied with the fulfilment of Edward III.'s treaty of Bretigny, and the addition of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine,

¹ Juvenal; St. Denis; Monstrelet; Barante; Villaret.

and some territory in Provence, together with the hand of Charles' daughter Catherine, with a marriage portion of 2,000,000 crowns. It was replied for Charles, that he would restore the whole of the ancient duchy of Aquitaine, and give his daughter with a portion of 600,000 crowns. Henry rejected these proposals with disdain, and recalled his ambassadors. In the month of November he asked aids from a willing parliament, who immediately voted a supply of two tenths and two-fifteenths; not, however, expressly for the purposes for which the money was asked, but "for the defence of the kingdom of England and the safety of the seas." In the beginning of the following year Henry condescended to renew his negotiations, and even lowered his demands so far as to give up his claim to Normandy, Anjou, and Maine; but, though alarmed, the French adhered to their former conditions.¹

On the 16th of April a council of fifteen spiritual and twenty-eight temporal peers met at Westminster, and to them Henry announced his purpose of making a voyage in his own proper person, by the grace of God, to recover his inheritance.

Both bishops and lay lords enthusiastically applauded this resolution, and assured him of their sincere co-operation. He appointed the Duke of Bedford, one of his brothers, to be regent during his absence; and having raised the sum of 500,000 nobles, he set out to embark at Southampton in the month of July. At Winchester he was met by the Archbishop of Bourges, who had been despatched by the Duke of Berri in the vain hope that the storm might yet be diverted. Henry told this prelate that the crown of France was his right, and that he would win it by the sword. He continued his road to Southampton.² His fleet rode at anchor in the bay; his knights and soldiers were encamped round the shore; and he had begun to superintend the embarkation, when

he was checked by the intelligence of a conspiracy against his life. This bold plot included Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, the Lord Scroop of Masham—a person who enjoyed Henry's most perfect confidence, and who always slept with the king; but the leader was the king's own cousin Richard, brother to the infamous Rutland (now

Duke of York), and recently created Earl of Cambridge. An inquest of twelve jurors of the county found that the Earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey had treasonably conspired to proclaim the Earl of March, and to call in a Scottish army; and that the Lord Scroop was guilty of misprision of treason. Grey was beheaded: Cambridge and Scroop claimed the privilege of being tried by their peers; this was granted, and all the lords in the army condemned them to the block.³

At last Henry embarked, and set sail from Southampton: his fleet, which consisted in part of ships he had hired from Ireland, Holland, and Friesland, amounted to 1200 or 1400 sail of vessels, from 20 to 300 tons burden; his army to 6500 horse, and about 24,000 foot of all kinds.⁴

He anchored in the mouth of the river Seine, three miles from Harfleur, on the 13th of August. On the following day he began to land his troops and stores—an operation which occupied three whole days. A proclamation was issued, forbidding, under pain of death, all excesses against the peaceful inhabitants; and it is noted by many contemporary historians, French as well as English, that Henry, with honourable perseverance, enforced the uniform good treatment of the people through whose districts he afterwards passed. On the 17th he laid siege to Harfleur, a very strong



HENRY V.—From the Arundel MS. No. 38.

³ The best account of this conspiracy is given in Sir Harris Nicolas' *History of the Battle of Azincourt, and of the Expedition of Henry V. into France*. It is said that the conspirators were bribed by the French.

⁴ Included in this number was a strong body of gunners, miners, masons, carpenters, saddlers, bowyers, smiths, and other artisans and labourers.

¹ Rymer. He gives the whole negotiation at length.

² Monstrelet; Walsingham; Elmham.

fortress, with a numerous garrison, situated on the left bank of the river. The conduct of the siege was according to the rules laid down by "Master Giles," the principal military authority of that period.¹ The loss sustained by the besieging army was great, not so much from the sword and the awkward artillery of those times, as from a frightful dysentery, brought on by the damp, unwholesome nature of the place. The men perished by hundreds, and many of the most eminent captains died of the disease. Seeing, however, no prospect of being relieved, and suffering from the same dysentery, the garrison capitulated, and the town was surrendered on the 22d of September, after a siege of thirty-six days. Henry then shipped his sick and wounded (among whom was Mortimer, Earl of March) for England, and remained a few days at Harfleur.² While here he sent a chivalrous challenge to the dauphin, offering to decide the contest in personal combat. The dauphin, who was fonder of idling than of fighting, returned no answer.

With the insignificant force the English king now had, it seemed madness to undertake any great enterprise. The sea was open to him, but he scorned the notion of returning to England with no honour gained save the capture of a single town; and it is exceedingly probable that had he so returned, he would have suffered a dangerous loss of popularity. It is said, however, that a council of war recommended that he should re-embark; but if this opinion were really entertained by the chiefs of the army, they seem to have given it up without demur. "No," said Henry; "we must first see, by God's help, a little more of this good land of France, which is all our own." The forces were drawn out, and prepared to march through the hostile provinces of Normandy, Picardy, and Artois, to Calais. With the reductions made by the casualties of the siege, by sickness, and by leaving a garrison in Harfleur, they did not exceed 9000 men.³ The march began on the 6th of October, when a great force, with the king and dauphin at their head, lay at Rouen, and another, under the Constable of France, in front of the English in Picardy, whither troops were pouring in all directions. In his passage through Normandy,⁴ Henry met with no great resistance; but detachments more numerous than his whole force watched his movements, and cut off stragglers; the country was laid waste before his approach; the people in the

towns and villages furnished him with little or no provisions—they were half starving themselves; sickness was reproduced by want of proper food and the fatigues of the march. At the passage of the river Bresle, beyond Dieppe, the garrison of Eu made a sortie, and fell upon his rear; but the leader of the French was killed, and the rest fled back to the covering of their ramparts. On the 12th of October, he reached the memorable ford of Blanche-Taque, where he hoped to pass like Edward III.; but the French resolved to defend the line of the Somme; and, taught by experience, they had fortified both banks, had driven strong palisades across the ford, and placed troops of archers behind them. Henry retreated to Airaines, the little town where Edward III. had slept two nights before the battle of Blanche-Taque, and there the English army spent this night of the 12th. He had now to seek for a passage up the river, as his great-grand-father had sought for one in descending it. He marched along the left bank to Bailleul, where he slept on the 13th. The Constable of France had fixed his head-quarters at Abbeville, on the opposite side of the river. Every bridge was broken down, every ford was fortified, and columns of horse and foot manœuvred along the right bank, keeping in line with Henry as he proceeded up the left. Many of his people lost heart at being thus foiled in all attempts to cross the Somme, and at seeing that their march was leading them far from the sea-shore. "I who write," says a chaplain of the army, "and many others, looked bitterly up to heaven, and implored the Divine mercy and the protection of the Virgin, and of England's saint St. George, to save us from the imminent perils by which we were surrounded, and enable us to reach Calais in safety."⁵ On the 14th, Henry made an attempt to pass at Pont St. Rémy, and was repulsed, as Edward had been at the same place. On the 15th he tried to force a passage at Ponteau de Mer, but he met with no better success. Still continuing to ascend the river, he tried several other passages in the course of the 16th and 17th; but every where insurmountable obstacles presented themselves. On the night of the 18th, having got above Amiens, he halted at Bainvillers. His troops were suffering every possible discomfort, and were disheartened by their repeated disappointments; but on the morning of the 19th, he was so fortunate as to find a ford between Betencourt and Voyenne,

¹ A beautiful manuscript copy of his work—*De Regimine Principum*—is preserved in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum.

² *Monstrellet; Walsing.; Nicolas's Battle of Azincourt, &c.*

³ Sir H. Nicolas says, after an impartial consideration, that not more than 9000 fighting men could have left Harfleur; and there is "a strong probability" that the force did not much exceed 6000 men.

⁴ The line of march he chose was by Fécamp and along the sea coast, till he came to the river Somme. From Blanche-Taque he was obliged to strike inland.

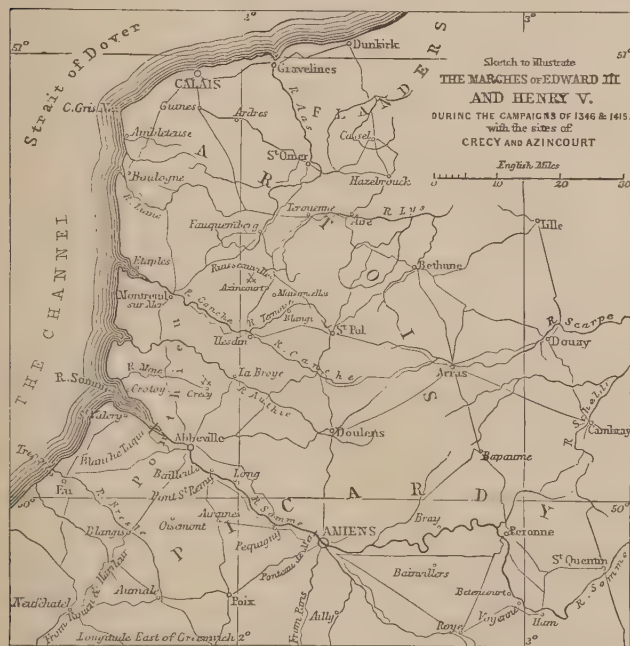
⁵ This anonymous writer, whom Sir H. Nicolas styles "Chronicle A," was first introduced to the notice of modern readers by this learned and industrious investigator. His accounts, which have never been published, exist in MS., in the Cottonian and Sloane collections, in the library of the British Museum.

which had not been staked by the people of St. Quentin. The English made a dash across this ford; the vanguard established themselves on the right bank, which they had so long yearned to reach, and the whole army with its baggage got safely across.¹ Having lost this line of defence, the constable fell back from the Somme, and marched along the Calais road as far as St. Pol, in Artois. Henry quietly followed by the same road; but while his small force was every hour farther reduced by sickness, that of the constable was continually strengthened; and in a few days the whole of the royal army of France was in Artois. On the 20th of October, three heralds arrived from the constable and the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, to acquaint the king of their resolution to give him battle before he reached Calais. Henry replied that the will of God would be done—that he did not seek them—but fear of them should never induce him to move out of his way, or to go either slower or faster than he in-

Ruisseauville and Azincourt, and there (having received nearly all the reinforcements he expected) he determined to make his stand. On the 24th, Henry crossed the deep and rapid river of Ternoise at Blangi; and soon after he came in sight of some of the enemy's columns. Expecting an attack, he formed in order of battle; but the columns he saw withdrew to Azincourt, and towards evening he marched on to Maisonnelles, a large village, only a few bow-shots from the enemy's outposts. Some provisions were brought in, and the men refreshed themselves, and took some rest. As soon as the moon arose, officers were sent out to survey the position, and ascertain the nature of the ground occupied by the French. During the whole night the English played on their trumpets and other martial instruments, so that the neighbourhood resounded with their music. Notwithstanding fatigue, cold, and hunger, they kept up a cheerful spirit; but many of them confessed their sins, took the sacrament, and made their

wills. These hours of suspense were the most trying of all, but not a man among them spoke of surrender—retreat or flight was impossible.²

On the side of the French there was no want of confidence, but an evident absence of order and discipline. The constable struck the royal banner into the ground on the Calais road, a little in advance of the village of Ruisseauville; and the Admiral of France, the master of the cross-bows, the princes, barons, and knights, planted their banners round it, with loud acclamations of joy. The night was cold and rainy, but they lighted great fires all along their line, and the soldiers, while they warmed themselves, passed round the wine-cup, and calculated the proper ran-



tended: his march was before him, straight on by the road to Calais, and if the French attempted to stop him, it would be at their peril. True to his word, the King of England marched on with the greatest calmness and regularity. From St. Pol, the constable fell back to the villages of

soms for the king and the great barons of England, whom they made sure of taking on the morrow. The pages and valets of the army rode about looking for hay and straw to lay on the damp ground; horses went and came, slipping and floundering in the clayey soil; there was a continual movement and noise; the horsemen were heard afar

¹ The weighty baggage and waggons had been left behind at Harfleur. On starting from that place, the soldiers had only provisions for eight days.

² Monstrelet; Barante; Nicolas.

off shouting to one another: but by some chance, they had scarcely any musical instruments to cheer their hearts; and it was remarked, with astonishment, that very few of their horses neighed during the night—which, adds the chronicler, was considered by many as a very bad omen.¹ Among the leaders of this army were some old officers, not quite so sure of the result. The Duke of Berri, who had fought at the battle of Poitiers sixty years ago, remembered that on that occasion the French had felt confident of victory, and yet his father, King John, had been taken prisoner, and the army destroyed.

At early dawn King Henry heard matins and mass with his men, and then led them to their positions. He formed them, as usual, into three divisions and two wings; but the divisions stood so closely together, that they appeared as one. The archers were placed in advance of the men-at-arms in form of a wedge. In addition to his bow and arrows, his bill-hook, hatchet, or hammer, every archer carried a long stake sharpened at both ends, which he was to fix obliquely before him in the ground, so as to serve as a firm pike against the charge of the enemy's cavalry. These stakes formed together an excellent rampart, and they could be moved and fixed again if a change of position should be deemed necessary. The upper end of the stakes, which projected against the foe, were tipped with iron: this was a new precaution never before used in a war by Christians. The baggage, the priests, the tents, and horses—for this fight, like that of Poitiers and Crecy, was to be fought chiefly on foot—were placed in the rear, near to the village of Maisoncelles, under guard of some men-at-arms and a small body of archers. When these dispositions were made, Henry mounted a small gray horse, and rode along the lines of each division. He wore a helmet of polished steel, surmounted with a crown of gold, set with sparkling gems, and the arms of England and of France were embroidered in gold on his surcoat. But what struck the English more than gold and gems, was the bright lively blue eye of the hero, whose countenance, like that of the great Edward on the like occasion, was serenely cheerful. As he rode from rank to rank he said a few words to each; he recalled to their memories the glorious victories gained by their ancestors with an equal disparity of numbers. He told them that he had made up his own mind to conquer or die there—that England should never have to pay a ransom for *him*. He assured the archers that the French had sworn to cut off the three fingers of their right hand, to unfit them for their craft; and he reminded them

of the atrocities committed on their countrymen taken at Soissons, where 200 English archers, prisoners of war, had been mercilessly hanged. "We have not come," said he, "into our kingdom of France like mortal enemies; we have not burned towns and villages; we have not outraged women and maidens, like our adversaries at Soissons. They are full of sin, and have no fear of God." As the king passed one of the divisions, he heard a brave officer, Walter Hungerford, expressing a wish that some of the gallant knights and stout archers who were living in idleness in merry England could be present on this field. "No!" exclaimed Henry, "I would not have a single man more. If God gives us the victory, the fewer we are the more honour; and if we lose, the less will be the loss to our country. But we will not lose; fight as you were wont to do, and before night the pride of our numberless enemies shall be humbled to the dust." The disparity of numbers was, indeed, appalling, the French being, at the most moderate calculation, as six to one;² but they had learned little from experience; their chiefs seemed to be suffering under a moral vertigo—they had crowded their immense host in fields between two woods, where there was not room for them to deploy or to manœuvre with any facility. From the Seine to the Somme—from the Somme to the spot where they were now crowded and heaped upon one another—there was scarcely a worse position; and the rain, which had fallen in torrents, rendered some of the fields almost impassable to horses bearing the weight of men in heavy armour.

A close parallel has been drawn between the fights of Crecy and Azincourt, but in some respects they differed. The French, tutored, it may be, by the old Duke of Berri, did not begin the action, but waited to be attacked, sitting down on the ground every man near to his own banner. Henry had calculated on the confusion sure to arise at the first movement of such a force in such close and difficult ground, and for some hours he patiently waited their attack. During this time he distributed food and a little wine among his men, who sat down to their breakfast quietly on the ground, even as their forefathers had done at Crecy. While the compact force of Henry was governed by one master-will, the loose multitude of the French was distracted by the conflicting opinions of many presumptuous men.

² Monstrelet says that the French were, "on a hasty survey, estimated to be *more* than six times the number of the English." According to the Italian chronicler, who ambitiously calls himself "Titus Livius," they were rather more than seven to one. Another contemporary estimates the French at 100,000, which would be more than ten to one, even admitting that Henry marched from Harfleur with 9000 men, and without counting his losses on the march.

¹ Monstrelet.

"The constable," says a great French writer,¹ who has described the battle with a rare impartiality, "was by right of his office the commander-in-chief of the French army, but there were with him so many princes who had all wills of their own, that it was not easy for him to obtain obedience." The Duke of Orleans, the Count of Nevers, and a host of young gentlemen who had just put on their knightly spurs, and had never earned them, wanted to charge the English at once. The constable, it appears, would fain have waited the arrival of fresh reinforcements under the Marshal de Logny and the Duke of Brittany, who were both on their march, and expected in the course of that and the following day. It seemed disgraceful, with such odds, to wait for more; but the constable prevailed. The entire loss of his authority was not felt till the battle commenced, and he was evidently determined upon delay. As the morning wore away he even sent Messire Guichard Dauphin and the Sire de Helly to the English camp to negotiate, and to offer Henry a free passage, if he would on his part restore Harfleur, together with all the pri-

soners he had made, and resign his pretensions to the crown of France. Henry, undismayed by the force before him, would only treat on the same conditions which he had offered in his own capital. He has been lauded for his firmness and his hardihood, but his good policy has been generally overlooked. If he had allowed the constable to amuse him with these negotiations for a day or two, his army would have been starved outright—a more serious consideration this, than the arrival of reinforcements; for had the Duke of Brittany come up with his 6000 men, he would in all probability have only increased the confusion and the unmanageableness of the French host. Seeing, then, that they would not come to him, Henry prepared to go to them. He despatched two detachments—the one to lie in ambush on the left flank of the French, the other to their rear, where, when the battle began, they were to set fire to a barn and house belonging to the priory of St. George at Hesdin, and so create an alarm. These manoeuvres were executed; and the two detachments, being both of archers, got to the posts appointed, and lay in wait without



THE FIELD OF AZINCOURT.²—From a drawing on the spot by John Absolon.

being perceived by the enemy. It was towards the hour of noon when Henry gave the brief but cheering order—"Banners, advance!" At the same moment, Sir Thomas Erpingham, the commander of the archers, a knight grown gray with age and honour, threw his truncheon into the air, exclaiming—"Now strike!" The distance between the two armies was short of a quarter of a mile. The English moved on in gallant array until the foremost came within bow-shot of the French; then the archers stuck their stakes in the ground before them, and set up a tremendous shout. Their loud huzzas were instantly echoed

by the men that lay concealed on the left flank of the French, who, the next minute, were assailed by a tremendous shower of arrows both in front and flank. The French had few or no bowmen, for that weapon was considered unworthy of knightly hands, and the princes had insolently rejected the service of the burghers and other plebeians, holding that France ought to be de-

² The wood on the left hand of the view is that from which the English archers cut the stakes which were planted as described in the text. From this wood the English position extended to the church shown in the view, the French position being opposite, or, looking at the view, at the back of the spectator. A few stones indicate the site of a chapel which, according to tradition, was built on the skirts of the wood. Bones, and sometimes weapons, are still dug up on the field.

fended only by *gentlemen!* Messire Clignet, of Brabant, thought that he could break the English archers with the lance, and he charged with 1200 horse, shouting "Mountjoye! St. Denis!" But the ground was soft and slippery; the flight of arrows that met them right in the face was terrific: some were killed; some rolled, horse and horseman, on the fields; others turned their horses' heads: and of the whole 1200, not above seven score followed their chiefs up to the English front, where the archers, instead of wearing steel armour, had even thrown aside their leathern jackets, that they might have a freer use of their nervous arms. But between the defence of the sharp stakes, and the incessant flight of their arrows, very few of the French lances reached those open breasts. Such of the knights as stood their ground, stooped their heads as the arrows went through the visors; they thus scarcely saw what they were doing, and lost the command of their horses, which, wounded in many places, became mad with pain, and galloped back, joining the other fugitives, and breaking the first division of the French army. Only three horsemen penetrated beyond the stakes, and they were instantly slain. Everywhere within reach of the arrows the French horse were seen capering or rushing through the lines, doing great mischief to their own army, and causing the wildest uproar and confusion. But, in fact, all order was already lost there; the columns got mixed; the words of command were disregarded; and while the timid stole to the rear, the brave all rushed to the van, crowding the division that was over-crowded before in that narrow space. Meanwhile, the English, removing their stakes, came on with still more tremendous huzzas; the French made a slight retrograde movement, and then, so miserably had their ground been chosen, they got into some recently ploughed corn-fields, where their horses, sank almost to their saddle-girths, stuck fast or rolled over with their riders. Seeing that the van-guard was thoroughly disordered and broken, the English archers left their stakes, which it appears they did not use again, and slinging their bows behind them, rushed with their bill-hooks and hatchets into the midst of the steel-clad knights, they themselves being almost without clothing, and many of them both bare-footed and bare-headed. The Constable of France and many of the most illustrious of the knights were presently killed by these despised plebeians, who, without any assistance from the chivalry of England, dispersed the whole body. Then the second division opened to receive the sad remnants of the first—a manœuvre attended with fresh disorder. At this moment the Duke Anthony of Brabant, who had just arrived in the field, having in his impatient haste left his re-

inforcements behind him, headed a fresh charge of horse, but he was instantly slain by the English, who kept advancing, and destroying all that opposed them. The second division of the French, however, closed up, and kept its ground, though the weight of their armour made them sink knee-deep in the mire. Henry now brought up his men-at-arms, and, calling in his brave bowmen, formed them again in good order. These lightly-equipped troops found little inconvenience from the nature of the soil; they had the free use of their limbs; they were fresh as when they first came into battle; and they again gave a loud huzza when the king led them on to a fresh charge. It was now that the real battle took place, and that Henry's life was repeatedly exposed to great danger. His brother, the Duke of Clarence, was wounded and thrown down, and would have been killed or made prisoner, but for the personal valour of the king, who placed himself beside the body, and beat off the assailants. Soon after he was charged by a band of eighteen knights, bearing the banner of the Lord of Croy, who had bound themselves by an oath to take or kill the King of England. One of these knights struck the king with his mace or battle-axe, and the blow was so violent that Henry staggered and fell on his knees; but his brave men instantly closed round him, and killed every one of the eighteen knights. The Duke of Alençon then charged up, and cut his way to the royal standard of England. With a stroke of his battle-axe he beat the Duke of York to the ground; and when Henry stood forth to defend his unworthy relative, Alençon hit him over the head, and knocked off part of the crown which he wore over his helmet. But this blow was the last the Frenchman ever struck—the English closed upon him; seeing his danger, he raised his voice to the king, saying, "I surrender to you; I am the Duke of Alençon." Henry held out his hand, but it was too late—the duke was dead. His fall ended the battle, for his followers fled in dismay; and the third division of the French army, which had never drawn sword, and which was in itself more than double the number of the whole English force, fell back, and presently began to gallop from the field. Up to this point the English had not embarrassed themselves with prisoners; but they now took them by heaps—many surrendering, and many more making vain efforts to defend their liberty and honour in the midst of that hopeless confusion. As they took the Frenchmen, they removed their helmets from their heads. An immense number were thus secured, when Henry heard a dreadful noise in his rear, where the priests of his army were sitting on horse-back among the baggage, and he soon saw a hostile force drawn out in that direction. At

the same time, the third division of the French, which had been in full retreat, seemed to rally and raise their banners afresh. Henry knew that the Duke of Brittany and other chiefs, with reinforcements, were not far off; and believing himself about to be enveloped, he gave orders that every man should kill the prisoner or prisoners he had taken.¹ As the ransom of captives of rank was one of the soldiers' best gains, many were unwilling to obey this mandate; but Henry sent 200 archers, who knocked the French knights on the head without compunction. The extent of this horrible massacre is not known; but it appears that a great number of the noblest knights in France fell in consequence of what, after all, was a mistake. The body in the rear were only some 500 or 600 peasants who had entered Maisoncelles, and fallen upon the baggage, in hope of obtaining plunder, and driving off some of the English horses; and what appeared a rallying in front was only a momentary pause, the third division continuing to gallop off the field harder than ever. As soon as Henry discovered his mistake, he gave orders to stop the carnage and to look after the wounded. Then, attended by his principal barons, he rode over the field, and sent out the heralds to examine the coats of arms of the knights and princes that had fallen; and while his people were occupied in stripping the dead, he called to him the herald of the King of France, the king-at-arms, who was named Mountjoye, and with him several other heralds, both English and French, and said to them—"We have not made this slaughter, but the Almighty, as we believe, for the sins of France." And after this he asked them to whom the honour of the victory was due? and then Mountjoye answered—"To the King of England; to him ought victory to be given, and not to the King of France." After this the king asked the name of the castle that he saw pretty near to him, and they answered that it was called Azincourt. "Then," said Henry, "since all battles ought to be named after the nearest castle, let this battle bear henceforward and lastingly the name of the battle of Azincourt."²

The loss on the side of the French was frightful. The whole chivalry of France was cropped. Seven near relations of King Charles—the Duke of Brabant, the Count of Nevers, the Duke of Bar, his brother the Count of Marle, his other brother John, the Constable d'Albret, the Duke of Alençon—had all perished. Among the great lords, the Count of Dampierre, the Count of Vaudemont, the Lords of Rambure, Helly, and Verchin, and Messire Guichard Dauphin, met the same fate. In all, there perished on the field

8000 gentlemen, knights, or squires, including 120 great lords that had each a banner of his own. Among the most distinguished prisoners, who were far less numerous than the slain of the same class, were the Duke of Orleans, the Count of Riche-mont, the Marshal Boucicault, the Duke of Bourbon, the Counts of Eu and Vendôme, and the Lords of Harcourt and Craon. The loss of the English is differently estimated, but at the highest account it was only 1600 men, among whom were the Earl of Suffolk and the Duke of York, who, after his manifold treacheries, met a soldier's death—a more honourable fate than he deserved.

On the following morning, when the English left Maisoncelles, the king and the Duke of Orleans rode side by side, conversing in a friendly manner. The Count of Charolais, afterwards called Philip the Good, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy, was at the castle of Aire, not far from the battle, in which he had been prevented taking a part by the strict orders of his father. When he heard the dreadful news he sent the bailiff of Aire and the abbot of Ruisseauville to superintend the burying of the French, while he attended in person the funeral of his two uncles, the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Nevers. The abbot and the bailiff bought twenty-five roods of land: here three immense pits were dug, and 5800 men were buried in heaps. Then the Bishop of Guines went down and sprinkled holy water, and blessed this vast sepulchre of the aristocracy of France. Many hundreds who had friends at hand were interred with more decency in the churches of the neighbouring country, or conveyed to their own castles. Thousands who had crawled from the field into villages, or into the neighbouring woods, were buried there, or left a prey to the wolves and the ravens.³

Almost sinking under the weight of their booty, the English conquerors marched slowly on towards Calais. Immediately on his arriving at Calais, Henry called a council. Sickiness still prevailed in his skeleton of an army; famine and disease raged in all the neighbouring provinces of France; he had not only saved his honour, but gained the greatest military glory; he wanted men—he wanted money. All these considerations pointed homeward, and the council determined that the best thing for him to do was to return to England. Accordingly he set sail forthwith, carrying with him a host of royal and noble captives. The people of England were literally mad with joy and triumph. At Dover they rushed into the sea to meet him, and carried him to shore on their shoulders. At Canterbury, at Rochester, at every town he passed or approached, they went

¹ "Chronicle A," as quoted by Sir H. Nicolas. ² *Monstrelet*.

³ "Chronicle A," *St. Rémy* (another eye-witness of the battle); *P. Favin; Blinham; Monstrelet; Villaret; Barante; Nicolas*.

out by thousands to meet him and do him honour. At Blackheath, he was met by the lords, commons, and clergy, the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, who conducted him in triumph into the capital, where wine ran like water in the streets—where every house was decorated, and every voice raised to greet him with a joyous huzza.¹

In the first heat of this enthusiasm, parliament voted all the supplies he asked for, and even conferred on him for life the subsidy on wool and leather,² a measure which had been already so bitterly repented of in the case of Richard II. But Henry, with all his fondness for conquests abroad, betrayed no arbitrary inclinations at home, and he used this concession so moderately as to give universal contentment.

A.D. 1416. In the spring of this year, Sigismund, King of the Romans and emperor elect, came to England on a visit to Henry. The object of Sigismund's visit was to put an end to the schism in the church, where two popes were fiercely contending against each other, and to reconcile, if possible, the Kings of France and England. He was followed to the English court by French ambassadors, and by William of Bavaria, Count of Holland and of Hainault. The mediation between the two sovereigns ended in nothing.

Henry made a very favourable impression, however, on the mind of his imperial guest, the effects of which were seen some years later. During Sigismund's visit the French, after losing much valuable time, besieged Henry's new conquest, Harfleur, both by land and water. The Earl of Dorset, the governor, who had but a small and unhealthy garrison, sent to England for succour; and the Duke of Bedford, the king's brother, immediately sailed from Rye with such ships as were ready. On the eve of the 14th August, the duke came in sight of the mouth of the Seine, where he found more formidable enemies than he had expected, for the French had procured the assistance of some great caracs from Genoa, and some galleys, balingers, and other large high-decked vessels from Spain, all of which were advantageously posted. The duke lay to for the night: most of the captains of his fleet went on board his ship during the night and concerted the plan of the battle. But the imprudence of the French rendered any deep plan unnecessary: on the morning of the 15th they left their good moorings and their allies, the Genoese and Spaniards, and sailed out to attack the English. Two of their best ships were almost instantly taken, and the rest soon found that they had done wrong in committing themselves in the open sea without their friends. The battle, however, was long,

and fierce, and perilous. When the duke had beaten the French, he made for the Genoese caracs, which stood so high in the water that their decks were a full spear's length above the decks of his ships: in spite of this difficulty, they were all carried by boarding; and, in the end, a most brilliant naval victory was gained. Most of the ships were taken; some were sunk; a few escaped by running up the Seine into shallow water; the land troops raised the siege and fled. The duke, when he had fully executed his commission, and put Harfleur in a good state of defence, returned to England.³

In the month of September, Henry, with his guests Sigismund and William of Bavaria, went over to Calais, where a sort of congress was held, at which the Duke of Burgundy, the irreconcilable enemy of the now prevalent party in France, attended in person, apparently well inclined to forget that two of his brothers had been slain at Azincourt.⁴ Jean Sans-peur, who was smarting under some recent insults received from Paris, and who was brother-in-law to William of Bavaria, Count of Hainault, whom Henry had completely captivated, spent nine days at Calais in constant intercourse with the King of England and the emperor, and if he did not *then* actually acknowledge Henry's rights to the throne of France, and conclude a treaty (the protocol of which was drawn up and still exists), he certainly accustomed his mind to those ideas.

When the secret congress at Calais broke up, Henry returned to England to raise and organize an army, properly provided with all means of attack. It was the month of August in the following year (1417) before Henry again landed in France.

With the fearful lesson taught them at Azincourt, with nearly two whole years which they had had since to reflect upon it, one might have expected that the French would have learned some wisdom, and have reconciled themselves with one another, and prepared to defend their country against one who had proved himself so redoubtable an enemy. But no; this frantic and demoralized aristocracy would not be taught even by misfortune, and in the way of cure the copious blood-letting of Azincourt had been thrown away upon them. Many of the Bourguignons even rejoiced that the Armagnacs had been so thoroughly beaten by the English. The people of Paris mur-

³ Elmham; Monstrelet; Hall; Holinshed.

⁴ At first, however, Jean Sans-peur had been very violent, and had even sent Henry his gauntlet, defying him *à feu et à sangue*—for that he had caused the death of his brother, the Duke of Brabant, who was not a vassal of France. As for his other brother, the Count of Nevers, who had equally fallen at Azincourt, he said he could have no grudge against Henry on his account, inasmuch as *he* (Nevers) was the King of France's man, had armed for him, and had perished in his quarrel. Such were some of the nice distinctions of feudalism!

¹ Elm.; Liv.; Stowe; Holinsh.

² Rot. Parl.

mured against the crimes and imbecilities of their princes; and some severer moralists affirmed, as the King of England had done, that the monstrous disorders and vices which prevailed in all classes and conditions had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven.

The government seemed to occupy itself much more about the Duke of Burgundy, who was still bent on expelling the Armagnacs, than about the English. They wanted the army which that powerful prince had assembled, but they wanted it without the duke; and while they begged for his troops, they continued to oppress and persecute his partizans in Paris. The Count of Armagnac, father-in-law of the now captive Duke of Orleans, was recalled from the south, and placed at the head of affairs. He insulted the Duke of Burgundy with the offer of a pension and the government of Picardy for his son, forbidding him to approach Paris. The duke marched to Troyes. There he received orders, in the king's name, to disband his troops; but, taking no heed of them, he continued to march upon Paris. At the end of November, 1415, he established his head-quarters at Lagny, only six leagues from the capital. He had with him Caboche, and the other furious butchers; but his party, and these men's fraternity, were overawed in Paris by the Armagnacs. While he lay at Lagny, the dauphin fell sick, and died. A report was immediately spread that he had been poisoned by the Armagnacs, who dreaded that he would make terms with his father-in-law the Duke of Burgundy. The duke then demanded his daughter, who was still living in confinement away from Paris: the Armagnacs sent him the young lady, but they could return neither her dower nor her jewels. The Count of Armagnac, who was now Constable of France, put Paris in such a state of defence that Jean Sans-peur would not venture to attack it; and thus foiled a second time, he withdrew his army and went into Flanders in the month of February, 1416. The Armagnacs used their victory without discretion; they imprisoned their opponents or drove them into exile: at last they thought of driving the English out of Harfleur; we have seen the result of their expedition. Prince John was now Dauphin of France, and the Duke of Burgundy hoped to be enabled to seize the government in the name of this youth. A plot in his favour was discovered at Paris during the absence of the Count of Armagnac at Harfleur. The objects of the conspirators, if we can believe their enemies, were atrocious. The principal of them that were taken were—Orgemont, a canon of Paris; Belloy, a rich cloth merchant; and Regnaud, a curate and master of arts. Belloy and Regnaud were beheaded, but Orgemont, being claimed by the chapter of the cathedral, after being brought to

the scaffold, was sent to a dungeon to feed on bread and water for life, and he soon died a most miserable death. The Count of Armagnac returned from his luckless expedition to Harfleur in a savage humour. He deprived the city of most of its privileges, abolished the fraternity of butchers, and adopted precautions which convey a strange notion of the condition of that metropolis. To specify nothing more, even bottles and flower-pots were prohibited, as they might be thrown from the windows upon the heads of the soldiers. As blood began to be spilt, the Bourguignons stole out of the city and joined the exiles, who now formed an army both numerous and desperate. In the summer of 1416, advancing from the frontier of the Duke of Burgundy's state of Artois, they ravaged the whole country as far as the walls of Paris. Jean de Poix, learning that the king was at St. Germain-en-Laye, got, with 400 men in disguise, into that place, and nearly succeeded in carrying off the king and the Chancellor of France. In the month of August, De Solré seized one of the gates of Paris, threw the whole city into consternation, and then burned some of the châteaux in the neighbourhood. At the same time, troops of Savoyards, Lombards, and Germans, who had been brought into France to fight for one or the other faction, finding themselves paid by neither, scoured the country, plundering and destroying. Even the troops nominally in the pay of government lived at large on the unhappy people; and, in the midst of all these horrors, a set of brigands, called "Begeaux," sprang up, and added to the universal disorder by committing all sorts of atrocities. An order, which the Constable Armagnac issued in the king's name, only augmented the prevailing cruelty. It authorized every man to pursue the foreign adventurers and the brigands like wild beasts, and to burn or slaughter them, without any form of trial, or without caring for inquisition on the part of the laws. Indeed, it was made evident even at this crisis, that the Armagnacs were almost exclusively animated by their desire of vengeance on the rival faction. Raymond de la Guerre, whom the constable sent to Noyon, loaded all the trees in that neighbourhood with noblemen and gentlemen of the Bourguignon party, whom he hanged as fast as he caught them.

Affairs were in this state, when the Duke of Burgundy attended the congress at Calais, where, at the very least, he listened with an attentive ear to the projects of the King of England. Yet, on leaving that conference, he went to Valenciennes and swore fealty to John, the new dauphin, engaging to assist him against all his enemies, and especially against the English. As the dauphin was detached from the Armagnac party, and had thrown himself, in a manner, into the power of

the Bourguignons, the duke was probably sincere in these engagements. There was, however, nothing in his character to remove suspicion of his being anxious to have two strings to his bow. When summoned in the name of his father by the Armagnacs to return to Paris, the young dauphin refused, unless he were permitted to bring the Duke of Burgundy and his friends with him. Soon after this, at the beginning of 1417, the dauphin fell suddenly sick, and died at Compiègne. It was given out that his death had been caused by an abscess in the ear and neck; but nobody believed this report; and, in a fulminating letter which Jean Sans-peur addressed to all the good towns of France, he openly charged his enemies with having poisoned his nephew. The Dauphin John was succeeded by his brother Charles, who, though not sixteen years of age and possessed of no abilities of a high order, was exceedingly crafty. Hitherto his mother Isabella had shared in the power of the prevailing faction; but great jealousies had arisen between her and the Count of Armagnac; and when Charles put in his claim for a part of the authority, there was none left for the queen. The crazed king, content with his own vulgar mistress, had been perfectly indifferent to the infidelities of his wife. In the events we have now to relate, it is evident that he was directed by other minds; but it is not certain whether the impulse was given by the Count of Armagnac, or by the new Dauphin Charles, or by both. The approach of age had not moderated the tastes of the queen; her court was notorious for looseness and immorality; and what shocked the people more, it was the constant scene of profusion and extravagant expense, of balls, masquerades, and all kinds of fêtes, even in the midst of foreign and domestic wars, famine, and pestilence. Wholly separated from her husband, she lived chiefly at Vincennes, where she had a strong guard for her protection, commanded by the Sires de Graville, De Giac, and De Bois-Bourdon—the last being her paramour. Of a sudden the king complained of these irregularities. Bois-Bourdon was arrested at his order by the provost of Paris, carried to the Châtelet, and put to the torture, under which it is said that he confessed many sad crimes. In the end, the unlucky favourite was thrown into the Seine sewed up in a leather bag, which bore this inscription:—"Let pass the justice of the king." Many of the queen's servants were arrested or forced to flee, and, a few days after, Isabella herself was seized and conveyed to Tours, where she was kept a prisoner. Some treasure which she had left in Paris and Melun was discovered, and appropriated by the Count of Armagnac and the Dauphin Charles. Ever since the murder of her former lover, the Duke

of Orleans, the queen had been the implacable enemy of the murderer, the Duke of Burgundy; but now her recent wrongs prevailed over her old injuries, and though watched by many spies, she found means to open a correspondence with the Duke of Burgundy, in order to avenge herself on the Constable Armagnac and her own son Charles.

The situation of the constable now became critical—the fulminating letter of his rival had produced a great effect; and while the Bourguignons were collecting from all sides, he learned that the English had landed. The common report was, that the treaty had really been signed at Calais between Henry and Jean Sans-peur: this the constable firmly believed, and circumstances certainly went to confirm this conviction; for at the moment that Henry had disembarked his army on the coast of Normandy, the duke began his march upon Paris, vowing that he would exterminate the treacherous, poisoning Armagnacs with fire and sword. The constable showed little wisdom at this crisis. The only precaution he took against the English was to throw some foreign mercenaries into Rouen.¹

When Henry landed unopposed at Tonque, in the beginning of August, he had with him the finest army that England had ever sent into France. There were 16,000 men-at-arms, from 14,000 to 16,000 archers,² a body of artificers of all kinds, and another body of sappers and miners: the army was provided with a train of artillery and military engines, and, with its followers of all kinds, must have amounted to 40,000 men at the least. Tonque, Anvillers, and Villers surrendered after very short sieges; Caen was taken by assault; Bayeux surrendered spontaneously; and L'Aigle, Lisieux, Falaise, and other towns and castles, were reduced in a very short time. As winter set in, Henry betook himself to comfortable quarters; his plan being not to proceed into the interior of France, until he had reduced all the important fortresses in Normandy. The distracted French court sent humbly to propose a peace or truce, but he would grant neither, except on the following conditions:—1. That the Princess Catherine should become his wife. 2. That he should be presently declared regent of France, and successor to the throne upon Charles' death.³

It was during this winter that Sir John Oldcastle, who had been living in safe concealment in Wales, rushed upon his fate. Smarting under persecution, the Lollards, it is said, invited the

¹ *Monstrelet; Juvenal; P. Fenin. Villaret; Barante.*

² Many of the archers were mounted, as in the preceding campaign, but their horses were rather for the march than the battle. This, indeed, may also be said of the horses of our knights, who, in these wars, almost invariably dismounted and fought on foot.

³ *Rymer.*

Scots into England, and engaged to join them. It is certain that the Duke of Albany and Earl Douglas advanced and laid siege to the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh, and that Sir John Oldcastle showed himself about the same time in the neighbourhood of London, where his name was still revered by many. The Scots, however, were obliged to retreat on the approach of the regent, the Duke of Bedford; and after this, Oldcastle, fleeing from St. Alban's, endeavoured to gain his former hiding-place. But he was taken, after a gallant resistance, on the borders of Wales, and arraigned before the House of Lords, who condemned him to be hanged as a rebel and burned as a heretic. This sentence was executed in the month of December, in St. Giles' Fields. The old soldier, whom persecution had driven into rebellion, if he actually was a rebel, died with great courage. Henry was so far fortunate, that his absence saved him from the odium—perhaps the anguish—of signing the death-warrant of the chosen companion of his early years.¹

A.D. 1418. Some of Henry's operations of siege or blockade had been prosecuted during the winter; in the spring he received a reinforcement of several thousand men, among whom were a great many Irish, whose singular dress, or *undress*, and whose primitive manners, made a great impression on the French. He now conducted several sieges at once. Cherbourg on the coast, Damfront in the interior, fell about the same time. Then advancing to the left bank of the Seine, he made himself master of the whole of the lower part of that river from Louviers to the sea. He besieged and took the town of Louviers; Pont de l'Arche was obliged to open its gates; and by the beginning of July he was master of the whole of Lower Normandy. Though left entirely to their own resources, the population had made a brave resistance: many of the great lords were glad to make private treaties with the invader, but the people of the towns everywhere did their best to resist him, and maintain the independence of their country. Henry, however, took no savage vengeance on the people of Normandy for their obstinate resistance; on the contrary, he tried to gain their good-will by popular acts of government; he abolished the odious tax upon salt, which the French court had imposed; he put an end to irregular and illegal exactions; and to the towns and the individuals that swore fealty to him he distributed honours and employments.²

After taking Pont de l'Arche, on the left bank of the Seine, Henry carried his main force over that river, and laid siege to Rouen. This was one of the greatest operations of the kind that

had been attempted in those ages. Rouen, the capital of Upper Normandy, was strongly fortified: on two of its sides it was washed by the Seine, and on all sides it was walled and defended by towers and batteries. Its fixed population amounted to above 150,000; but some of these had fled out of fear, and others had been expelled by the magistrates, on the principle that no families should remain excepting such as could lay in provisions for themselves for ten months. But if there had been a reduction of the timid and the poor, there had been an influx of men of bold spirits and better circumstances—gentlemen who had retired from Lower Normandy, and who were resolute on making a fresh stand against the conqueror behind the walls of Rouen. Fifteen thousand citizens had been well trained to the use of arms; foreign archers had been introduced; reinforcements of regular troops had been gradually accumulating, until there was a garrison of 4000 men-at-arms, besides bowmen, engineers, and sappers. The fortifications had been improved and strengthened—the suburbs burned—the neighbouring country reduced to a desert. Perhaps, in a military point of view, Henry's plans are open to criticism; for, if he had proceeded at first against Rouen, instead of spending his time on minor sieges, he might have taken it by a *coup-de-main*; the place having scarcely any regular garrison, and the citizens being then in a state of complete panic and disorder. As it was, when he sat down before it (on the 30th of July) he found it fully prepared to receive him; and so high was the spirit of the garrison, that they came forth and made part of his army fight a battle before they could take up positions proper for the siege. He soon perceived that such a strong place, defended by such forces, was not to be taken by assault, but to be reduced by slower means. He drew lines round all the land sides of the city; he dug deep ditches all round, so that his camp might be safe, and his men might pass from point to point without any fear of the artillery and arrows from the city walls; he erected wooden towers, and placed batteries of cannon in the most commanding parts of his lines, adopting every precaution against the effect of sorties and bombardment. Before these works were completed—and they took a long time, as they extended over an irregular line of more than two miles—many sallies were made by the garrison, and many high deeds of arms were performed on both sides. But as Henry continued to reinforce his besieging army, and to bring up great numbers of labourers to work in the trenches, the circumvallation proceeded at an accelerated pace; and, when it was finished, the besieged could neither attack with any effect nor receive any provision or succour from the land

¹ Rot. Parl.; Rymer; Walsingham; Lintiam; Stow.

² Monstrelet; Walsingham; Binkham.

side. At the same time, to cut off all hope of supply from the upper part of the river, he kept a good garrison at Pont de l'Arche, stationed troops along the banks and on the islets of the Seine, drew a triple chain of iron across the



ANCIENT WAR ENGINES.¹—Grose's Military Antiquities.

stream, and threw over it a bridge of boats well manned with archers just above the town. In the lower part of the river he had 200 small vessels constantly sailing to and fro, and the mouth of the river was guarded most carefully by the garrison of Harfleur and by a strong fleet. But in order to be still more sure, he drew another triple chain of iron across the river a little below the town. The fort of St. Catherine, situated upon a steep cliff of white chalk above the town, he compelled to surrender; but whenever he spoke of terms of capitulation to the garrison of Rouen, he was boldly assured that they would never yield so long as they had strength in their arms to hold their swords. Nothing could prevail but famine; and this was inevitable.²

Meanwhile the Duke of Burgundy, whom we left in full march for the capital, was received in all the towns through which he passed as a deliverer; for he promised to restore peace, and abolish the gabelle and other oppressive taxes. Beyond Paris, Chalon, Troyes, Auxerre, and many other of the principal cities, contracted an alliance with him; but Paris itself, which had been completely purged of Bourguignons, closed its gates and manned its ramparts; and he was told again, that, if the English were to present themselves at one gate and he (the duke) at another, they would rather open the gate to the English than to him. After taking some castles, and burning all that was left to burn in the neighbourhood, the duke began to besiege Paris; but he

was foiled a third time. His party, however, was strengthened in public opinion by the arrival of two embassies to him—the one from the Emperor Sigismund, who assured him of his friendship; the other from the college of cardinals, who treated with him as with the real representative of the government of France—seeing that the king was “too much pre-occupied and hindered” by his malady, the dauphin too young, and the Count of Armagnac schismatic. He received a message also from Queen Isabella, who was still a prisoner at Tours, imploring him, now that he had shut up his enemy, the Count of Armagnac, in Paris, to hasten to her relief. He suddenly left Corbeil, on the Seine, which he was besieging, and rode rapidly across the country to the banks of the Loire, accompanied by his principal lords and knights, and the best-mounted of his men-at-arms. He stopped in a wood at the distance of five or six miles from Tours, and sent forward a troop of horse, which lay concealed outside of the town,

while a secret messenger went to inform the queen that her deliverers were at hand. Isabella represented to her keepers that she was anxious to hear mass that morning at the abbey of Marmontier, a very short distance from the city, and, after some slight difficulty, she was permitted to go with three of her keepers. As soon as she entered the abbey, the duke's officer rode up to the church door with sixty horsemen. “Flee, madame,” cried her guardians, “for here is a great troop of English or Bourguignons!” But the queen advanced with a smiling countenance to the officer, and the duke arriving presently after with his whole force, she saluted him as her “most dear cousin,” and placed herself under his protection. They had a joyous dinner together at the abbey; and then the queen sent to tell the people of Tours that they must admit her and the Duke of Burgundy within their walls. After some hesitation, both town and castle were put into the hands of the queen and the Bourguignons. From Tours the queen and the duke proceeded in triumph to Chartres, whence, on the 12th of November, Isabella wrote to all the “good towns,” telling them that, by the aid of her very dear cousin, she had recovered her power as regent of the kingdom. She then caused a great seal to be engraved, and appointed a chancellor and other high officers of state. The duke left her majesty at Chartres, and rode back to the neighbourhood of the capital, and after placing strong garrisons in the towns near Paris, returned to Chartres to the queen, who, on the 12th of January, appointed him governor-general of the whole kingdom. By this time the court of Isabella was crowded with princes and great lords. Most of the towns, ex-

¹ This cut shows the siege tower, with its battering ram and the draw-bridge for storming; also some of the means of defence against the ram, as the noose, the woolsack, the heavy beam, and the timber shield or fender.

² Monstrelet: *Etinham*.

rept those that were taken or besieged by the King of England, declared for the queen and the duke: the people rose in many places, and killed the tax-gatherers appointed by the other party, shouting, "Long live Burgundy, and no taxes!" Thus passed this critical winter and part of the spring, the two factions scarcely bestowing a thought on the progress the English were making in Normandy.¹

On the other hand, the Count of Armagnac was not a man to abandon his authority without a struggle, and he made a hard one. His captains, Barbazan and Tanneguy-Duchâtel, issued from Paris, and took several towns and castles from the Bourguignons, giving no quarter to the garrisons.

At last, some persons about the king and dauphin began to speak of the necessity of putting an end to this state of things by a family peace and general reconciliation; and the Bishop of Paris had the courage to open a correspondence with the Duke of Burgundy to that effect. The dauphin, too, who was tired of his servitude under the Armagnacs, sent ambassadors to treat with the agents of the duke and of his mother the queen. For several successive days these envoys met at the village of La Tombe; and their negotiations were facilitated and hastened to a conclusion by the arrivals of the Cardinals Ursini and St. Mark. On the 23d of May the negotiators signed a treaty (subject to ratification), the effect of which would have been to place the whole power of the government in the hands of the Duke of Burgundy and the queen. The people of Paris were overjoyed at the news; but not so was the Count of Armagnac, who, relying on the strong garrison he had in the city, resolved to oppose the family peace, which would have deprived him of all authority. He had the idiotic king and the young dauphin in his hands; he had a council of ministers (such as it was) and a chancellor, who, together with several bishops then in Paris, denounced the family peace as highly dishonourable to the *majesty* of Charles. But, notwithstanding his proscriptions, the count was not safe; for all the people left in Paris, from fierce Armagnacs had become Bourguignons. His men-at-arms had long grievously insulted the burghers: a blow given to the son of a rich iron-merchant sealed their doom and that of their master. On the night of the 28th May a party of young citizens opened the Porte St. Germain-des-Prés to L'Isle-Adam, a devoted partizan of the Duke of Burgundy, who rushed through the gate with the whole garrison of Pontoise. L'Isle-Adam's force separated into three divisions, and ran through the principal streets shouting "Our Lady of

Peace!—Long live Burgundy!—Let those who are for peace take up arms and follow us!" Most of the poorer sort threw on their clothes and joined the Bourguignons. Surprised in the middle of the night, the Armagnacs could make no resistance: the count fled out of his lodging and hid himself. Tanneguy-Duchâtel—a Breton, and the most determined of all the Armagnacs—ran to the dauphin, wrapped him up in his bed-coverings—for there was no time to spare for his dressing—and carried him off to the Bastille. He was scarcely gone when the mob broke into the dauphin's apartments, and bound all his gentlemen and servants. They then burst into the houses of all the chiefs of the Armagnac party, pillaged them, and threw their occupants into prison. Strange to say, only three lives were sacrificed during this first night. L'Isle-Adam in person broke open the gates of the Hotel St. Paul, where the king was lodged, and presented himself to his majesty, who was lying in bed, sick as well as crazed. "How fares my cousin of Burgundy?—it is long since I saw him," said the unhappy prince; and this was all he said, notwithstanding the surrounding uproar. As soon as it was day they carried him down to the court-yard, put him upon a horse, and led him to and fro through Paris, "to make it appear to the ignorant that they had his sovereign approbation for all that they were doing." The reason and memory of the poor phantom of royalty were gone, and he seemed not to know or to care about the difference between Armagnacs and Bourguignons. In the course of the morning L'Isle-Adam endeavoured to stop the plunder and disorder; but he threatened with death all such persons as should conceal that atrocious traitor the Count of Armagnac. Upon this, a poor mason, in whose house he had taken shelter, betrayed the count, who was seized and shut up in the prison of the Châtelet. On the 11th of June, Tanneguy-Duchâtel, who had collected 1600 men in the Bastille, made a sortie in the hope of recovering Paris; but the people fell upon him from all sides, and assailed him from their windows and house-tops. Among the cries heard on this occasion was that of "Long live the King of England!" The Armagnacs killed a good many of the poorer burghers of the street St. Antoine; but, in the end, the fierce Breton was obliged to run back to the Bastille, having lost upwards of 400 men. The people had now arms in their hands and rage in their hearts; they massacred all the Armagnacs they could find in the city; and even women and children were seen dragging and mutilating the wounded and the dead. Tanneguy-Duchâtel, thinking the Bastille no longer a place of safety, fled by night, and carried the dauphin to the town of Bourges, in the centre of France. The

¹ Juvenal des Ursins; Renin; Monstrelet; St. Rémy.

starving and brutalized peasants of the neighbourhood flocked into Paris to take part in the carnival of blood and plunder; and when the exiled butchers were seen prowling about the streets, it was understood that all mercy had fled. There was, however, a pause in the massacre; for L'Isle-Adam and other Bourguignon chiefs found it more profitable to keep the Armagnacs alive and exact ransoms for them.¹ The prisons were crammed already, so that the new captives were shut up in private houses.

All this time the Duke of Burgundy and the queen kept themselves at a distance; the duke was at Montbelliard, holding a conference with the emperor; the queen was at Troyes, and it was said, and believed at the time, that she told a deputation which was sent to her, that she would never return to Paris while so many Armagnacs were left living there. Although Tanneguy-Duchâtel was a fugitive, and 150 miles off, it was reported that he was about to return with a great force to liberate the Armagnac prisoners, and massacre the Bourguignons and all that lived in Paris—men, women, and children. False alarms were repeatedly given at the dead of night; the people were deprived of their sleep, and kept in a constant agony of anxiety and fear, than which nothing is more likely to dispose the popular mind to cruelty. On the night of Sunday, the 12th of June, the cry ran through Paris that the enemy were at the gates. "Ah!" said some, "the town and the burghers will never have quiet so long as there remains one Armagnac alive here." These words were like a spark thrown among gunpowder; the people took an oath that they would exterminate the prisoners; and then shouting "Peace for ever!—Long live the Duke of Burgundy!" they went to the prisons. L'Isle-Adam threw himself before them with 1000 horse, but the people were 40,000 or 50,000; and the Bourguignon was not disposed to encounter danger in opposing their blind fury. The mob broke open the prisons and private houses where the Armagnacs were confined, and massacred all the prisoners, not sparing even the babe at the breast. One of the first victims was the Count of Armagnac, whose naked and disfigured corpse was dragged about the city by women and children for three days. The slaughter lasted from four o'clock in the morning till mid-day, in which time about 1500 persons perished. On the next day, and for many following days, murders were executed more in detail. At last, on the 14th of July, the queen and the Duke of Burgundy made their triumphant entrance into Paris. The streets, literally wet

with blood, were strewed with flowers before them, and they presented themselves together to the wretched king, who received his wife "pleasantly." The duke organized a sort of government, but he was unable to stop the popular fury; and both he and the queen had still victims of their own to sacrifice. The murders continued for several days after their entrance, and then, with great craft, they contrived to destroy the leaders of the murderers, and pacify the people. The total number of those that perished during the months of June, July, and August, exceeded 5000.²

The queen and the Duke of Burgundy failed in some plots to get possession of the person of the dauphin, who remained at Bourges, in the midst of a strong party of Armagnacs. They then opened negotiations, offered him the conditions of the late treaty, and begged him to return to Paris. It is very doubtful whether the dauphin was disposed to trust his mother, and it is quite certain that the party in whose hands he was thought of anything rather than of peace and reconciliation. What they wanted was vengeance on the Bourguignons! The young Count of Armagnac, the son of the murdered constable, concluded a truce with the English, with whom he had been fighting in Guienne (for Henry had produced an active war in that distant province); and with a number of Gascon lords, relations or friends of his family, joined the dauphin, demanding justice. Tanneguy-Duchâtel breathed nothing but death and destruction; and he is now to be considered as the real head of the party. The treaty was of course rejected. The dauphin took the title of regent, and constituted a parliament at Poitiers. The Duke of Burgundy then had recourse to the sword; and, while he waged a cruel war with the dauphin in the heart of France, he had to check the English in Normandy. There were thus two anarchical governments in France; the one at Paris, the other at Bourges or Poitiers, or in the camp of the dauphin. Each opened negotiations with the King of England; and Henry listened to both, and amused both, without neglecting the blockade of Rouen, which he had now well nigh reduced by famine. In the month of November he sent ministers to meet the envoys of the dauphin at Alençon. The French wished to carry on the negotiations in their own language; the English insisted that the Latin language should be used.³ The tone of the latter was such as is usually assumed by the ambassadors of a conqueror; they

² Juvenal; *St. Rémy; Journal de Paris; Monstrelet; Barante.*

³ Henry said that his ambassadors did not speak or understand French. In the end, it was agreed that all written documents should be in duplicate—one in French and one in Latin—and that the Latin copy should be the authority in all cases of misunderstanding or doubt.—*Rymer.*

¹ It is said that L'Isle-Adam obtained in this manner 100,000 crowns for his own share, and that the Lords of Chastellux and Bar got each as much.

made the French disclose their intentions, but they would explain nothing themselves, and the conference ended by their expressing a very rational doubt whether, seeing the condition of France and the nonage of the dauphin, he could give proper security for the fulfilment of any treaty. A few days after this conference, Henry's ministers met the envoys of the Duke of Burgundy—nominally of the king—at Pont de l'Arche. Their conduct there was nearly the same as at Alençon; and, after diplomatizing for twelve days, the French envoys were dismissed, with the expression of another doubt on the part of Henry whether, seeing the malady of King Charles and the questionable authority of the Duke of Burgundy, he could safely treat with either.¹ At this time the cardinal-legate,

Ursini, visited the King of England in his camp before Rouen, and did his best to induce him to put an end to the war. "It is the will of Heaven," said Henry; "God has led me hither by the hand to punish the sins of the land, and to reign in it like a true king. There is no sovereign, no law, in France. I have just rights, and I shall go on, and put the crown of France on my head. It is the will of God."

The garrison and the citizens of Rouen, who had vainly implored assistance from Paris, held out with great constancy. The blockade was enlivened by many romantic incidents and bold feats of arms, but there was no Froissart living to record them. At length, when they had eaten everything, even to their horses and their dogs, and when many thousands had perished of famine and disease, they sent to ask for terms of capitulation.² Henry insisted on an unconditional surrender; but when the governor threatened to set fire to the city, he relented, and allowed the men-at-arms their lives and liberty, and the citizens their property and franchises. The men-at-arms, however, were made to swear that they would not serve against him for the next twelve months, and the citizens were bound to pay a contribution of 300,000 crowns. On the 16th day of January, 1419, Henry entered Rouen in triumph. The other cities and castles of the province now submitted, and the flag of Eng-

land floated over the whole of Normandy on both sides of the Seine.³

The fall of Rouen carried dismay into every corner of France. The people of Paris trembled within their walls; and the Duke of Burgundy



CASTLE ERECTED BY HENRY V. AT ROUEN. —From Jolimont, *Monumens les Plus Remarquables de la Ville de Rouen*.

and the queen, carrying the king with them, left the capital, and went to Laguy. People hoped that at such a crisis, when the King of England might be daily expected in Paris, the two factions would come to an understanding; but time passed without any visible fulfilment of these hopes. Indeed, both the Duke of Burgundy and the dauphin tried again to form a separate alliance with the English, each hoping, with Henry's assistance, to annihilate his rival, and, when the work was done and his assistance no longer needed, to destroy the King of England with the whole power of united France. Henry listened to both, occasionally using no small amount of diplomatic cajolery. The dauphin requested a personal interview, and Henry acceded to his wish; but, on reflection, the young prince, who had no great reliance on honour, feared to put himself in the power of the English, and did not keep his appointment. The Duke of Burgundy, who was informed of all that passed, thought that this was a favourable opportunity for him to treat; and he sent ambassadors, who found Henry at Rouen, "as proud as a lion" (said they). He did not, indeed, refuse to talk of peace, but he made war all the while; and, recrossing the Seine, he immediately marched along its left bank to Mantes, within fifty miles of Paris. The duke sent another embassy, and Henry made another march in advance to Vernon. But the conditions which

¹ Rymer; *Monstrelet*.

² The reported number of 50,000 victims at Rouen must be an exaggeration.

³ *Monstrelet*; *Elmhams*; *Barante*.

⁴ This castle was founded by Henry V., and finished in the reign of Henry VI. It was named *Mal s'y frotte*—"the bad neighbour." It was taken by Dunois in 1443, and destroyed in 1660.

the duke now offered seemed so advantageous, that the Earl of Warwick was despatched to Provins, where the king and queen and Burgundy were staying. On his road he was attacked by some forces of the dauphin, led on by the famous Tanneguy-Duchâtel; but, as the earl had the precaution to take a strong escort with him, his assailants were repulsed with loss. Warwick was received with great respect; the duke seemed to acknowledge that his master's demands were not inadmissible—that all difficulties might be removed by personal intercourse; and, at last, it was agreed that a truce should be concluded between the English and the Bourguignons, and that Henry should meet the King and Queen of France and the duke on the 30th of May. On the day appointed, Henry went with a splendid retinue to the place of rendezvous, which was on the right bank of the Seine, near the town of Meulan. Close to the water's edge there was an inclosure; on one side was a rich tent pitched for the King of England; on the other, a rich tent for the King of France; and between the two there was a third tent, in which the interviews were to take place. Henry entered the inclosure first; the queen, the Princess Catherine, and the Duke of Burgundy entered soon after in great state. The wretched King of France was not presentable—they had left him behind at Pontoise. The etiquette of the scene was nicely managed; at a given signal of trumpets and clarions, the King of England and the Queen of France left their tents and advanced from opposite sides with slow and dignified steps. In the centre they met: Henry was attended by his brothers of Clarence and Gloucester; Isabella by her young and blooming daughter, and her cousin of Burgundy; each being followed at a respectful distance by thirty knights and sixteen councillors. Henry, who was in the very prime of manhood, and one of the handsomest and most graceful men of his age, bowed to the queen, took her hand, and embraced her; and “the like he did unto Madame Catherine.” This was the first time of seeing his intended bride, and he was visibly struck with her beauty and grace, as her mother intended he should be. Having conducted the queen to her seat in the council-tent, Henry seated himself opposite to her and the princess; and then the Earl of Warwick opened the deliberations in a long speech in good French. The rest of the day was spent in formalities. Two days after, they met again with the same ceremonies, but Henry looked in vain for the beautiful Catherine—she was not there, nor was he permitted to see her again during these long conferences. The queen thus hoped to irritate his impatience; but, great as were the charms of her daughter, they could not move him from his

purpose. On this day, Henry presented his demands in writing. These were—the hand of the princess, the possession of Normandy, of his other conquests, and of the territories ceded by the treaty of Bretigny—all to be held without any dependence on the French crown. On these conditions, he was ready to resign his claims to that crown. The queen and the Duke of Burgundy pretended to deliberate for four or five days, when they admitted Henry's propositions as the basis of the treaty, but suggested eight new clauses on the part of the French king. Henry employed himself and his ministers for several days in giving explanations, and seeking some slight modifications.¹ The opposite party were most diplomatically slow; but Henry was not slow in perceiving that their object was to gain time. During all these deliberations, Henry resided at Mantes, on the left bank of the Seine; but the queen and the duke retired to Pontoise, on the right bank, and twenty-five miles nearer to Paris. Now, it was whispered that several of the leaders of the Armagnac party were seen going to and fro between Pontoise and the head-quarters of the dauphin, and it was known that a truce had been concluded between the two factions. Only seven meetings had been held in the tents at Meulan in the course of a whole month, and when Henry went to an eighth meeting, he had the place all to himself; for neither the queen and duke, nor any of their ministers, were there to meet him. The fact was, they thought that they had no longer any need of keeping up the farce; they had concluded a treaty with the dauphin, whose party was terrified into terms by the conferences of their rivals with Henry. A week after the interruption of the negotiations with the English at Meulan, the duke and the dauphin met, and kissed one another, at an appointed place between Melun and Corbeil, on the road to Paris, where they swore eternal friendship, with an oblivion of all past quarrels and differences whatsoever. On the following day they proclaimed the conditions of this blessed peace, the principal object of which was, “to resist the damnable enterprise of the English, the ancient enemies of the king and of all Frenchmen.” On the 12th of July, the princes parted, with every show of affection.²

When the news of the reconciliation reached the English quarters, everybody there appears to have been perplexed and disheartened except the king, who most probably was the man best acquainted with the insincerity of the dauphin and with the real condition of France. There were, however, contingent circumstances that might have intimidated a less daring mind. The King of

¹ Rymer: *Livius*; Elinham: *Monstrelet*.

² Monstrelet: *St. Denis*; Juvenal: *Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. de France et de Bourgogne*; Barante: *Villaret*.

Castile had declared against him, and fitted out a great armament to conquer or to plunder Guienne; and the Regent of Scotland had also opened negotiations with the dauphin. But, nothing daunted, Henry crossed the Seine, and advancing upon Paris, took the populous town of Pontoise on the 27th of July. Here he found a great treasure, accumulated by L'Isle-Adam, during the recent massacre and proscription of the Armagnacs. The Duke of Burgundy was at St. Denis, only about fifteen miles off; but he was in no state to oppose the conqueror; and, fearing to trust himself in Paris, he withdrew in all haste with the king to Troyes. Henry, complaining of the cheat put upon him at Meulan, yet proposed again to treat; but now, he said, that in addition to the territories he claimed before, he must have Pontoise and all the country through which he had advanced. Meanwhile, his victorious troops scoured the neighbourhood of Paris, and frequently advanced to the gates of that city, within which reigned anarchy, famine, and disease. He might have taken possession of it with 1000 men-at-arms, for there was no garrison left to defend it. The two factions, whom oaths and promises had not reconciled, accused each other of treachery, and no union of their forces took place. The Duke of Burgundy invited the dauphin to join him and the court at Troyes: the dauphin invited the duke to another conference, as he had matters to discuss of the greatest importance "to the good of France." The duke replied, that it would be more simple and seemly for the dauphin to join the councils at Troyes; but the prince would not be moved, and at last, by the influence of his mistress, Madame de Giac, the duke was induced to leave the king and queen at Troyes, and go to Bray-sur-Seine. The dauphin was at Montereau, only two leagues distant; and Tanneguy-Duchâtel went from him to propose that the interview should be held on the bridge of Montereau. The duke (said this crafty messenger) might have the castle and the right bank of the river; the dauphin would keep his people on the left bank. Tanneguy was accompanied, among others, by the Bishop of Valence, whose brother, the Bishop of Langres, was with the duke. These two brothers discussed the subject of the meeting together; and the Bishop of Langres, either out of conviction or treachery, advised his master to accept the invitation. Jean Sans-peur hesitated for a while—for he knew the prevailing perfidy, and, probably, at this moment, his murder of the Duke of Orleans, twelve years ago, weighed heavily on his soul. But again the agency of his beautiful mistress was employed; and at last he agreed to meet the son of his king on the bridge of Montereau, on the 10th of September. On the 9th, Tanneguy-Duchâtel received the solemn

oaths of the followers of the duke, that they would keep the good peace already sworn; and the duke sent Madame de Giac's husband, and another member of his court, to receive the like oaths from the people of the dauphin. Many of the old and faithful servants of Burgundy were against the duke's going, seeing that the dauphin was wholly surrounded by his deadliest enemies; but the duke then said that it was his duty to adventure his person for so great a blessing as that of peace. At the moment that he was about to mount his horse, several of his servants, by whom he appears to have been much beloved, again tried to dissuade him, and his family astrologer told him that if he went he would never return. But Jean Sans-peur vaulted into his saddle and rode to Montereau with about 400 of his followers. He halted in a meadow near the castle, and sent to tell the dauphin that he was at his orders. Tanneguy-Duchâtel went to him from the prince, and assured him that his master was well content with him, and would thenceforward be governed by the duke's counsels. As if perjury enough had not been committed, the dauphin swore, "by the honour of a prince," that no treachery or violence should be committed; and it was agreed that he would meet the duke on the bridge with only ten noble knights, the duke, on his part, agreeing to take with him the like number, and no more. While these regulations were settling, a valet of the duke's, who had been into the castle to prepare the lodging, ran up to his master, and told him that of a certainty he would be betrayed. The duke turned to Tanneguy and said, "We rely on your word, but in the holy name of God, are you sure of what you have promised us?" Tanneguy replied that he was quite sure; that he would rather die himself than see any mischief befall the Duke of Burgundy. "Well, then," said the duke, "we will go, trusting in God and you."

As he was about to walk towards the bridge, another of his servants ran up to him, imploring him to be on his guard, as he had seen a great number of armed men gathering in some houses on the opposite bank, close to the river. At this intimation, the duke sent one of his courtiers to the river side; but this courtier was the Sire de Giac, who returned and assured him that there was nothing of the sort. The dauphin's people had erected strong barriers at each end of the bridge, and in the middle of the bridge a sort of gallery with a narrow door on either side. When the duke arrived at the barrier on the right bank, he was received by Tanneguy-Duchâtel and the Lord of Beauvain. He made them remark, that he and his ten followers had no other armour or arms than their coats-of-mail and their swords; and laying his hand on Tanneguy's shoulder

said, "Here is what I trust in." "Let us to my lord the dauphin," said Tanneguy, "he is waiting;" and then, with his companion, he hurried the duke's attendants, and closed the barrier. Jean Sans-peur was caught as in a trap. When he reached the gallery in the middle of the bridge he found the dauphin already there; he took off his velvet cap, which he wore instead of his helmet, and bent his knee to the heir of the throne of France. At that instant the president of Provence whispered to the dauphin, and they then gave a wink to Tanneguy, who raised a battle-axe, and struck at the duke from behind. The Sire de Navailles raised his arm to defend his master; but the Viscount of Narbonne cried, "He who moves is a dead man;" and while Robert de Loire seized the duke from behind, William le Bouteiller aimed a heavy blow at him with his sword, shouting, "Kill! kill!" The duke put his hand to his sword, but had no time to draw it; his left hand, which he raised to defend his head, was nearly cut off; and then Tanneguy, who had despatched Navailles, struck at him a second time with his axe, and with such effect, that he reeled and fell close at the feet of the dauphin. As he still breathed, two other nobles knelt down over his body, and lifting up his coat-of-mail, struck their swords under it into his bowels. Jean Sans-peur gave one short sigh, and was still for ever. D'Autrays, another of his ten, had been grievously wounded in attempting to defend him; the Lord of Neuchâtel rushed across the bridge, vaulted over the barrier, and escaped; the other seven were beaten to the ground and made prisoners. Even before the duke was knocked down by the treacherous Tanneguy, the dauphin's men-at-arms left their hiding-places; and, by the time he had breathed his last, they threw open the barrier at the opposite end of the bridge, and charged the Bourguignons, who, taken by surprise, and surmising what had happened, fled back to Bray. On returning from the assault, these men-at-arms stripped the duke of his rich collar and of everything valuable that he wore. After this, they would have thrown the body into the Seine, but the curate of Montereau interfered, and had the corpse carried to a mill near at hand, from which it was transported on the following day, in the poor man's bier, to the church of Montereau.¹ Low as was the state of moral feeling in France, this most foul and treacherous murder excited an almost universal horror.² The city of Paris vowed to revenge the death of the duke—sent deputies to his son, and requested a truce from the English,

whom, from this moment, they accustomed themselves to consider as allies against the dauphin and his party. The heir of Jean Sans-peur, Philip, Count of Charolais, who had attended to the interment of the dead at Azincourt, succeeded to all his father's states, and to the warm affection of most of his subjects, particularly the opulent citizens of Flanders, who engaged to assist him to the utmost in his vengeance. He was at Ghent when he first received the news of what had passed at Montereau. "Michelle," said he, turning to his wife, who was sister to the dauphin, "your brother has murdered my father." From Ghent he proceeded to Arras, where he received deputations from Queen Isabella, from the city of Paris, from Burgundy, and other parts; and he then began both to arm and to negotiate.

In a sort of family council it was determined that the first thing to do was to seek a close alliance with the King of England; and, accordingly, ambassadors were sent from Arras to Pontoise. Before this step was taken, the dauphin had applied to the same quarter; but, putting aside all considerations of the guilt and increasing weakness of that party, Henry clearly saw that his interests lay on the other side, and he was quite ready to engage to assist the young Duke of Burgundy on certain conditions. Moderation was not to be expected in these conditions; yet, such as they were, Philip was glad to accept them, and Queen Isabella sent to assure Henry that she and the council of government, acting in her husband's name, would ratify them. Henry demanded the hand of the Princess Catherine, the present regency of the kingdom, and the succession to the throne of France on the death of Charles. Duke Philip signed these preliminaries immediately, but some minor points of the negotiation were prolonged through the winter, during which few military operations were undertaken. There was also a separate treaty between the Duke of Burgundy and King of England, in which it was stipulated that one of Henry's brothers should marry a sister of Duke Philip; that the king and the duke should love and assist one another like brothers; that they would pursue together the dauphin and the other murderers; and, finally, that the king should assign to the duke, and Madame Michelle his wife, lands in France producing a rent of 20,000 livres. The modifications made to the first great treaty were—that Henry should settle an income of 20,000 nobles on his wife Catherine; that he should govern during the regency by the advice of a council of French-

¹ Monstrelet; St. Denis; St. Foix; *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France et de Bourgogne*; Barante.

² The dauphin was not a child; he was seventeen years old at the time, and had had considerable experience of the world. The murderers of the duke remained for many years his dearest

friends—his favourite companions—and, even at last, he parted with them by force and with regret. De Giac and his wife immediately went and joined him, and were received with all the favour and honour he could bestow. We shall presently see De Giac figuring as his prime minister.

men; that he should lay aside the title of King of France for as long as Charles lived; that on his accession he should re-annex Normandy to the French crown; and that he should respect the established liberties of the parliaments, peers, nobles, cities, towns, communities, and all individuals whatsoever; and administer justice according to the laws and customs of France. In the month of April, the imbecile Charles, directed by the queen, and the Duke of Burgundy, who was by this time at Troyes, put his hand to the treaty; and at the end of the same month it was accepted, without the slightest opposition, by the parliament, the chamber of accounts, the university, the chapter, the provost, the municipality, and all the corporate bodies of Paris. They were all assured, on the part of the Bishop of Tournai, that the treaty had been concluded, not for vengeance, but in order to put a stop to the ruin of the kingdom and the shedding of blood—to raise the poor people from the horrible oppressions they were suffering—to restore a lawful government, with peace and tranquillity for all men. After this, there followed an eulogium of the King of England. The assemblies of Paris were assured that the king, the queen, the barons, and bishops, assembled at Troyes had beforehand fully informed themselves of the excellent virtues of the King of England, now regent of France—that he was reputed prudent, wise, a lover of peace and justice—that he maintained admirable discipline in his army, opposing all debauchery, driving from his camp all naughty women, protecting the poor people—that he was affable to all men, great or small—a severe defender of churches and convents—a friend of learned clerks—a prince of a very religious mind, and, it was added, of a very noble person and pleasing countenance.¹

In the month of May Henry marched to Troyes, with a splendid retinue and the finest corps of his army, amounting, however, to not more than 7000 men.² During the march he took the greatest pains to preserve discipline and good order. On the 20th of May he arrived at Troyes, outside of the gates of which he was cordially welcomed by the young Duke of Burgundy and a host of French lords, both ecclesiastic and lay. After a short rest he went to pay his respects to the King and Queen of France, whom he found in the church of St. Peter with Madame Catherine. Everything had been regulated beforehand, and Henry and the princess were affianced to each other on the spot. On the following day everything connected with the treaty of the “perpetual peace” was terminated; and parliament, barons, bishops, and people, seemed to vie with each other in the eagerness with which they acknow-

ledged Henry as regent, and took oaths to obey him. On the 2d of June the marriage ceremony was performed in the church of St. John at Troyes. The Archbishop of Sens officiated, and afterwards went to bless the nuptial bed. But on the mor-



RUE MOYENNE, TROYES.³—From *Voyages dans l'Ancienne France*.

row, Henry, after he had given a splendid repast, would not listen to those who proposed a series of tournaments and festivals. “I pray,” said he, “my lord the king to permit, and I command his servants and mine to be all ready to-morrow morning to go to lay siege to Sens, wherein are our enemies: there every man may have jousting and tourneying enough, and may give proof of his prowess; for there is no finer prowess than that of doing justice on the wicked, in order that the poor people may breathe and live.” On the morning he had fixed (only the second after his marriage), the “regent and heir of France,” with his beautiful bride, marched from Troyes to Sens, which he took in two days. From Sens he marched, with the Duke of Burgundy, to Montereau, and laid siege to that town, which was taken by assault on St. John’s Day. Upon entering the town, the Duke of Burgundy was led by the poor women to the church in which his father had been interred nine months before. The next day he caused the grave to be opened, and gazed with horror on the disfigured corpse; it was half naked; none of the jewels were left; but Philip found his breviary or prayer-book.

¹ Rymer; Elinham; St. Denis; Monstrelet.

² Monstrelet.

³ In the foreground is the church of St. John, and more distant those of St. Urbain and St. Peter.

The body was removed to be sumptuously interred at Dijon, the capital of Burgundy; and the body of the Bastard of Croy, who had been killed in the assault, was put into the vacant grave at Montereau. De Guित्रy, the governor of Montereau, held out in the castle, and insulted the English herald who summoned him to surrender. Upon this, Henry threatened to hang some of the prisoners he had taken in the town, and caused a gibbet to be erected for the purpose. The unhappy captives knelt down by the edge of the castle ditch, imploring the governor to surrender and save their lives. The governor was inflexible, and so was Henry—the prisoners were hanged; and in eight days De Guित्रy was obliged to surrender the castle. The town of Villeneuve-le-Roy was also taken: and then the English and Bourguignons laid siege to the important and strongly fortified town of Melun, on the Seine. The dauphin had fled into Languedoc, where the party of his ally, the young Count of Armagnac, was strong: but Barbazan, Bourbon, and the bravest of his knights, had remained for the defence of Melun, which now stood a siege of more than four months, during which both besieged and besiegers suffered cruelly from sickness, and Henry lost nearly all his horses. The garrison surrendered on the 18th of November. During the siege Queen Isabella, with her husband and Queen Catherine, resided at Corbeil or in the English camp.

At the beginning of December the two kings, Henry and Charles, made a triumphant entry into Paris, amidst the acclamations of the multitude. The rich had assumed the red cross of England; the priests welcomed Henry by chanting "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" If Henry had come with a good convoy of provisions he would have been much more welcome; for, at the moment of all this parade, children were screaming through the streets that they were dying of hunger, and poor people were actually expiring on the dunghills. But they had suffered so much that they thought every change must be for the better, and the people entertained an exalted notion of the wealth and resources of the King of England. On the following day Queen Catherine and her mother made their solemn entry, and were equally well received. In the name of Charles the three estates of the kingdom were summoned to Paris. They met on the 6th of December, and unanimously gave their approbation to the treaty with the King of England.¹

A.D. 1421. Henry had great need of money, and this was only to be obtained from his subjects in England. In the month of

January he left Paris with his wife: on the day after Candlemas he took shipping, and landed at Dover, whence he proceeded by Eltham to London, where he was received with the most enthusiastic joy, and with such pageants and feasts as had never been seen in the land. On the festival of St. Matthew the fair lady Catherine was crowned Queen of England at Westminster Abbey: the coronation was most magnificent, and so was the feast that followed it in Westminster Hall.² The king and queen then made a progress through a part of England; but Henry's triumph was damped by the news of the defeat and death of his brother the Duke of Clarence, whom he had left governor of Normandy. The duke had made an incursion into the county of Anjou, which sided with the dauphin. On the 22d of March his vanguard was surprised by the united forces of the natives under La Fayette, and 5000 or 6000 Scots under the Earl of Buchan, the second son of the Regent of Scotland; and he was surrounded, defeated, and slain,³ before his archers could come up. The brave bowmen, however, arrived in time to recover his body and drive the allies from the field. At the same time, Jacques de Harcourt, from his strong castle of Crotoy, in Picardy, made continual excursions against the English both by sea and land: in the marches of Picardy, Poitou de Sainttraille and Vignolles, called La Hire, maintained a fierce partizan warfare; and the populace of Paris, seeing that their wants were not relieved by the new government, became so discontented and turbulent, that the Duke of Exeter, who commanded there, was obliged to employ his archers against them in the streets.

Henry saw that no time was to be lost, and the English nation had not yet opened their eyes to the madness of his enterprise. Parliament met him in the best of humours, and gave their ratification to the treaty of Troyes: the clergy voted him a tenth, and the lords and commons cheerfully authorized the raising of loans on the security of parliament. Henry left his wife at Windsor Castle, from the splendid solitudes of which he withdrew a royal captive. This was James Stewart, the accomplished King of the Scots, who had been detained sixteen years in England, his uncle the Duke of Albany and regent intriguing to prolong his captivity rather than to release him. Albany was now dead, but he had just been succeeded in the regency by his son Murdoch, who for a time seems to have been equally anxious to retain the exercise of royal authority. Not only was no effort made for the release of James, but the existing factions in Scotland would

² *Monstrelet; Fabian.*

³ The Duke of Clarence, after being wounded by Sir William Swinton, was despatched with a battle-axe by the Earl of Buchan.

¹ *Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. de Fr. et de Bourg.*; Pres. Hénault, *Abreg. Chron. de l'Hist. de France*; Rymer.

perhaps have rendered that king's return to his country highly dangerous to himself. The positions of the great houses of the Earls of March and of Douglas were reversed: March had been restored to his forfeited estates and honours by the Duke of Albany, without consulting the parliament of Scotland; and Douglas declined in influence. The regent had sent troops into France to assist the dauphin without declaring war against England; and while some of the barons approved of the measure, foreseeing in the conquest of France the subjugation of Scotland, others strongly condemned it. Archibald, Earl of Douglas, who had been for several years a prisoner in England in the time of Henry IV., readily listened to proposals which were sanctioned, and even warmly recommended, by his captive sovereign. He engaged to serve the King of England all his life against all men, except the King of Scotland, and to follow him to France with 200 men-at-arms and 200 archers, to whom Henry was to pay the usual wages, allowing Douglas £200 a-year for himself. The gallant king also agreed to serve in that war, Henry engaging to allow him to revisit Scotland three months after their return from France. Out of affection for James, Alexander, Lord Forbes, Alexander de Seton, Lord of Gordon, William Blair, and two other Scottish knights, each with a certain number of men, joined Henry's standard at Dover, where, by the beginning of June, 4000 choice men-at-arms, and about 24,000 archers, were collected in admirable array. These forces were landed, on the 11th and 12th of June, at Calais, whence 1200 men-at-arms were sent, by forced marches, to Paris, to reinforce the Duke of Exeter. Henry marched more leisurely to Montreuil, where he had a long conference with his ally, the young Duke of Burgundy, who soon after, while the English were employed near the banks of the Loire, defeated the Dauphinists at Mons-en-Vimeu, in the marches of Picardy, and took Saintraille and some others of the bravest knights of that party. This victory was followed by the surrender of several places in the north-west. When Henry reached Paris, the dauphin was besieging Chartres, and some of his partizans were scouring the whole country between Chartres and the capital. But all this soon came to an end: the siege of Chartres was raised at the approach of Henry; Beaugency was taken by the English, and the dauphin was driven behind the Loire. Leaving the King of Scotland, in whom he appears to have had the fullest confidence, to prosecute the siege of Dreux, which capitulated on the 20th of August, Henry followed up the flying dauphin until he again took refuge in the strong town of Bourges in Berry. He then recrossed the Loire and returned to Paris. Allowing him-

self a very short repose, he proceeded, in the month of October, to lay siege to Meaux, about thirty miles to the north-east of Paris. Within that place, which was one of the strongest in all France, was a chief who had made himself remarkable for his atrocities, and an object of wonderment even in those atrocious times, when cruelties were committed in all parts of the kingdom. The Bastard of Vaurus had been an adherent of the old Count of Armagnac, and to avenge his master's death, he became more ferocious and blood-thirsty than a tiger. Whenever a Bourguignon or an Englishman fell into his hands, he was massacred on the spot, or put to death by execrable torture. Henry carried the town by assault in ten weeks; but the Bastard and his garrison, who could expect little mercy, retired to a sort of acropolis, called the marketplace, where they made a long and a most desperate resistance. The dauphin wished to do something for the relief of these worthy allies, but he was not very courageous or adventurous; his troops, however numerous, dreaded to meet their adversaries in the field, and all that he did was to send the Sire d'Affemont to steal by night with some reinforcements into the besieged place. D'Affemont was taken prisoner by the English; and at last, in the beginning of the month of May, the place surrendered at discretion, and the Bastard of Vaurus was hanged. During this siege of seven months, Henry lost a considerable number of his brave warriors: the Earl of Worcester and Lord Clifford were killed by the enemy's artillery; others perished of an epidemic sickness; but the conquest of that important place left the English undisputed masters of the whole of France north of the Loire. While he was prosecuting the siege with wonderful perseverance, he was gladdened with the news that his wife Catherine had borne him a son, in Windsor Castle, on the 6th of December. On the 21st of May the queen, escorted by the Duke of Bedford, landed at Harfleur, whence she proceeded, with still increasing troops of noblemen, by way of Rouen, to the Bois de Vincennes, where she was received as some angelical person. On the great festival of Whitsuntide the two courts of Henry and Charles made a grand entry into Paris, and on that day King Henry and Queen Catherine kept their court in the palace of the Louvre, where they sat in their royal robes, with their imperial crowns on their heads.

Meanwhile the dauphin had collected in the south an army of 20,000 men, the command of which he intrusted to the Earl of Buchan, who still retained a considerable Scottish force. From Bourges Buchan advanced to the Loire, and, crossing that river, took the town of La Charité; then descending the right bank of the river, he

laid siege to the important town of Cosne, and reduced it to such straits that the garrison agreed to surrender if they were not relieved by a given day. Before Cosne, Buchan was joined by the dauphin. The Duke of Burgundy pressed Henry to march to the relief of the besieged place. The King of England never required much pressing on occasions like these, and though he was labouring under a severe illness, he left Paris at the end of July. As soon as the dauphin heard that he was in motion, he caused the siege to be raised, recrossed the Loire, and again threw himself into Bourges. But Henry's strength failed him on the march, and halting at Corbeil, about twenty miles to the south of Paris, he gave the command of his army to his brother, the Duke of Bedford, and throwing himself into a litter, was conveyed back to the Bois de Vincennes in the neighbourhood of the capital. The Duke of Bedford was about to cross the Loire when he was recalled by the unexpected news that the king his brother was dying. The duke arrived at Vincennes in time to receive his instructions and his last farewell.

Henry had much to attach him to life: his grand scheme of conquest seemed to be approaching a happy completion; he was King of France in fact, and the crown was within his grasp, for his wretched father-in-law was at last dying; he was the happy husband of a young and beautiful wife; he was a father; he was young himself, and until recently, when a mysterious malady attacked him, in the enjoyment of vigorous health and buoyant spirits. Yet, in spite of all this, he saw death approach with calmness. He felt no remorse for the blood he had shed in France, believing to the last that he had rights to the crown, and that he had been but an instrument in the hand of Providence. He felt some natural anxiety on account of his infant son, but even on this head he was supported by a confident hope in the wisdom, valour, and fidelity of his brothers and of his English subjects. On the day of his death, he summoned the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Warwick, and some other great lords, to his bedside, and told them he saw it was the will of his Creator that he should quit this world: he bade them be of good cheer, and he comforted them with kind words, yet grave and full of meaning. He exhorted them to be true to his son as they had been to him, and to keep peace and amity among themselves during the long minority. He most earnestly recommended them to cultivate the friendship of his ally the Duke of Burgundy. He told them never to make a peace with Charles, calling himself dauphin, which did not stipulate for his surrender of all claims to the crown of France, or, at worst, for the grant to England of the duchies of Normandy and Aqu-

taine in full sovereignty. He cautiously warned them not to release the Duke of Orleans, or any of the French princes of the blood taken at Azincourt. During the minority of his son, he signified his wish that his brother the Duke of Gloucester should be regent or protector in England, and that his brother the Duke of Bedford, with the advice of the Duke of Burgundy, should be regent in France. His hearers, who did not share his equanimity, wept and sobbed while they vowed obedience to his dying injunctions, and promised to protect his wife and child. Feeling his end approach, he sent for his confessor and his chaplains, whom he directed to chant the seven penitential Psalms. When they came to the verse "Thou shalt build up the walls of Jerusalem," he stopped them, and said aloud, that he always intended, after he had wholly subdued the realm of France and restored it to peace and good order, to go and conquer the Holy City from the Saracens. Having expressed this intention, he allowed the priests to proceed, and a few minutes after, he calmly breathed his last, in the thirty-fourth year of his age and the tenth of his reign, on the last day of August, 1422.

It had been very usual to abandon the king as soon as the breath was out of his body, and even to treat his unconscious remains with disrespect; but Henry's nobles and officers resolved to give him a most magnificent funeral. In the first place, they caused the body to be embalmed, and then to be carried in great pomp to the church of Notre Dame, in Paris, where a solemn service was performed. The funeral procession, blackening all the way, then proceeded to Rouen, whither some of the nobles had previously conducted Queen Catherine, who had been kept in ignorance of the danger of the king, and knew not of his death until some days after it had happened. At Rouen it lay in state for several days. The coffin was then placed within a car drawn by four splendid horses. In this state the body was conveyed by slow journeys from Rouen to Abbeville, where it was placed in the cathedral of St. Ulfran, with rows of priests on each side of the coffin to chant requiems all through the night. During the slow, sad progress from town to town, the funeral car was preceded and flanked by heralds, persons bearing banners and achievements, and a host of men, all clad in white sheets, and carrying lighted torches in their hands; it was followed by the royal household in deep mourning, by some hundreds of knights and esquires in black armour, and plumes, with their lances reversed, and by the princes of the blood, and the King of Scotland, who acted as chief mourner. At about a league in the rear of all travelled the youthful widow, with a numerous retinue. The night after leaving Abbeville, they rested at Hesdin,

the next night at Montreuil, the next at Boulogne, and then at Calais, where a fleet was in readiness to convey them to Dover. From Dover they travelled by the usual road to London, where they arrived on Martinmas Day. As the melancholy procession approached London, fifteen bishops in their pontifical attire, many mitred abbots and churchmen, with a vast multitude of persons of all conditions, went out to meet it. The churchmen chanted the service for the dead as it passed over London bridge and through the street of the Lombards to St. Paul's. After the obsequies had been performed at St. Paul's in

presence of the whole parliament, the body was carried to Westminster Abbey, and there interred near the shrine of Edward the Confessor.¹ "At this funeral," continues Monstrelet, who wrote some years later, "greater pomp and expense were made than had been done for 200 years at the burying of any King of England; and even now, as much reverence and honour are paid every day to his tomb as if it were certain that he is a saint in heaven."

We take this strong popular feeling as one proof that Henry had many fine qualities besides those of a mere warrior and conqueror.²

CHAPTER III.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1422—1431.

HENRY VI., SURNAMED OF WINDSOR.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1422—DEPOSITION, A.D. 1461.

Henry VI., infant son of Henry V., proclaimed king—The Duke of Gloucester appointed Protector of England, and the Duke of Bedford Regent of France—Henry VI. proclaimed King of France—Charles the dauphin also proclaimed King of France—Victory of the English over the French and Scots at Cravant—They are again victorious at Verneuil—The successes of the Duke of Bedford impaired by the folly of the Duke of Gloucester—Marriage of Gloucester to Jacqueline of Hainault—Umbrage of the Duke of Burgundy at the marriage—Dissensions in the court of Charles, the French king—Orleans besieged by the English—Victory of the English over the French and Scots at Rouvrai—Orleans reduced to the last extremity—Joan of Arc appears—Her early history—Her application to Charles—The examination held upon her claim to a Divine commission—She marches to the relief of Orleans—Dismay of the English at her coming—They are defeated, and compelled to raise the siege—Successes of Joan of Arc—Victory of the French over the English at Patay—Triumphant march of Charles to Rheims—His coronation—Appeal of Joan to the Duke of Burgundy—Perplexities of the Duke of Bedford—He is reinforced by Cardinal Beaufort—Indecisive operations in the field—Declining influence of Joan of Arc—Bedford resigns the regency of France to the Duke of Burgundy—Joan of Arc taken prisoner—She is tried as a sorceress—Her unjust and oppressive treatment—She is condemned and executed.

THE son of Henry and Catherine was not quite nine months old. As soon as his father's death was known in England, some of the bishops and lay lords issued commissions, in the name of Henry VI., to the judges, sheriffs, and other officers, autho-

rizing them to continue their respective duties, and summoned a parliament to meet in November. As soon as parliament was assembled, it laid claim to the right of regulating the regency. The Duke of Gloucester claimed the post of regent, because, in the absence of his elder brother, the Duke of Bedford, he was nearest in blood,

¹ Monstrelet: *Walsing.*

² "Power deemed to be ill gotten is naturally precarious; and the instance of Henry IV. has been well quoted to prove that public liberty flourishes with a bad title in the sovereign. None of our kings seems to have been less beloved, and indeed he had little claim to affection. But what men denied to the reigning king, they poured in full measure upon the heir of his throne. The virtues of the Prince of Wales [Henry V.] are almost invidiously eulogized by those parliaments who treat harshly his father; and these records afford a strong presumption that some early petulance or riot has been much exaggerated by the vulgar minds of our chroniclers. One can scarcely understand, at least, that a prince who was three years engaged in quelling the dangerous insurrection of Glendower, and who, in the latter time of his father's reign, presided at the council, was so lost in a cloud of low debauchery as common fame represents. Loved he certainly was throughout his life, as so intrepid, affable, and generous a temper well deserved; and this sentiment was heightened to admiration by successes still more rapid and dazzling than those of

Edward III. During his reign there scarcely appears any vestige of dissatisfaction in parliament—a circumstance very honourable, whether we ascribe it to the justice of his administration or to the affection of his people. Perhaps two exceptions, though they are rather one in spirit, might be made:—The first, a petition to the Duke of Gloucester, then holding parliament as Guardian of England, that he would move the king and queen to return as speedily as might please them, in relief and comfort of the commons; the second, a petition that their petitions might not be sent to the king beyond sea, but altogether determined 'within the kingdom of England during this parliament,' and that this ordinance might be of force in all future parliaments to be held in England. This prayer, to which the guardian declined to accede, evidently sprang from the apprehensions excited in their minds by the treaty of Troyes, that England might become a province of the French crown, which led them to obtain a renewal of the statute of Edward III., declaring the independence of this kingdom."—Hallam, *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, vol. iii. pp. 143, 144.

and because the late king had named him regent on his death-bed. The lords, after searching the rolls and consulting with the judges, told the duke that this demand was contrary to the constitution, and that the late king had no power whatever to appoint a regent without the consent of parliament. They offered to appoint him president of the council in the absence of the Duke of Bedford, and to give him, not the title of regent, lieutenant, or tutor, but that of Protector of the realm and church of England—which title, they said, would serve to remind him of his duty. A few days after they proceeded to name a chancellor, a treasurer, a keeper of the privy seal, and a permanent council, which consisted of sixteen members, with the Duke of Bedford for president, the Duke of Gloucester to act for him, and to receive the salary of £5333 during his brother's absence from England. All these regulations and nominations received the assent of the commons, and the Duke of Gloucester was obliged to be satisfied with them. The care of the person and education of the young prince was afterwards intrusted to the Earl of Warwick and to Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, a half-brother of King Henry IV., who had also a high seat in the council.¹ After voting the continuance of the duty on wool, and tonnage and poundage for two years, the parliament was dissolved. With the exception of some movements on the Welsh borders, the accession of the infant king was perfectly peaceful.

In France, where there were no constitutional delicacies to be managed, the Duke of Bedford, who was deservedly popular with the army, was at once recognized as regent, and succeeded to the power, and nearly to all the consideration of his deceased brother.² He remained at Paris, or in the neighbourhood, surrounded by the Earls of Somerset, Warwick, Salisbury, Suffolk, and Arundel, Sir John Talbot, Sir John Fastolfe, and the other distinguished captains who had carried the military fame of England to so high a pitch in the preceding reign. In the month of October, Charles VI. expired at Paris. The dauphin, who was now in his twenty-first year, was in Auvergne, and in a very poor and reduced condition. As soon as the knights of his party received the news, they conducted him to a little chapel, raised

a banner with the arms of France upon it, and saluted him with cries of "Long live the king!" Such was the inauguration of Charles VII., who at the time was not master of a fourth part of the kingdom. The death of his father, however, gave him an immediate increase of moral strength, and he soon proceeded to the city of Poitiers, where he was crowned and anointed with some solemnity.

The Duke of Bedford, with the consent of the parliament of Paris, had proclaimed the infant Henry King of France; and while Charles was being crowned at Poitiers he held a great assembly in the capital, where the parliament, the university, the archbishop, the metropolitan clergy, the magistrates, and principal burghers, swore fealty to Henry. The same ceremony was performed in all the other great towns of France in subjection to the English, or to their ally the Duke of Burgundy. To secure the friendship of this prince, whose power nearly equalled that of the King of France, even when France was undivided, Bedford strictly adhered to the instructions of his dying brother, consulting the Duke of Burgundy upon all important affairs, and paying a politic deference to his judgment and better acquaintance with the feelings and habits of the French. He married the Duke's sister, Anne of Burgundy; and, by negotiating a marriage between another sister of the duke's, the widow of the deceased dauphin, and Arthur, Count of Richemont, brother of the Duke of Brittany, he hoped to secure the support and co-operation of the Bretons, who, in the time of Henry V., had been only neutral. A sort of congress was held by these great personages at Amiens, in the month of April, 1423, and there Bedford received the most gratifying assurances of continued support from his two allies. But, at the same time, and without the knowledge of the Duke of Bedford, the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany made a separate treaty with one another; and some embarrassing discussions arose concerning the flight into England of Jacqueline, Countess of Hainault, whose marriage with the Duke of Gloucester struck the first great blow at the power of the English in France.³ But, for the moment, that power seemed to be on the increase, and Bedford soon gained two great vic-

¹ Beaufort was the second of the sons of John of Gaunt, by his third wife Catherine Ruet, Roet, or Rowet, widow of Sir Otes Swynford, generally supposed to have been the sister of Philippa Rowet, who is said to have been the wife of the poet Chaucer. There are considerable doubts, however, both as to the reality of this connection, and even as to the fact of Chaucer having been married at all. Catherine Rowet, who was the daughter of Sir Paine Rowet, a knight of Hainault, had long been the duke's mistress, having been originally brought over to wait upon his first wife, Blanche of Lancaster. The children of John of Gaunt and Catherine Rowet—three sons and a daughter—were all born before their marriage, which took place in 1397, but were legiti-

dated that year by a patent which is entered on the rolls of parliament. They took the name of Beaufort from the castle of Beaufort in France, where they were born; a property that came into the possession of their father by his first wife. The patent of legitimation entitled them and their descendants to hold all honours and estates, such as duchies, principalities, earldoms, &c.; and in some copies of it there is an express reservation of the right of inheriting the crown. Henry VII. descended from the eldest of these Beauforts, John, created (A.D. 1397) Earl of Somerset.

² *Rot. Parl.*; *Rymer*: *Walsingham*.

³ *Barante*; *Daru*, *Hist. de la Bretagne*.

stories, which were compared to the glorious affairs of Crecy, Poitiers, and Azincourt. Charles VII. gave himself up to indolence and selfish indulgence, loitering away his time, not with his beautiful wife, Mary of Anjou, but with his mistresses. He had, however, about him many men of great energy: they roused him from his inglorious ease and forced him into the field. Crossing the Loire once more, Charles now fixed his head-quarters at Gien, a small town close on the right bank of that river, and there he remained while the mass of his forces, under James Stuart, Lord Darnley, and the Marshal of Severac, struck off to the east, fell upon Burgundy, and laid siege to Crevant, a very important place. The Duke of Burgundy had some forces on foot in that direction, but they were very inconsiderable, and he again eagerly pressed the English to save his fertile province. The Duke of Bedford instantly despatched the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk to the relief of Crevant, and as the French, relying on their great superiority of numbers and the determined valour of their Scottish allies, stood their ground outside the town, a general battle was resolved upon. At Auxerre the English were joined by the Burgundians; but their force was still very inferior, and they had to pass the river Yonne in face of the enemy. Having forced the passage, they found the main body drawn up in good position on the right bank. While the English attacked in front, the Burgundians attacked in flank, and then made a movement to the rear. By this disposition the English were opposed to the Scots; the Burgundians to the French, their own countrymen. The French soon gave way, and then fled in a disgraceful manner, leaving their Scottish allies to shift for themselves. Though thus abandoned by all save a few honourable knights, the Scots gallantly defended themselves for a long time, and the victory was not decided till more than 3000 of them were killed or taken prisoners.¹

Charles VII. received about this time a body of auxiliaries from the Duke of Milan, and gave encouragement to an insurrection in Maine and Anjou, and in other places north of the Loire. We must pass over a number of petty combats and sieges. In the affair of La Gravelle, John de la Pole, brother to the Duke of Suffolk, was surprised by a great force under Harcourt, Count of Armale, and was obliged to retreat with considerable loss.

In another direction a detachment of the Duke of Burgundy was defeated by the Italian and Scottish auxiliaries of King Charles. The spirit of the French people had gained one great advan-

tage for this *roi-fainéant*; they had gradually thrown off the yoke in several parts of the north and the north-west; they had got possession of several towns in Normandy; and thus the English, instead of crossing the Loire, were obliged to fight in the country between that river and the Seine. Their alliance with the Duke of Brittany rested on hollow foundations from the first, and a quarrel with his brother, the Count of Richemont, was followed by bad effects. The count, who was refused the separate command of an army, for which Bedford judged him unfit, would not be soothed by the offer of a liberal pension—lands and honours he had received already—and, stealing away secretly, he withdrew to Brittany, hoping to induce his brother to declare against the English. Bedford laboured the more earnestly to gratify the Duke of Burgundy; but he did not yet know the secret treaty existing between that prince and the Duke of Brittany. In the course of 1423, the auxiliary force of Scotland had been greatly increased by fresh arrivals; and Archibald, Earl of Douglas, lately the adherent of Henry V., went and joined Charles, who made him a French duke, by the title of the Duke of Touraine. Here, again, the regent Bedford acted with all possible good policy; he negotiated with King James of Scotland, and released him from his imprisonment in England in the spring of 1424, by which further reinforcements from Scotland to France were prevented.

In the summer of 1424 the Duke of Bedford laid siege to the strong town of Ivry. Charles resolved to relieve the place, and to that end sent his whole army into Normandy. This army consisted of about 7000 Scots and 7000 Italians and French. The command was nominally given to the Earls of Douglas and Buchan; but the Counts of Alençon, Aumale, and Narbonne, and the other French nobles who marched with them, would take no orders from Scottish adventurers—for such they termed the bravest and noblest of their allies. This ill-assorted army marched within sight of Ivry, but they halted in dismay on seeing the excellent position of the English, and presently retreated without drawing a sword. Upon this failure Ivry surrendered. Either by an ingenious stratagem of their own, or by a rising in their favour of the inhabitants, Charles' army got possession of the important town of Verneuil, situated about thirty miles to the southwest of Ivry; but they were scarcely there when the Duke of Bedford presented himself before the walls. A tumultuary council was held, and as they could not possibly remain where they were on account of a scarcity, it was resolved to go out and fight the English in an open field. They had every advantage of position: the town covered one of their flanks, they had also learned

¹ *Monstrelet.*

something from experience, and, leaving their baggage and their horses within the walls, they formed on foot, leaving only about 2000 men-at-arms, part of whom were Italians, to fight on horseback. The Duke of Bedford, whose army was inferior in numbers, followed the old tactics of Crecy and Azincourt: he made all his cavalry dismount; he placed his horses and his baggage in the rear, under a guard of archers; and he stationed the rest of the bowmen on his flanks and in his van, where they stuck their sharp stakes into the ground. There was a brief pause. The Earl of Douglas wished to wait for the attack of the English, but the French nobles would not listen to his prudence, and the Count of Narbonne rushed forward, shouting "Mountjoye St. Denis!" The whole line followed him in hurry and confusion; and by the time they got up to the English stakes, they were both out of breath and out of order. Their number, however, was imposing, for van, rear, and reserve, came up altogether. The English stood firm, shouting "St. George for Bedford!" But some of the archers were borne down and driven towards the baggage—a fortunate circumstance, for they seem to have arrived just in time to support their comrades there, who were charged in the rear by the 2000 horse, led on by La Hire and Saintraille. This cavalry was repeatedly repulsed, and at last completely driven from the field. Then the English archers in the rear (above 2000 men) advanced to the main body and decided the victory, which had been fiercely and at times very equally disputed for upwards of three hours. The loss of the allies was tremendous. The Earl of Douglas and his son, Lord James Douglas, the Earl of Buchan, Sir Alexander Meldrum, with many Scottish knights, were slain. The French lost the Counts Narbonne, Tonnère, and Vantadour, the Sires of Roche-baron and Gamaches, with many other great lords, and nearly 300 knights. The Duke of Alençon, the Marshal de la Fayette, the Sires de Maucourt, and Charles de Longueval, with many other lords, were taken prisoners. The Duke of Bedford cut off the heads of Maucourt and Longueval, because they had formerly taken the oath of fealty to his nephew; and he did the same to several knights of Normandy, because they had deserted from his standard on the eve of the battle.¹ The great loss he had himself sustained probably had something to do with these executions. Sixteen hundred Englishmen lay dead on that bloody field, mixed with 3000 or 4000 Scots, French, and Italians. The town of Verneuil immediately surrendered to the conqueror. Such was the battle of Verneuil, the last great victory obtained by the Duke of Bed-

ford; it was fought on the 17th of August, 1424.

The cause of Charles now seemed hopeless; his army was destroyed, he had no money or credit, and many of his friends began to complain of his want of activity and valour, for he still kept away from the scene of danger. But circumstances operated wonderfully in his favour, and made him King of all France in spite of his follies. Dissension had broken out in the English council, where the Duke of Gloucester could never agree with his uncle Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester; and the English people had grown weary of this long war, which had once been exceedingly popular. At this moment (and we are disposed to believe on *most* occasions afterwards) Beaufort advocated measures of prudence and cautious policy, which were defeated by the impetuous will of Gloucester.

Jacqueline of Hainault, only daughter of the Count of Hainault, brother-in-law of Jean Sans-peur, inherited at a very early age the states of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand. Her succession was disputed by her uncle, John the Merciless, Bishop of Liège, who invaded Holland. After a long war, the Duke of Burgundy, Jean Sans-peur, interfered, and concluded a treaty, by which the Bishop of Liège was to enjoy the revenues of Holland and Zealand. John the Merciless had previously shed a great deal of Christian blood in order to remain Bishop of Liège. But soon after this arrangement he got himself secularized by the pope, and throwing away crozier and stole, married Elizabeth of Luxemburg, the widow of the Duke of Brabant, who had perished at Azincourt. This Elizabeth had a son, now Duke of Brabant, and the ex-bishop proposed that he should be married to his niece Jacqueline. This union, as tending to unite the different branches of the house of Burgundy, was strongly recommended by Jean Sans-peur and other members of the family; but the young lady had a great aversion to the match. John of Brabant was younger than she: they were cousins-german; and she, besides, had been the boy's god-mother. The pope, however, gave his dispensation, and Jacqueline was tormented into a compliance with the family scheme. But her antipathies were never overcome: she was of a womanly age, beautiful, bold, and not deficient in wit and understanding; her husband was a puny boy of fifteen, weak in mind as in body, fond of the society of low favourites, and entirely led by them. Shortly after their marriage they quarrelled violently; and Madame Jacqueline, who had a summary way of proceeding, sent her half-brother, called the Bastard of Hainault, to punish her husband's chief favourite, William le Begue, who had insulted her. The Bastard killed the favour-

¹ *Monstrelet*

rite in his bed. But the young duke chose a new confident, and continued to be ruled by a set of vulgar servants; and the court was continually disgraced by domestic broils. On an unlucky day the young duke, by the advice of his favourite, drove away all the ladies that waited upon his wife, and exiled them to Holland. On this insult, Jacqueline withdrew to Valenciennes, and thence to Calais, where the English received her with great honour. From Calais she passed over to England, and sought an asylum and the protection of the court. This was in 1421, while Henry V. was still living; and at the end of that year she was residing in great friendship with Henry's wife Catherine at Windsor Castle. Jacqueline had not been long in England when she became enamoured of the king's brother, the Duke of Gloucester; and the duke, rather out of ambition than affection, proposed himself as her husband. Here another dispensation was necessary. On applying to Pope Martin V. it was found that he had been applied to by the powerful princes of the house of Burgundy, and was not disposed to annul the marriage with the Duke of Brabant, although Jacqueline alleged that she had been driven into that union by deceit and force. But it happened that there was another pope living; for Benedict XIII. would not submit to the decision of the council of Constance, and he readily enough granted a dispensation to the duchess. Jacqueline then married the Duke of Gloucester; on which the duke claimed as his own Hainault, Holland, and Zealand—all the states, castles, and towns which his wife inherited from her father. For some time no open measures were adopted for the recovery of Jacqueline's patrimony; and the Duke of Bedford, who had married the Duke of Burgundy's sister, contrived to keep that prince in apparent good humour, though in reality Philip had many misgivings, and intrigued under-hand long before venturing upon any overt act. A few weeks after the great battle of Verneuil, Gloucester and Jacqueline, with an English army of 5000 or 6000 men, landed at Calais; and, contrary to the advice of Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, and in spite of the earnest representations of the Regent Bedford, these two ardent spirits led their forces through the territories of the Duke of Burgundy, and fell upon his cousin, the Duke of Brabant, in Hainault. At this time Jacqueline's uncle, John, ex-Bishop of Liège, died, and she was accused of having induced some of her partizans to poison him. Gloucester and his daring wife soon got possession of Mons, the capital of Hainault, where a strong party declared for her. At first the Duke of Burgundy thought that Gloucester was coming to reinforce his brother in France; but when he knew the direction

he had taken he became perfectly furious, and sent orders to all his vassals to assist his beloved nephew the Duke of Brabant, and oppose the duchess and her new husband to the utmost. Gloucester, upon this, wrote to Duke Philip, telling him that if the Duke of Brabant was his cousin, his companion and wife Jacqueline was twice his cousin—that he (Gloucester) had not broken the peace or the treaties existing between him and his very dear cousin of Burgundy—that he was only taking possession of what lawfully belonged to him by his marriage—and he hinted, truly or falsely, that the Duke of Burgundy had formerly encouraged his projects. The duke replied by giving Gloucester the lie, and defying him to single combat. Gloucester readily accepted the challenge, and named St. George's Day for the duel, which Philip had no intention to fight. He sent a great part of the forces which he had engaged to keep on foot for the service of the Regent Bedford, into the Low Countries, against his brother, and at the same time the Duke of Gloucester obtained the English reinforcements intended for Bedford. Philip did not cool on reflection. He even employed troops and many knights that had been in the service of his great enemy Charles VII., the murderer of his father; and among these warriors was the celebrated Saintraille. The Burgundians thus began to listen to their old foes, and to join them in attributing (incorrectly) the origin of all the evils France was suffering to the English. Proposals were suggested for an accommodation with King Charles by the pope, the Duke of Savoy, and others; and though the Duke of Burgundy did not think, as yet, he had taken sufficient vengeance for his father's death, and though he did not openly abandon his brother-in-law the Duke of Bedford till eight years later, he was from this moment a lukewarm and suspected ally. For about a year and a half Gloucester defied all the power of Burgundy, and maintained himself in Hainault; but then want of money, and a jealousy of his uncle Beaufort, induced him to return to England. His departure was fatal to the interests of his wife: Valenciennes, Condé, and Bouchain opened their gates to Duke Philip; and Jacqueline was besieged in Mons, the citizens of which soon delivered her up to the duke, who committed her to a close imprisonment in his palace at Ghent.¹

Gloucester's return to England was attended by other disastrous circumstances. His quarrel with Beaufort rose to such a height that a civil war seemed imminent; and the Duke of Bedford was obliged to leave France at a very critical moment, and come over to London at the end of

¹ *Monstrelet; P. Henin; Barante.*

1425. By his authority and influence a reconciliation was effected, and the uncle and nephew were made to shake hands in the presence of a parliament assembled at Leicester. But the bishop immediately resigned the seals and prepared to go abroad.

During Bedford's absence the Duke of Brittany declared for the King of France, being induced thereto by his brother the Count of Richemont, whom Charles had recently named Constable of France. The constable was out of his reach, in the country beyond the Loire; but soon after Bedford's return to France he severely punished the duke by sending a formidable army into Brittany, that repeatedly defeated his forces, and compelled him to abandon his treaty with the King of France, and resume his allegiance to England.¹

Meanwhile the errant court of Charles continued to be the scene of disgraceful intrigues, jealousies, and dissensions. Arthur, Count of Richemont, the new constable, complained, not without reason, of the conduct of the king's ignoble favourites; but the system which he adopted to correct this evil was truly atrocious. When he first joined the king the chief favourite was the Sire de Giac, who, with his wife, had had so great a share in the murder of Jean Sans-peur at Montreuil. This wretched man he seized by night in his bed, set him half naked upon a horse, and gave him over to George de la Tremoille, Count of Guines, who carried him to Dun-le-Roi, and there had him thrown into the river with a great stone tied to his neck. Camus de Beaulieu succeeded to the now dangerous post of prime favourite, and the constable got rid of him by assassination. Seeing that Charles could not live without a favourite, the constable then recommended to his notice George de la Tremoille, a person whom he thought entirely devoted to his interest, and incapable of making himself too formidable. But Count Arthur was mistaken in his man: George de la Tremoille, who had married Madame de Giac, whose husband he had just murdered, because she was still very beautiful and very rich, was the most accomplished rogue in that profligate court. He was witty, insinuating, experienced in business and in war; and he soon obtained a greater ascendancy over the frivolous king than any preceding favourite. As soon as the constable discovered his mistake, he made a league with the Count of Clermont, the Count of la Marche, the Marshal of Boussac, and others, to destroy him; but La Tremoille was well versed in the ways of treachery: he declined an interview to which they invited him, kept himself with the king close in a strong

castle, and laughed at the conspirators, who were obliged to disperse at the approach of winter. Charles then passed a sentence of banishment against the constable, who thereupon took up arms against him in conjunction with several princes of the blood. In the spring of 1428 these allies surprised the town of Bourges, but neither the king nor Tremoille was there. The constable retired into Poitou, and there kept up the civil war. At the same time another great royalist and patriot, the Marshal of Severac, threatened to desolate Languedoc with fire and sword unless the king paid him certain arrears; and the king and the treasurer had only four crowns between them. The Count of Foix took forcible possession of Beziers, and René of Anjou, a brother of the queen, negotiated on his own account with the English.

These brief details will render it perfectly intelligible how, during the six years that Charles had been a king, no progress had been made against the English, who were now determined to cross the Loire, and carry their conquests farther than Henry V. had ever penetrated.² The miserable state of weakness to which their recent chastisement had reduced him, more than any reliance on the treaty which he had signed, made the English feel sure of the Duke of Brittany, whose states extended along the right bank of the Lower Loire, and whose forces, under other circumstances, might have embarrassed them on their right flank and on their rear. At the same time, they felt a renewed confidence in the Bourguignon party; for Duke Philip returned to Paris, and had a friendly interview with the Duke of Bedford, being much pleased at having been permitted to settle the affairs of Madame Jacqueline after his own fashion. That wife of two husbands, who had some of the essentials of a heroine of romance, escaped from her prison in Ghent, and fled, disguised as a man, into Holland, where a strong party immediately took up arms for her. The Duke of Burgundy soon pursued her in the name of his cousin and her husband, the Duke of Brabant. The Duke of Gloucester contrived to send some money and a small force of archers to her aid. The archers landed on one of the islands of Zealand, and were well nigh taking the Duke Philip prisoner; but they were overwhelmed by superior force, and after a fierce battle, in which the duke lost many of his best knights, they were driven back to their ships. Philip took many towns—for he also had a faction in his favour—and then withdrew into Flanders to collect a great army. Jacqueline tried to retake the towns; and she commanded in person at several sieges and in several battles, making

¹ Rymer: *Daru*.

² Monstrelet; Juvenal; P. Hentin; Villaret; Barante.

knights and performing all the offices of a warrior and a prince. Her party however declined; the Duke of Bedford and the council prevented Gloucester from lending any further assistance; the Duke of Burgundy advanced again into Holland with an immense force well provided with artillery; town fell after town, and she was obliged to retire into Friesland. At the same time the thunders of the Vatican rolled over her head. The pope Martin V., whose authority was now generally recognized by the Christian world, declared that her marriage with Gloucester was null and void; and that, even in case of the death of her first husband, the Duke of Brabant, she could never lawfully be the wife of the English prince. The Duke of Gloucester consoled himself for this disappointment by marrying Eleanor Cobham, daughter to Lord Reginald Cobham—"which Eleanor before was his wanton paramour, to his great reproach, as was then noted."¹ But, though abandoned by her plighted knight, the husband of her choice, and threatened by the pope, the daring Jacqueline maintained the struggle; nor did her first husband, the object of her hatred, live to triumph over her. The Duke of Brabant died in the month of April, 1427; he was succeeded in his hereditary state of Brabant by his brother; but the Duke of Burgundy kept his hold of Holland and Hainault, the inheritance of Madame Jacqueline. A great naval victory, which the duke gained over William de Brederade, Jacqueline's admiral, completed the ruin of her affairs; and in the summer of 1428 she was obliged to submit to a harsh treaty. She agreed to recognize her dear cousin as direct heir to all her dominions—to give him the government of them all immediately—never to marry without his consent—and to satisfy herself with the revenues of Ostrevand, Veveland, and Brille. Duke Philip rejoiced in the success of his arms and his policy; and as he could not but feel that the English might have frustrated his scheme, he for a while was in good humour with them, engaging to furnish troops for the great enterprise of subduing the country beyond the Loire.

Ever since the English had been in possession of Paris, the city of Orleans, advantageously situated on the Loire, had been considered as the centre of the kingdom. Whatever fragments of prosperity remained were gathered within its walls; its fall would have the most fatal effects on the cause of independence; and the best road to the provinces of the south lay through it. It was, therefore, determined to reduce it by siege or blockade; but this project had been imprudently divulged, and the Earl of Salisbury lost many weeks in reducing a number of insignificant

places in the neighbourhood, instead of marching at once to his object; and the French people, who were fully sensible of the life-and-death importance of the town, made the best use of this time in preparing for its defence. The season was far advanced before Salisbury appeared; but at last, on the 12th of October, he took up his positions both on the right and left bank, and began the difficult operation of girding in a large and populous town, in the best possible state of preparation, with a small army of 8000 or 9000 men. The inhabitants had provided themselves with all sorts of warlike stores and provisions, being determined to defend the place to the last extremity. The people of Orleans were well seconded by the inhabitants of other towns upon the Loire or behind it; for the burghers generally were good Frenchmen, and did not, like the princes of the blood and the great lords, lose their patriotism in jealousies and broils. Bourges, Poitiers, La Rochelle, and other places, sent provisions, money, and troops. The three estates met at Chinon, and voted an aid of 400,000 francs. The king also was roused from his lethargy; and as La Tremoille, and all the royalists about him believed that the fall of Orleans would be followed by the loss of all France, very unusual exertions were made. Charles named the Sire de Gaucourt governor of Orleans; and Saint-raille, De Guित्रy, Villars, and many other captains of name, threw themselves into the town before the English appeared.²

Unappalled by all these circumstances, the Earl of Salisbury began the attack of the place, and his first plan seems to have been to take it by assault. A strong bridge communicated between the left bank of the river and the town, and the entrance to this bridge was defended by a fortress called the Tourelles, of which Salisbury determined to make himself master. The English scaled the walls, but were repulsed more than once with considerable loss. Salisbury, however, persevered, and, on the 23d of October, he carried the Tourelles by storm. But, in the interval, the besieged had broken down an arch of the bridge, and raised a new fort at the other end of it in advance of the city walls. Why the English general should have chosen to make his attack on this side, with a wide river between him and the town, when two sides of the triangle on the right bank³ presented no such obstacle, we are at a loss to determine; but the bridge, as a passage, was now given up. The Bastard of Orleans,⁴ the bravest and best officer in Charles'

² *Monstrelet; Journal du Siège; Barante; Villard.*

³ Then, as now, Orleans covered an irregular triangle, the base of which was along the river bank.

⁴ He was the natural son of the Duke of Orleans, killed by order of Jean Sauva-pour.

service, broke through the English lines on the opposite side of the river, and got into the town with numerous reinforcements, composed of French, Scots, Italians, and Spaniards. Salisbury saw that he must proceed by blockade. A few days after, as he was examining the town from the tower of the Tourelles, he was wounded in the face by a stone-shot, which killed the gentleman behind him on the spot. The earl survived a week, and then died, to the great regret of the army, who considered him as one of the most skilful and fortunate in arms of all the English captains. The Earl of Suffolk succeeded to the vacant command. It was now the month of November, and the weather was inclement; but the English built themselves huts, which were covered from the fire of the town by banks of earth, and there they were tolerably well supplied with provisions, and occasionally reinforced. But their number was insufficient to surround the whole town, and maintain constantly the passage of the river; boats occasionally ascended or descended with provisions for the besieged, and convoys of stores and fresh troops stole from time to time into the city.

Thus passed the winter months. Early in February, the Duke of Bedford collected about 500 carts and waggons from the borders of Normandy, and the country round Paris; and these the merchants were ordered to load with provisions, stores, and other things for the use of the army before Orleans. When all was ready, Sir John Fastolfe was appointed to escort the convoy with 1600 men. Sir John marched out of Paris on Ash Wednesday, and proceeded in good order until he came near to the village of Rouvrai, between Genville and Orleans. Here he was brought to a halt by intelligence that an army of French and Scots, 4000 strong, occupied the road before him. Making the best use of a short notice, Fastolfe formed a square with his carts and waggons, leaving but two openings; he posted his archers in these two gaps, the men-at-arms standing hard by to support them. In this situation Sir John waited two hours for the coming of the enemy, who at last arrived with a great noise. It seemed to them, that, considering their superior numbers, and that the convoy consisted of not more than 600 real Englishmen—the rest being people of Paris and other parts—they could not fail of destroying them speedily, and making prize of the stores. Others, however, had their doubts and misgivings, seeing that their captains did not well agree as to how the battle should be fought; for the Scots insisted that they ought all to dismount and fight on foot, while the French were all for fighting on horseback. At last, each nation resolved to fight in its own way. The Constable of Scotland, his son

Lord William Stewart, and all the Scots, dismounted and advanced impetuously to force the openings of the square; but the English archers shot so well and stiffly, that they were slain almost to a man. The Constable of Scotland and his son were killed fighting side by side; many Scottish knights of high repute also perished; and the Sires of Rochechouart, D'Albret, and other French lords, shared their fate. The defeat was perfect: the French who were on their horses, galloped from the field, upon which there remained about 600 dead, nearly all Scots. Sir John Fastolfe then refreshed his men, and marched on to Rouvrai, and from Rouvrai they departed in hand-some array, with their convoy and artillery, armed with all accoutrements becoming warriors; and so they arrived in triumph before the walls of Orleans.¹

King Charles, on learning the news of this defeat, was sick at heart; and the great vigour with which the English now pressed the blockade of Orleans made most of his party despair. At certain intervals, the Earl of Suffolk had erected strong posts called bastilles, and he now sunk ditches and drew lines from one bastille to the other, until the circumvallation was almost complete. Thus those within the garrison could no longer pass with the ease they had done between the bastilles, and their friends without could no longer throw in provisions. At the hideous prospect of famine, the citizens, with the consent of Charles, proposed to deliver the town into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy. They despatched, as their ambassador to the duke, a knight who was his personal friend, and who had recently fought for him in Hainault against Jacqueline. This was Saintraille, who, as well as his proposition, was joyfully received by Philip. But when they opened their project to the regent Bedford, he would not listen to it, saying that the prize ought to belong to the valour of those who had reduced Orleans to these straits. The Duke of Burgundy smiled, and acquiesced, but he immediately after left Paris in a very ill humour with the English.

In Orleans the patriotic citizens now felt the sharp pangs of hunger. In Chinon, where the court was residing, the greatest consternation prevailed; many of the lords withdrew; and if Charles himself did not flee into Auvergne, or the more distant province of Provence or Languedoc, it was owing to the counsels of his ill-treated but magnanimous wife, Mary of Anjou,

¹ Hume, following some of the French historians, lays the blame of this mischance on the Scots, who, he says, would not wait the sure effect of the artillery which the French had with them, but insisted upon charging. It does not, however, appear that the French had a single cannon; whereas Monstrelet particularly mentions Fastolfe's artillery, though he does not say it was used during the battle.

and the stormy opposition of the brave Bastard of Orleans. One day in the end of February, shortly after the battle of Rouvrai, when Charles' affairs were at the lowest ebb, there came messengers from Chinon, to tell him that the deliverer of France was at hand, and only waited at Fierbois for permission to be admitted into his presence. This deliverer was neither prince, warrior, nor statesman; it was a poor country girl—Joan of Arc.

It would be marvellous, indeed, if the story of a miraculous interposition and a succession of miracles were not embarrassed with much doubt and confusion. We may, however, safely assume the following positions, which have been held by most modern historians:—1. That there was no supernatural agency in the case, though Joan thoroughly believed that there was. 2. That her heated imagination, acted upon by the miseries of France, by current superstitions, and aided by a peculiar temperament of body, raised the visions she saw and the voices she heard. 3. That her object was pure and glorious, entitling her in all ages to the name of a patriot and liberator. 4. That there was no previous collusion between Joan and King Charles, or between her and any of the king's friends, though some of the latter wisely determined to make the most of a delusion in which they themselves never believed.

On first receiving the strange message from Fierbois, Charles burst into a fit of laughter. He, however, consented that the wonderful maiden should come to him at Chinon; and Joan arrived in man's attire, attended by two squires and four servants. But, in the interval, the people about Charles had forced some serious reflections upon him, and he refused to admit her into his presence. For three days consultations were held on the subject: some said that if he accepted such unusual aid, the English would instantly accuse him of putting faith in sorcery, and leaguings himself with the devil; others said, that it would be dishonourable to the noble kingdom of France, and productive of mockery, to send forth a peasant wench as their champion. Some maintained that the king ought not to trust himself in a personal interview with a mad woman; but others thought that it would be well to hear what she could

say, and to send trusty messengers into the district she came from, in order to ascertain the particulars of her history and previous conduct. All this time, Joan was lodged in the town of Chinon, where her strict morality and fervent devotion greatly edified the people, and made some impression even upon the immoral court. Her story, at the same time, spread far and wide; and, strange as was the narrative, there was little in it very startling to the common people in a credulous age; and there were six witnesses at Chinon to corroborate parts of it. Joan, who was then in her twentieth year, was a native of a wild and hilly district in Lorraine, on the borders of Champagne; she was born in the little hamlet of Domremy, about three leagues south of the town of Vaucouleurs. Her parents were poor peasants; and, from her earliest days, she shared in their rustic labours, receiving no other education than lessons of simple piety. The whole district was remarkable for the simplicity of manners and the devotion of the people. The curse of faction had extended even to that remote spot. Domremy was Armagnac; but the next village was Bourguignon; and the children of the two



HAMLET OF DOMREMY, AND HOUSE OF JOAN OF ARC.—From Laborde, *Monuments de la France*.

places used to fight and pelt each other with stones for the sake of these names. As Joan grew up from infancy, she was famed all over the canton for her great piety; and passing much of her time among the hills, tending flocks and herds, she there mused in solitude over the wondrous legends of saints and virgin martyrs. The passing traveller frequently brought news of the triumphs and oppressions of the English, and of the cruel war that was desolating the fertile plains of France; and occasionally the quiet marches of Lorraine witnessed the destructive progress of hostile bands. From her infancy, Joan had lis-

tened to these tales of horror, and the miseries of the land became mixed with her dreams of heaven. When she approached the age of wo-

and they wished to cure her of them by giving her a husband; but all proposals of this kind Joan rejected with horror. On a certain day, a troop of Bourguignons drove all the good people from Domremy, and burned their church. Joan with her family took refuge for a short time in a humble inn in the town of Neufchâteau, where she heard many more relations of the sad events that were passing in France. From this time her visions became more frequent; she said that her voices told her that she was the veritable virgin of the prophecy, and that she must go and conduct the dauphin—for so, according to her



ROOM IN WHICH JOAN OF ARC WAS BORN, as existing in 1812.—From Laborde.

manhood, several singularities, both moral and physical, were observed in her, and she began to talk of visions and voices from another world. At first she saw a great light, and heard a voice, which merely told her to be wise and virtuous, and go frequently to mass. At this first warning, as she said afterwards, she took the vow of perpetual chastity. Then she saw the bright light again, and heard the voice, but the light at this time displayed angelic figures with wings on their shoulders; and one of these bright essences told her to go and succour the Dauphin of France. There was an old prophecy in the country, that France, after being ruined by a wicked woman, should be restored by a spotless virgin: it was easy to fix the character of the destroyer on Queen Isabella—Joan thought herself called to be the virgin deliverer. She represented, however, to the voices that she was but a lowly maiden, not knowing how to ride a war-horse or to conduct men of war; but the great voice who made himself known to her as St. Michael, assured her that faith and aid would be lent to her for that great end, and that she would be assisted by St. Catherine and St. Margaret. When her imagination reached this point, the two female saints appeared to her in the midst of the great light; she saw their heads crowned with glittering jewels—she heard their voices, mild and modest, and sweeter than music. The visions returned, but less frequently than the invisible voices, which she was very apt to hear when the bells of the church were ringing. When the voices had ceased, or the visions had departed, she was often found weeping, for that the angels of paradise

account, Charles was to be called until he was crowned—to Rheims. The voices had already instructed her to proceed, in the first instance, to the Sire de Baudricourt, commander at Vaucouleurs, who would provide her with the means of travelling to Charles beyond the Loire; and, in the summer of 1428, she resolved to go to that governor. Her honest father would as soon have seen her thrown into the Meuse, as travelling the country among wicked men-at-arms and camp-followers; but she had made a convert of one of her uncles, and in his company she travelled to Vaucouleurs. Baudricourt took her for one crazed, or for a vagabond impostor, and at first refused to see her, saying that she ought to be sent back to her father, in order to be well whipped. Joan, however, was not easily repulsed; and as the object of her coming made a great noise all over the country, the governor was in a manner obliged to grant her an audience. She told the worthy knight that she was sent to him by her Lord. "And who is your Lord?" said the governor. "The King of Heaven," replied Joan. This confirmed Baudricourt in his opinion that she was crazed, and he dismissed her with very little ceremony. The Maid remained with her uncle, who was a cartwright in the town of Vaucouleurs; and still the fame of her sanctity grew and spread, for she passed whole days in the churches—she fasted with great austerity—her life was spotless; and still she continued to assert that her voices urged her night and day to go and succour the noble dauphin, and conduct him to Rheims, there to be crowned and consecrated. At length Baudricourt con-

fronted her with a priest well armed with stole, crucifix, and holy water; and this clerk adjured her, if she were an evil spirit, to depart from them. Joan crawled on her knees to embrace the cross—a sure sign that she was no witch or sorceress. A short time after this, John of Nouvelourpont, surnamed De Metz, a gentleman of the neighbourhood, met her, and said it was time to think of seeing the king driven out of France, and of becoming every man an Englishman. Joan answered, in a tone of inspiration, that since the Sire of Baudricourt would not give ear unto her, she must make the journey to Charles on foot, even though she wore her legs down to her knees on the road; for, she added, it is neither kings nor dukes, nor yet the daughter of the King of Scotland, that can raise up this suffering France. “There is no help but in me. My voices have said it. And yet, in sooth, would I rather stay at home and spin at my mother’s side; for this is not work that I have been used to; but I must go, and I must do, since my Lord so wills it.” “Who is your Lord?” asked De Metz. “He is God!” answered Joan. De Metz was converted by her enthusiasm, and so was his friend Bertrand de Poulengi: the town’s-people had been believers long before. There were some other portents and signs given by Joan, and nearly all Lorraine believed that she was deputed by Heaven; but Baudricourt, even to the last, seems to have doubted of her sanctity. Things, however, were at that desperate pass which makes men catch at straws. He gave permission to John of Metz and Bertrand of Poulengi to conduct her to Charles. The people of Vaucouleurs eagerly furnished Joan with everything she wished. The voices had long before told the Maiden to put on man’s attire; and this she now did, and put spurs to her heels. They bought her a horse, and Baudricourt gave her a sword. When everything was ready for her departure, the governor received the oaths of the two squires, that they would faithfully conduct her to the king. Then Joan mounted her horse, and rode away, followed by the squires and four servants mounted.

It was on the 15th of February when the Maid began her long and dangerous march through a country almost entirely occupied by the English or by the Bourguignons, and many were the perils she encountered. The servants, weary and vexed, had some misgivings as to the holiness of her mission; they fancied that, after all, she might be a sorceress; and more than once they thought of throwing her over a precipice. But she got safely to Chinon, as we have seen; and the accomplishment of such a journey seemed in itself a miracle. After three days of doubt, Charles consented to receive her; for messages had been brought from Orleans, imploring, for the last

time, that he would aid his faithful city, and he saw no earthly means at hand. In this first interview, unabashed by the sneers of the court, Joan spoke with firmness, and in a tone which sounded very like prophecy, even to many incredulous ears. “Gentle dauphin,” said she, “I am Joan the Maid. I come with a commission from the King of Heaven, to drive out your enemies, and conduct you to Rheims, where you shall receive the crown of France, which is your right.” Charles took her aside, and spoke with her for a considerable time, in an under-tone of voice; and when she departed from him, he felt or feigned a conviction that it had pleased Providence to place the fate of France in the hands of that peasant girl. And from this moment it is clear that efforts were made, not only to spread her fame, but to add, by ingenious inventions, to the marvellousness of her whole story. Here lay the tricky part of the business; but it scarcely needed, for popular credulity might now be safely left to its own imaginings. Still, however, Charles or his ministers hesitated ere they would commit themselves by proclaiming that Joan was to be their deliverer. In order to ascertain that there was no magic or sorcery in the case (for the least credulous seemed to have entertained a dread of this kind from the beginning), they delivered Joan over to a commission of priests, among whom were some who boasted that they could detect the devil under any disguise. These seekers found no diabolical indications. But Tremoille and the chancellor had still some doubts. Charles, therefore, went from Chinon to Poitiers, where his parliament was assembled, and where there was besides a learned university. The king ordered that the Maid should be conveyed thither. Joan was growing weary of these long processes, and she had some dread of the doctors’ bonnets; but, saying that she trusted in God to give her speech to convince the doctors, she went willingly to Poitiers. The monomania of this wonderful creature was free from all extraneous extravagance; she never varied in her story; she spoke with a natural eloquence and (admitting only her premises) with much good sense. She had an excellent notion of what was meant by heavenly assistance. “But,” said one of the doctors, “if God wishes and intends to deliver France from her enemies, where is the use of our fighting?” “Let us fight,” said Joan, “the help will come while we are fighting.” They then asked her to give them some signs of her miraculous mission. “Not here,” said Joan; “Poitiers is not the place: but send me to Orleans with as small a number of men-at-arms as you will, and I will give you a sure sign—the sign that I am to give is the raising of the siege of Orleans.” When her examiners brought down

their ponderous learning upon her, she said that she was an unlettered peasant—that she knew not the difference between letter A and letter B—but this she *did* know, God had sent her to raise the siege of Orleans, and to conduct the dauphin to Rheims. The doctors of both faculties were convinced or silenced. Then the bishops of the south of France were consulted; and Jacques Gelu, Archbishop of Embrun, composed a very learned tractate to prove by quotations from Scripture that God might still interfere directly in the affairs of kingdoms—that there was nothing wicked in Joan's wearing the culotte and the whole garb of a man, though it was contrary to a law in Deuteronomy, provided such things were pre-ordained, and necessary to the end in view—that it was not wonderful, when miracles had been wrought by means of beasts (witness Balaam's ass), that they should be wrought by a virgin, albeit of lowly condition. Indeed, he said, that God had very frequently intrusted his secrets to virgins in preference to other conditions of mankind; and here the erudite archbishop, as proofs, placed in curious juxtaposition the Virgin Mary and the Sibyls. It appears that it was well known in those days that a virgin could have no dealings with the devil: and a last and delicate proof was intrusted by Charles to the matronly inspection of his queen's mother and Madame Gaucourt. The report of the doctors to the council of state was, that they had neither seen, known, nor discovered any particular in that virgin that was not conformable with the character of a good Christian and true Catholic. When bishops, doctors, lawyers, ladies, had all made their inquiries, the soldiers would see how the Maid could sit a horse and wield a lance. Here Joan's early occupations, and the address they had given, stood her in good stead. They mounted her upon a charger, and she kept a firm seat; they put a lance into her hand, and she showed that she had a vigorous grasp and a good eye. Here, however, some little instruction was necessary, and this it appears was given to her.

As the English pressed the siege, and the people of Orleans still implored for aid, and requested that the miraculous Maiden might be sent to them, it was at last resolved to give entire faith to her mission, and adopt Joan as the forlorn hope of France. They gave her the rank and the proper staff of a general officer. John Daulon, a brave and experienced knight, who had long served the king, was placed near her person as her esquire; two pages and two heralds were added; and a chosen squadron of horse was placed under her immediate orders. They caused to be made a complete suit of new armour to fit her person; her sword was an ancient blade bearing the mark of five crosses, which she was said

to have miraculously discovered in the church of St. Catherine at Fierbois. Her standard, which was made to her order, was white, dotted with *fleurs-de-lis*; on one side was figured the Almighty, on the other side were inscribed the words *Jesus Maria*. Her charger was a snow-white steed; and when Joan first showed herself, mounted upon it, in her bright, new armour, and with her banner spread before her, the people could not sufficiently admire her noble and martial appearance. By this time the army of Charles was greatly reinforced; men flocked from all parts to have sight of the inspired Maiden; and a new enthusiasm, half patriotic, half religious, was awakened by the sight of Joan. The Maid set a bold and uncompromising face against the prevailing dissoluteness of manners; she drove away all the camp-followers, she made the men-at-arms confess their sins and take the sacrament, and she would not allow a soldier to follow her that had not performed these religious duties.

A great convoy of provisions was got together at Blois, and thither repaired, with the determination of escorting it to Orleans, Saintrailles, Gaucourt, the Marshal of Boussac, the Sire de Raiz, La Hire, Ambroise de Lorré, and the Admiral de Culant. Joan of Arc joined these renowned men of war in the month of April, and insisted that they should shape their manoeuvres according to the inspirations which she had received, or which she might receive, from her voices. The captains, however, thought that a little military precaution would not be amiss; and, while they pretended to obey her, they had recourse in most things to their own science and experience. Joan said that her voices ordered her to march straight on from Blois by the right bank of the Loire; but the chiefs, who knew that the English troops were more numerous and better posted on that side, deceived the Maid, passed the troops over to the left bank, and got ready a convoy of boats to carry the provisions; and while Joan and the miraculous part of the expedition made way by water, they were flanked by an immense body of horse that kept close to the river. As they approached Orleans the garrison sallied out, and fell upon the besiegers with unusual vigour, shouting "The Maid! the Maid is come!" Favoured by this diversion, Joan, with the provisions and a powerful reinforcement, got into the town a little after night-fall, and Orleans was saved.

The English camp was now as sad as the city of Orleans was joyous: the soldiers had borne the risks and privations of a long siege without murmuring, but their bold hearts were not proof against the terrors of superstition. For two months they had heard of nothing but the miraculous Maid; they knew that she had caused a

letter to be written to their chiefs, telling them that she was coming, commissioned by Heaven to drive them out of France; and she had come at last, and by provisioning Orleans, had already performed one of her miracles. It was in vain that the Earl of Suffolk and the other captains tried to check this despondency—in vain represented the whole affair as a miserable juggle got up by their enemies—in vain spoke of the disgrace the dauphin and his people incurred in setting up a low-born woman as their champion. When the best of their knights had been beaten in every battle, could the fools hope to turn the fortune of war, and overcome English valour, by means of a cow-driving girl? These and the like arguments had no effect; but it was otherwise with another assertion they made. They said that Joan was not an envoy from heaven, but from hell—that she was a foul sorceress, working by spell and witchcraft. This had a very bad effect, for it agreed with their notions of things; and the men said, that, as brave soldiers, they would fight any earthly enemy, but that they were unequal to a contest with the powers of darkness. The consequence was inevitable; they began to see strange sights in the clouds; the sentinels were startled at night by strange sounds; some saw figures on horseback galloping through the air; others were quite sure that the moon and the stars were getting out of order. But, at the same time, there were other material causes working on the side of this supernatural dread. Flemings, Burgundians, Picards, nearly all the people of Duke Philip had stolen away from the siege; when the lines were once broken or overawed, continual reinforcements poured into the town until there were many more fighting men within it than without. An army constantly recruited lay at Blois. The English, receiving no succour, must evidently from besiegers become besieged; and this soon took place. The Maid of Orleans—for such was the title now given to Joan—would have sallied in full force the very day after her arrival, to fall pell-mell on all their positions; but this was opposed by the Bastard of Orleans. A large reinforcement was expected from Blois; and the garrisons of all the places which held for King Charles received orders to march out, to unite their forces, and to fall upon the English lines. The Bastard and the Sire Daulon undertook to go to Blois to hasten the march of the forces assembled there. On the following day, Joan, with La Hire, and a good part of the garrison, rode out of Orleans to escort them on the road to Blois. The bewildered English let them pass; indeed, they no longer attacked anything, but remained in their wooden towers or bastilles. In this manner the Maid was permitted to re-enter Orleans as freely as if there had

been no siege. She had already caused to be written, in her name, a strange letter to the enemy, and now she determined to address them by word of mouth. Mounting on the wall opposite to the tower at the end of the bridge, which was occupied by the English, she raised her voice like a prophet of old, and bade them all begone out of France, or woe and shame would befall them. Sir William Gladesdale, who commanded in the tower, replied with words of abuse, calling her a leman, and the French miscreants, to follow such a base leader, and telling Joan to go back and take care of her cows. Within the town Joan was still revered as an angel from heaven—at least by the common people—and her conduct was calculated to preserve and strengthen this feeling. She took extreme pains to check the immoralities and indecencies of the town and army; and certes, says one of her chroniclers, there was much to do in this way. At times, she paraded through the city mounted on her white charger, preceded by the sacred banner, and followed by her chaplain and a long line of priests bearing crosses and relics. The poor people who came trooping in from all the country round about crowded upon her path; and when they could not have the felicity of touching her hand, or knee, or foot, they were happy at being able to touch the horse she rode on.

All warlike operations were wisely suspended until the return of the Bastard, who, in a few days, was seen marching along the right bank of the Loire with a complete army. At this welcome sight Joan made a sortie with a great part of the garrison to meet him, and make his way more easy. The English remained motionless in their bastilles, and let her pass. Some of the men cried "There goes the witch," but others began to think that, after all, her marvellous power might be from above. The Bastard's reinforcement entered Orleans preceded by Joan and the priests. The Maid was told that Sir John Fastolfe was again on his way to Orleans with troops and provisions for the besiegers. "Bastard," said the Maid, "in God's name let me know when he cometh, that I may deal with him." The Bastard assured her that she should receive timely notice. "If I do not," said Joan, "and if this Fastolfe pass without my knowing it, I will cut off your head." On the same day, Joan, who had lain down to rest, suddenly awoke, sprung from her bed, and called for her arms. Her voices, she said, told her to go out and fight the English, but whether they meant the reinforcements under Fastolfe, or the English in the bastilles, she knew not. She took her banner in her own hand, and rode to one of the gates. Here she saw a wounded man brought in. "Ha!" she exclaimed, "I can never see the blood of a Frenchman without my hair standing on end." Here

also she learned that an irregular sortie had been made, and that the French had been repulsed in an attack on one of the bastilles. She instantly resolved to head a fresh attack in person; and, as the moment was favourable, the Bastard hurried to join her in force. The Maid led the assault; the French followed her with enthusiasm; and, after a desperate fight of three hours, the bastille of Saint-Loup was carried. No quarter was given; but Joan tenderly regretted that so many English should perish without confession and absolution. On the next day there was no fighting, because it was the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; but Joan caused another letter to be thrown into the English lines, and stood on the ramparts to hear what they would say to it. They called her so many foul names, that she wept with shame and vexation; but she presently said, that her invisible voices spoke comfort to her ear, and brought her news from heaven. The plan now adopted proceeded, however, not from her miraculous inspiration, but from a council of war. It was resolved to make a feigned attack on the right bank; and while the English were gathering on that side, to fall suddenly upon the bastilles on the left bank. Although this combined movement was awkwardly executed, Joan crossed the river, took one of the bastilles by assault, and passed the night on the left bank. On the following day she had a furious quarrel with Gaucourt, the governor of Orleans, and other great captains, who still wished to proceed cautiously, while Joan insisted, that, without caring for the right bank, the whole might of the French should be poured out on the left to reduce the formidable position of the *Tourelles*. Gaucourt would have opposed her will by open force, but the people of the town and the common soldiers, who were all for the Maid, rose against him, threatening him with death. Joan, therefore, had her way; and while she fell upon the *Tourelles* from the land-side with an overwhelming force, the citizens attacked from the side of the river in boats and from the bridge, which they had repaired with planks and trunks of trees. The grand assault commenced two hours before noon; but notwithstanding their superstitious fears, the English fought most bravely, and repulsed their countless assailants. Another assault was made; but again the French were slaughtered in the breach, or hurled from the wall. The fire of their guns, and still more the flight of the English arrows, several times cleared both bank and bridge. About two hours after noon, when the French seemed quite disheartened, Joan herself planted a scaling ladder, and mounted the wall: she was struck by an arrow in the neck, and fell as if dead into the ditch. The difference of half an inch would have made all the difference be-

tween victory and defeat; the arrow wound was not mortal, and Joan was drawn out of the ditch by a valiant knight, and carried to the rear. While they were drawing out the arrow, she yielded to the weakness of her sex, and shrieked and wept; but when the first anguish was assuaged, she fell into earnest prayer, and then she heard over all the din of battle those voices that were sweeter than music. The English, who believed her dead, were confounded at seeing her presenting herself again at the edge of the ditch, urging on the French to the assault. They now felt assured that she was more than mortal; and as the superstitious panic spread, some of the men fancied they saw St. Michael the archangel, the patron saint of the city of Orleans, riding on a white horse, and fighting for the French. But what, perhaps, was even worse than this, in a military point of view, was the notable circumstance that they had used nearly all the gunpowder and arrows they had with them in the fort. Thus reduced to comparative inaction, the English were assaulted from the bank and from the bridge at the same moment. After defending the post like lions, Sir William Gladesdale and all his knights were slain. Then the French became masters of the tottering walls of the *Tourelles*, which were heaped within and without with piles of dead bodies. Scarcely an Englishman of any condition whatever escaped, but for every one that fell, there had fallen at least ten Frenchmen; so that Joan's miracle was not achieved without cost. That night a council of war was held in the English camp; and the Earl of Suffolk, Talbot, and the other captains, agreed that the siege should be raised. They were, however, most anxious to preserve the high military reputation of their country which had been won in so many fields; and as morning dawned, they left their towers and entrenchments, and drew out in open array, hoping to tempt the triumphant army within Orleans to come forth and give them battle. Inferior as they were in numbers, they were quite ready to face Joan—whether harlot, witch, or prophetess—if she would meet them on a fair field. Joan was willing enough to gratify them in this respect, but she was suffering from her wounds, and had no intimation from her celestial voices. After waiting for some time, the English burned or blew up their works, and marched on the road to Paris, retiring in perfect order with their colours proudly flying. Thus was raised the memorable siege of Orleans, on the 8th of May, 1429.¹

Suffolk did not retreat far. Leaving the Paris road, he threw his men into different castles in the neighbourhood of the Loire, and then, trusting

¹ *Hist. de la Pucelle; Monstrelet; Villaret; Barante.*

to the arrival of reinforcements from the Duke of Bedford, he shut himself up in Jargeau, only a few miles from Orleans. But he was attacked sooner than he expected. As soon as the siege was raised, Joan went from Orleans to meet King Charles. She was received with great honour by the court; and the courtiers proposed to regale her with feasts and entertainments. But Joan told them it was no season for piping and dancing—that there was much work to do—and that she had but a short time upon earth to do it. It is said she predicted that she would die within a year.

Charles now was induced to put on his armour, and to show himself to his people as an active soldier for the first time in his life. He collected all his forces on the right bank of the Loire. Within four weeks, the white banner of the Maid was unfurled before Jargeau, and in ten days it was planted on the tower of that fortress. In this affair the Earl of Suffolk was made prisoner, and Joan had another narrow escape; for, as she mounted to the assault, she was struck on the head, and precipitated into the ditch. The Lord Talbot drew out the troops from the castles and garrisons in which they had been placed by Suffolk, and continued the retreat towards Paris. After taking possession of the places thus vacated, the French pursued him. Being met by a reinforcement of 4000 men, Talbot halted at Patay, but the French also were reinforced from every side, and even the disgraced constable, the Count Richemont, marched with an army of Bretons to join the king, against whom he had so recently waged war. Charles remembered how the count had murdered his favourites; and Tremoille was still with the king, and the chief director of his council. So violent was the feeling against Richemont, that the king at first refused to receive him, and even sent him word, that if he approached, he would cause him and his troops to be attacked as though they were English. There were, however, prudent men in the royal camp, who thought that past grievances ought to be forgotten; and most of the knights and esquires began to say that they would much rather follow an approved warrior like the Breton count than all the Maids in the world. It was therefore decided, in spite of the king and Tremoille, that the constable should be welcome. There had been a whisper that Joan had undertaken to attack him in the name of Charles. When they met, the constable said to her, "Joan, they say you wish to fight me; I am ignorant whether you are from God or not; if you are from God, I fear you not—if you are from the devil, I fear you still less." These words made a great impression; for it was known that Richemont had a keen eye in matters of witchcraft, and that he had burned a great many witches in Brittany.

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The majority of the French captains were still rather unwilling to risk a pitched battle with the English in the open field; they were awed by the great skill of the enemy in disposing their troops in such encounters, and by the recollection of Azincourt, Crevant, and Verneuil. "We had better wait," said they, "for more horse." "Have you good spurs?" said Joan—"ride on, in the name of the Lord, and conquer! The English are delivered over into my hands—you have but to smite them." And it was owing to the absolute will of the Maid, and the confidence the common men had in her, that the French were induced to fight the battle of Patay. Sir John Fastolfe, who had brought up the reinforcements, was of opinion that the English ought to decline the battle, and retreat to some strong fortress in their rear; and this because the men were disheartened by the recent occurrences at Orleans, and had not yet recovered from their superstitious fears. But Talbot thought it would be ridiculous and disgraceful to turn their backs upon the French, whom they had so constantly seen flying before them. The country about Patay was level and open, with nothing but a village or a young wood scattered here and there. Talbot, when aware that the French were approaching, made a movement, in order to derive advantage from a village and some thick hedges; but he was too late, and before he could gain the position his skillful eye had chosen, the van of the French army, led on by La Hire and Saintrailles, charged into the midst of his moving columns, allowing them no time to form. The archers could not even fix their stakes, and they were mixed up with the enemy's horse before they could bend their bows. The main body of the French closely followed the van; and when they saw that it was not repulsed, and that the English were in such a disorder as they had never seen before, they also charged with great spirit and confidence. The division under Sir John Fastolfe turned and retreated without fighting. Those that remained with Talbot could never recover themselves or form with any effect. The archers were slaughtered in heaps; the horsemen spurred from the field, seeking safety in flight. The brave Talbot, who scorned such an expedient, was made prisoner, and with him were taken Lords Scales, Hungerford, and many other noble captains. Twelve hundred English remained dead on the field. The French were intoxicated with their unwonted success, and as proud of the battle of Patay as if they had gained it with an inferior force.¹

Immediately after the battle, the Maid of Orleans rode to the king, who, though he had taken the field, still kept his person far from the scenes

¹ *Monstrelet; Mémoires de Richemont; Villaret; Stow.*

of actual warfare. She now insisted on his undertaking the journey to Rheims. Charles still hesitated, and many of the persons about him found good reasons for delaying the journey. It would be wiser, they said, to make sure of the ground they had gained, and reduce several strong fortresses on the right bank of the Loire which the English still held. They represented that the wide tract of country which lay between them and Rheims was almost entirely in obedience to the King of England or the Duke of Burgundy, and that such an expedition would be full of danger and difficulty. The Maid reproved them for their lack of faith: she told them that the relieving of Orleans was not an easy task, that Orleans had been relieved; that none of them expected to take the Earl of Suffolk, and yet Suffolk was their prisoner; that they had been afraid of fighting the battle of Patay, and yet that battle had been won; and, finally, she repeated her old assurances that she was guided by heavenly counsels, and that the powers intrusted to her knew no limits, as they were the powers of heaven. Seeing that no reinforcements arrived from England, and that Bedford was beginning to concentrate near Paris all the army that remained to him, Charles took heart, and resolved to follow the Maid to Rheims. He set out on his flying expedition with a considerable array, composed entirely of horse. La Hire and Saintraille led the van; the rear was formed of provincial gentlemen of no great name, and of respectable burghers from the cities of the south, who all rode their own small horses, and brought their own provisions. The important town of Auxerre made a submissive treaty. From Auxerre Charles marched to Troyes, in the hope that the weak garrison of 500 or 600 Bourguignons would surrender to his army of 800 or 900 men. But the Bourguignons shut the gates of Troyes, and bade him defiance. Charles was not provided with artillery, and his troops were not inclined to make an assault by scaling the walls. For five days he lay before the town doing nothing. During this time, most of his troops suffered cruelly from want of provisions; and the ill humour which arose had well nigh proved fatal not only to the expedition, but also to the Maid of Orleans, whom the men began to apostrophize as a foul impostor. Even many of the captains advised Charles to return, and the Archbishop of Rheims, who had never thought much of Joan's supernatural mission, now openly expressed his doubts and misgivings. The Maid was summoned almost like a criminal to the bar to give an account of herself to the royal council; but her earnest eloquence again relieved her from all dangerous suspicions, and she made the leaders of the army agree to storm the walls as best they could. On

the sixth day they began to fill the ditch with bags of earth and faggots, and to prepare scaling ladders; but the citizens of Troyes were lukewarm in the cause of the Duke of Burgundy, and the priests of the town were numerous, influential, and inclined to the cause of the king. Chiefly by means of a certain Friar Richard, negotiations were opened with the besiegers, and Troyes was quietly surrendered to Charles. When Joan was about to enter the town, she was met by Brother Richard, who rapidly made many signs of the cross, and sprinkled holy water on the threshold of the gate; for the friar was not quite certain that she might not be an evil spirit, and the good people were sorely afraid of her. But as the Maid stood this proof, she was instantly proclaimed as an angel. Friar Richard then attached himself to the king's service, and induced, by his eloquent preaching, the people of several towns to declare for Charles. From Troyes, Charles marched to Rheims, where the people, greatly alarmed at all they heard of the miraculous Maid, rose in his favour, expelled all the officers and friends of Bedford and Burgundy, and threw open their gates at his approach. On the 15th of July, 1429, escorted by Joan and a host of priests, the French king made his solemn entrance into Rheims; and, two days after, he was anointed and crowned in the cathedral church. Next to himself, the most conspicuous figure in this ceremony was Joan of Arc, who stood close by his side, bearing aloft her white standard. When the king was crowned, she threw herself at his feet in tears, and all present wept when they heard the words she uttered:—"Gentle king, now is accomplished the will of God, who would have you come hither to Rheims, to receive your consecration, and show you that you are the true king, to whom the kingdom of France rightly belongs." Not one of the peers of France was present at this coronation; but the spontaneous joy and enthusiasm of the people gave to it the character of a national celebration.¹

Joan had caused a letter to be written to the Duke of Burgundy a few weeks before, requesting or commanding him to attend the coronation of his lawful sovereign; and on the day after that ceremony, she again addressed Philip, with the full consent of Charles' ministers, who knew the differences and jealousies that existed between the duke and Bedford, and who hoped that he might be detached from the English alliance. Joan's letter, like all those written in her name, began with the words "Jhesus Maria," written under a cross. On the part of the King of Heaven, she required the duke to make peace, and live in friendship with the King of France:

¹ *Monstrelet; Chron. de la Pucelle; Documents and Original MSS.* quoted by Lebrun des Charnettes and Laverdy.

she told him that it was monstrous in him to make war against his cousin and liege lord, and to shed the blood of loyal and Christian Frenchmen—that if he loved war, there were the Turks whom he might go and fight. She added, in the name of the gentle king, that he, Charles, was ready and willing to be reconciled on any conditions saving his honour, and that the peace and happiness of France depended entirely upon him, Duke Philip. The duke was probably not much affected by this letter, but many of his soldiers were uneasy at a prediction in it—that they would never gain another victory so long as they fought on the English side. Joan and Friar Richard gained more towns and fortresses for the king than several brave armies could have done in the same short space of time. Wherever Joan carried her white banner, the people saw swarms of beautiful white butterflies fluttering about it, and so they opened their gates to the miraculous visitant. The friar was scarcely less prevalent—sometimes winning a triad of towns by one eloquent discourse in the pulpit.

Soon after his coronation, instead of being obliged to return to the Loire as he had expected, Charles was enabled to march from Champagne into the Isle of France. Town after town surrendered to him as he advanced. Where, however, the garrison was composed of native English, matters were not quite so easily managed, for their ignorance of his language made them proof against the sermons of Friar Richard, and they still held the Maid as a foul witch. At several places Joan narrowly escaped being made prisoner and burned. At the same time, notwithstanding the accomplishment of all her prophecies and the advantages they still gained through her, many of the French captains treated her with great coldness, and even with harshness; for they were weary of hearing every success attributed not to them, the flower of the chivalry of France, but to the Maid of Orleans. Some foul attempts were made to commit her character for modesty and chastity, but these Joan defeated with the rage of a tigress. It appears clearly that she now kept the field against her inclination, and an inward conviction that she had done all that she had been appointed to do. Immediately after the coronation, she besought Charles to let her depart in peace, now that he was consecrated at Rheims and her mission fulfilled. She several times repeated the request with tears in her eyes, but Charles always found good arguments to detain her; he resolved not to part with the Maid as long as her name and presence could be of any use to him. When Joan was asked what she proposed to do with herself, she said that she would return to her native village, to her father and mother, who

longed to see her again, and that there she would tend the flocks and herds as she had done before. This modesty—this absence of all worldly ambition—gained her fresh consideration, and touched the hearts of some who had been disposed to consider her as a lucky impostor hunting after wealth and honours. Her voices, however, made themselves less frequently heard, and as the operations became more complicated, they gave her contradictory suggestions; at least Joan frequently hesitated and varied in her opinions, which she had never done before.¹

The Regent Bedford had done his best to prop the fast-falling dominion won by his great brother, but he was badly seconded by the government in England. In the council there was perpetual discord and dissension, kept up chiefly by the jealousy and hatred which existed between the regent's brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and his great uncle Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who, after a short retirement, had resumed his post in the government. The national exchequer was poor and embarrassed. As there was no raising of troops without money Bedford got no reinforcements, and he was obliged to weaken his garrisons in Normandy in order to keep on foot a respectable force at Paris. Now, however, he received a small army, which Beaufort had raised by his own means, and for a very different purpose. The cry for religious reform, which had been raised in England by Wyckliffe, was echoed in Bohemia and part of Germany, a few years after his death, by John Huss, an eloquent preacher, who formed a sect too powerful to be put down at once by the ordinary means of the gibbet, the block, and the faggot. The pope excommunicated them in a mass, and preached a crusade against them. All the Christian princes and people of Europe were invited to embark in this holy war, and the zealous Cardinal Beaufort got together 250 men-at-arms, and about 2000 stout English archers, whom, in spite of his years, he determined to lead in person into Bohemia for the uprooting of heresy. But when the cardinal landed on the Continent and saw the difficulties to which Bedford was reduced, he agreed, after some feigned hesitation, to join this force to the army of the regent. The coffers of the regent were empty. To fill them Bedford cast an eye on the rich possessions of the Church of France.² It was but a glance, and seeing the difficulties, he did absolutely nothing except give the alarm to a sensitive body. Hitherto he had had a strong party among the bishops and great abbots (the poor clergy were better patriots), but his friends now began to fall from his side, although at first secretly. The Duchess of Bedford, who

¹ *Monstrelet; Barante.*

² *Monstrelet.*

was sister to the Duke of Burgundy, exerted her influence to reconcile her husband and brother. Duke Philip went to Paris, and had another long and friendly conference with the regent: by mutual consent, the solemn treaties which bound them to one another were read in public, and so also was a circumstantial account of the atrocious murder of Jean Sans-peur on the bridge of Montreuil. After a short visit, Duke Philip quitted Paris, leaving only a weak reinforcement of 700 men with the regent; and very soon after, when Charles was approaching Paris, he received an embassy from him at Arras, and listened anew to overtures for a separate peace. He found, however, that he could not yet make a sufficiently advantageous bargain, and many of his most powerful adherents were not yet in a state of mind to tolerate a reconciliation with the detested Armagnacs. Philip's plan now appears to have been to afford Bedford just such a degree of support as would prevent his being crushed, and never to give him force sufficient to strike a decisive blow. The regent could never collect more than 10,000 men; at times his army did not amount to half that number. The consequences of his weakening the garrisons in Normandy, and of Charles' advance to the same quarter, were inevitable. Insurrections broke out; great lords, who had made separate treaties with the English, took up arms for Charles; some towns overpowered their garrisons; others were taken by assault; and the banner of independence was planted in several important places on the Norman coast. Bedford had been obliged to make more than one march into Normandy to provide for the security of that most important conquest; but the time was now come when he must face King Charles, whose forces made incursions to the very gates of Paris. As he advanced from the capital, the French retreated and fled so rapidly that there was no coming up with them. There was a great want of money on that side also, and Charles proposed retreating to his old positions on the Loire, but his wife and the Maid reasoned against this measure, and the Bastard of Orleans and other captains vowed that they would not follow the king in that direction. Being unable to find Charles, Bedford sent him a letter. He reproached him with deluding the ignorant people by means of a female—an impostor and prostitute—and an apostate friar; he required him to give him a personal meeting: if it could be proved that any reliance could be put in the word of one who had betrayed the late Duke of Burgundy, and stained himself foully with blood, then he, Bedford, would be ready to conclude a peace on reasonable conditions; but otherwise he would fight him in single combat, in order that the quarrel

might end, and the world see whose cause was the just one. To this letter Charles sent no answer. About the middle of August, when neither force expected it, the two armies came suddenly in sight of each other near Senlis. The English, who were very inferior in number, took up positions in front of the French. The French kept their ground, but would not attack, and the English were determined not to begin the battle. The French had become cautious in the field, had condescended to employ large bodies of archers, and had adopted much of the tactics and discipline of their enemy. Many of the hot-headed French knights wanted to attack, but when the more prudent captains cast their eyes along the English lines, and observed the firm countenance of the men, and the masterly arrangements of Bedford, they declared that this was not a thing to be thought of. Some cavalry was detached to skirmish round the positions of the English, in the vain hope of tempting the troops to leave them. Troops of horse rode out to meet these assailants, and many fierce encounters took place; but the rest of Bedford's army, though eager for the fight, obeyed the voice of their general, and remained motionless. Then the Maid was asked whether the French might quit their posts and engage; but her voices gave no consistent advice; and still Charles was unwilling to risk his crown in a general engagement of any kind. For three days the two armies thus lay facing each other, and then each marched off the field by its own road.

Bedford marched again into Normandy, which was invaded by the Constable Richemont. When he was at some distance, Charles turned round upon Paris, with the hope of taking it during the regent's absence. Beauvais, St. Denis, and other places in the neighbourhood of the capital, opened their gates to him, and, with the view of inducing the people of Paris to do the same, he published a general amnesty, and made the most brilliant promises to his good and loyal city. But the walls of Paris were defended by a small but determined garrison of English, and the populace had not yet made up their minds to receive the Armagnacs. It was then resolved to try the effect of force, and on the 12th of September an assault was made on the faubourg or suburb of St. Honoré. The Maid of Orleans was foremost in scaling the walls, but her white banner was no longer victorious; she was wounded and thrown down into the ditch, where her repulsed companions basely abandoned her. She crawled out of the ditch, and lay for some time alone among the dead. Then rising, she waved her banner, and cheered on the men to a fresh assault. The soldiers lost heart, and soon fell back by troops until she was again left alone. Some better

spirits, ashamed to see a woman stand her ground while the mass of the army skulked behind some mounds of earth, where they were safe from the enemy's fire, moved forward and tried another assault, but they were driven back in the greatest confusion and fled, forcing the Maid with them.¹ It was evident that Joan's influence was fast declining, and that even the common soldiers were no longer for her. A few days before the unsuccessful attack on Paris she had found some of the men committing shameful disorders, and she beat them soundly with the flat of her sword until the weapon broke in her hand. It was the miraculous blade marked with the five crosses, which she had discovered in the church of St. Catherine at Fierbois, and which she had worn ever since. She was grieved at the accident; but as for the soldiers, they were disposed to think that her virtue lay in her sword, and that it departed from her when that sword was broken. Besides, they were weary of her rigid system of morals. Captains as well as men laid the whole blame of their recent failure upon her. "You are a false prophetess!" they cried: "you said we should have slept this night in Paris." "And so you would," said Joan, "if you fought as I fought!" But she was not blind to what was passing; and smarting with her wound, and a keener pang within, she again resolved to withdraw from an army and court where she had experienced little else than ingratitude. She even went to the abbey church and hung up her suit of white armour before the shrine of St. Denis; but again Charles found arguments to convince her that she ought to remain, for he fancied that she might still be of some little use. The miscarriage before Paris was sure to produce a moral effect detrimental to his interests. Charles had always drawn his main supplies from the country beyond the Loire, and he began to find a difficulty in subsisting at a distance from those provinces. Money was as scarce as ever; for want of it his troops were deserting; and Bedford, having done his business in Normandy, was advancing by forced marches. Charles therefore began a retreat, and scarcely halted until he had the Loire between him and the English regent. Bedford, who reached St. Denis soon after Charles' departure, marched into Paris in triumph, and there he was soon joined by his brother-in-law of Burgundy, who gave him the most consoling assurances of fidelity, and kept up a correspondence with the friends of Charles in the neighbourhood, at one and the same time. Soon after Bedford found himself obliged to resign the regency of France to Philip, who was further gratified by the payment of a large sum of money.

Bedford withdrew to Normandy, where he retained the supreme command; and at the close of the year Philip left Paris for Flanders.

During the winter months there was a nominal truce between the Bourguignons and the party of King Charles; and negotiations for the settlement of all differences were carried on by means of the Count of Savoy, some envoys of the emperor, and other agents.²

Meanwhile Charles lay inactive at Bourges. Another miraculous woman was now presented, whose inspiration was wholly of a financial description. This was Catherine of La Rochelle, who promised the king an abundance of riches. Catherine did not pretend to fight, like Joan; her *forte* lay in preaching, and in extracting money for the use of the king from those who possessed any. She announced that she could tell at a glance all those who had hidden treasures. She also had her visions, but these were rude and material compared with the celestial visitations of Joan, for she saw nothing but the figure of a single lady covered all over with massive gold. In truth, the whole affair was a vulgar parody of Joan's ideal and glorious monomania. Joan accused Catherine of imposture; but Friar Richard, that other great warrior in this unmanly struggle, supported the new prophetess, and both declared a deadly enmity to the Maid of Orleans. During the winter months Joan laid siege to St. Pierre-le-Moutier and La Charité. The first she took after the display of all her former valour and enthusiasm, but she was repulsed at the latter.³ At the opening of spring Charles moved from Bourges, and his army prepared to advance once more from the Loire to the Seine. It was accompanied by two prophetesses; for he did not think proper to dismiss Catherine of La Rochelle; and Joan, with banner and lance, marched with the van of the army to the neighbourhood of Paris.

After some unimportant skirmishes in the immediate neighbourhood of Paris, Joan marched to the relief of Compiègne, which was besieged by the people of Duke Philip. On approaching the town she found that the duke had come up in person, and that he was pressing the siege with his whole army, assisted by a body of English. She, however, fought her way into Compiègne. On the same day, the 25th of May, promising herself the same brilliant success which had attended her at Orleans, she made a *sortie*, and fell upon the enemy's lines. She surprised one of their positions and killed a great many men; but

² Barante; Villaret.

³ During the winter Charles had ennobled the family of Joan, and had declared that her native village of Domremy should be for ever exempt from taxes.

¹ Monstrelet; Lenglet; Hist. de la Pucelle; Barante.

the whole Bourguignon force collected to a point and bore her back. With her usual intrepidity she threw herself in the rear of her now flying host, and she several times drew rein, and, rallying some of her men, faced about and fought, in order to check the pursuers. In this manner, fighting and retreating, she had nearly reached the edge of the town ditch, but there she was pulled from her horse by an archer, and her troops, without pausing to rescue her, fled over the drawbridge and closed the gate upon her. Joan rose and tried to defend herself, but her efforts were fruitless; she was surrounded by her enemies, her friends made no sally to save her, and so, at last, she surrendered to the Bastard of Vendôme, who carried her in triumph to the quarters of the Bourguignons. All the captains of the army ran to gaze at the prisoner, nor was Duke Philip the last. This prince went to the lodgings where she was confined, and spoke many words with her; "but what they were," adds Monstrelet, "I do not now recollect, although I was present." The wonderful news was spread with the rapidity of lightning; the Bourguignons and the English sung *Te Deum*, as if a great victory had been obtained; the ungrateful French made no effort to effect the release of the heroine by ransom, exchange of prisoners, or any other means. Three days after her seizure she was claimed, not by the Duke of Bedford, as generally stated, but by Friar Martin, doctor in theology, vicar-general of the inquisitor of the faith in the kingdom of France. Martin, in right of the office he held under the pope, required that Joan, called the Maid, should be instantly sent to him, that she might be tried by the Holy Inquisition. The Bastard of Vendôme, to whom Joan surrendered, had sold his prisoner to John of Luxemburg, who, without heeding Friar Martin's letter, sent Joan to his strong castle in Picardy. The university of Paris then took up the cause, and wrote to the Duke of Burgundy, imploring him to cause the Maid to be delivered to the Bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese she had been taken. The duke took no more heed of the letter of the university than the count had taken of that of the inquisitor. Then the Bishop of Beauvais, who was a great foe to witchcraft and a great friend of the English, took the cause into his own hands and sent apostolic notaries to signify to the Duke of Burgundy, in presence of his captains, that he must deliver up the Maid. A similar notification was served in the same manner on John of Luxemburg, who, after some months, sold Joan to the bishop for 10,000 francs.

In the interval Duke Philip had returned into Flanders, leaving the Sires de Brimeu, De Lanoy, and De Saveuse to prosecute the siege of Compiegne. But that place was strong, and well

defended, and the siege was raised by the Marshal of Boussac, who came up with the principal army of Charles. The duke was detained in the Low Countries till the approach of winter. The emissaries of King Charles had stirred up his subjects of Liége to revolt; and when Philip, not without great loss, had reduced these to obedience, he became occupied by another disputed succession. As he was the strongest, he had the best of the argument, and he annexed Brabant to his other vast possessions. But while he was gaining these advantages in Flanders, he suffered defeat in France. He had concluded a treaty with the Count of Savoy, that former friend of Charles, who agreed to march an army into France, and to divide the south of that kingdom with the Duke of Burgundy. Philip sent an army into the provinces beyond the Loire, under the command of the Prince of Orange, who carried everything before him, and threatened Dauphiny, the Lyonnais, and even Languedoc. Those provinces, which had been so devoted to Charles, were exhausted by the long war, and could offer little resistance; but the royalists had secured the services of the celebrated Spanish adventurer Villandrada, who threw himself into the south with some companies composed of Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, and Germans. These companies of adventure obtained a splendid victory over the Prince of Orange, who was obliged to evacuate the southern provinces. This defeat wholly disconcerted the scheme formed with the Count of Savoy. In the month of November the Duke of Burgundy returned into France, but he undertook no great enterprise, and winter was passed in petty skirmishes or in idleness.

A.D. 1431. Meanwhile Joan languished in prison; her friends forgot her; her enemies longed to reduce her to ashes. All the English, and at least one-half of the French, firmly believed that all she had done had been by the direct aid of the devil. So strong was this feeling in Paris, that they burned alive a poor woman of Brittany for merely saying that she believed Joan's inspiration proceeded from heaven. After being confined successively in the castles of Beaurevoir, Arras, and Crotoy, she was transferred, at the end of six months, to Rouen. The Bourguignons, as well as the English, clamoured for her death, and the learned doctors of the university of Paris represented that religion would be in danger if sorcery and dealing with the devil were permitted to go unpunished. The Bishop of Beauvais claimed the right of conducting her trial, and this claim was formally admitted and confirmed by the clergy of Rouen and the university of Paris. The Duke of Bedford was desirous that the trial should be conducted in such a manner as to make a great impression on

the whole kingdom, and the Bishop of Beauvais summoned priests, and lawyers, and lettered men from far and near. Upwards of 100 doctors assembled to exercise their ingenuity in detecting impossible crimes; but some of these men grew weary of the long business, others were excluded by the bishop, and, towards the end, not more than forty sat in judgment. For sixteen days Joan was sharply interrogated by men who were ready to detect a lurking devil in everything she said, and who cross-examined her and twisted her words with all the adroitness of the schools. Though frequently puzzled by the long hard words they used, and by polemical demonstrations, to her perfectly unintelligible, Joan, unsupported by any one, pleaded her cause with great spirit, at times confounding the doctors with her prompt and clear replies and her plain good sense; for still, on all points but one, she was perfectly rational. Whenever the Bishop of Beauvais saw that her simple eloquence was producing an effect, he raised his voice angrily and silenced her. The principal object in view was to terrify or entrap her into an avowal that she had been labouring under an illusion, and that she now knew that the spirits which had appeared to her were spirits of darkness; but Joan maintained that they were angels from heaven, and that neither the devil, nor any of his ministers, could have power over a virgin like herself. Her judges thought that there must have been a deal of magic in her white banner, which had so often led the troops of Charles to victory, and raised such a panic among the bravest of the English and Bourguignons. Joan said that there was nothing about the banner but the blessing of God, and that she had used it fairly in battle as other combatants used their lances. When questioned touching her attachment to mother church, she said that her whole life bore witness in her favour; but they drew from her an assertion that she could not submit to the ministers of that church when her voices ordered the contrary. This was considered the worst heresy of all. The court drew up articles of condemnation and despatched them to the university of Paris, and to several French prelates of the highest rank. All the faculties of the university, and all the bishops consulted, agreed that Joan was heretical, and an impious impostor, and, as such, deserving death by fire. Several of her judges were, however, averse to burning, and, though the French writers pretty generally accuse the English of pressing for this execution, there is more evidence to show that they would have been satisfied with a public exposure and imprisonment for life. From the beginning, Joan's own countrymen of the Bourguignon faction were by far the most eager for her destruction.

After undergoing trying examinations in the court, the Maid was tormented in her cell by monks and confessors, who constantly represented that the church, which had tried her, was infallible in matters of faith, and that it was most merciful to those who recanted and submitted to its authority. These reasonings had their effect, and Joan was staggered at the array of bishops, doctors, and devout priests. She could hardly understand how such holy men could err; and though there was plenty of time for such a measure, the bishops and priests of her own or the royalist party, never set up a plea in her favour, or made any attempt to prove that she was a good Catholic. Indeed, Charles and his friends forgot her at once, as a thing that had answered its purpose and was no longer of any use. It was infamous in her enemies to burn her, but it was more infamous in her friends to abandon her in this manner. On the 24th of May, Joan was brought up to hear her sentence. It was known that her mind was already wavering, and every means was adopted to render the scene imposing and terrific, in order to induce her publicly to acknowledge her errors. She was placed on a scaffold in the cemetery of Saint-Ouen, and at a short distance stood a stake surrounded by faggots; the bishops and doctors sat in a gallery opposite to her, a Dominican friar mounted a high pulpit to preach, and the executioner stood close by with his cart. The church-yard was crowded with French and English soldiers and citizens of Rouen. The preacher dwelt with vehement oratory upon the damnable sin of heresy, hitherto so little known in France, and he expressed his horror and astonishment that so Christian a people as the French should have followed the delusions of an infamous loose woman. Joan listened in silence so long as the sermon turned upon her own character, but it was otherwise when the preacher attacked Charles, the man who "called himself king." "Speak of me," said the noble-minded enthusiast, "but sully not the fame of the king; he is good and royal; he is a Christian—the best in France." In the end Joan submitted; a paper, containing a confession and renunciation of errors was put into her hand, and, not knowing how to write, she signed it with a cross. Her punishment was commuted into perpetual imprisonment, and a penitentiary diet on the "bread of sorrow and the water of affliction." After being made to thank the church for its tender mercies, Joan was reconducted to her dungeon, where she put on the dress of her sex, as she had agreed to do, her male attire being considered as one of the most detestable features of her heresy. But when bishops, doctors, friars, executioner, and stake had disappeared, her cell was again illumined by

the miraculous light, the saints and angels again appeared to her, and again she heard their voices floating on the stillness of night. She examined her own heart and felt that she was still unconvinced by the arguments of the church; that she had meanly yielded to force and terror. She recalled all her former glories—she longed again to have her foot in the stirrup and her hand on the white banner—to be once more fighting for the independence of her country. By accident or design, the dress of a soldier was left in her prison, and one morning Joan was discovered wearing it. This circumstance was considered a sufficient

she had done wrong to sign the paper presented to her by the churchmen. Even if it had been usual to show mercy to relapsed heretics, this would have been fatal to her. She was delivered over to the secular arm. On the 30th of May, seven days after her abjuration, she was put into the executioner's cart and carried to the old market-place of Rouen, in the centre of which was a stake, and on the sides of which were scaffoldings and galleries erected for the bishops, doctors, priests, captains, and other select spectators. At sight of the stake, and the faggots which they were heaping round it, she shuddered and wept;

but by degrees she recovered her self-possession, and said that she hoped to be that night in paradise. The cart halted under the wooden gallery, on which were seated the great Cardinal Beaufort and the French bishops. A monk delivered a short discourse, which reproached her with her backsliding, and which ended with these words:—"Go in peace, Joan; the church can no longer defend thee!" She knelt and prayed aloud, fervidly, though in tears. Cardinal Beaufort could not bear this lamentable spectacle; he rose from his seat and left the market-place, followed by



THE OLD MARKET PLACE, ROUEN.—From *France Monumentale et Pittoresque*.

proof that she had relapsed into heresy, and then it was determined that she should die. Her firmness again forsook her when she was told that they were going to burn her alive; she said that she did not fear death by the sword, or the axe, or the rope, but that to be burned was too horrible; and she tore her hair and made loud lamentations. The Bishop of Beauvais asked her if she had heard her voices again? She replied that she heard them, and that they had told her

several bishops, all shedding tears like himself. They covered her with the infernal livery of the Inquisition, and fixed on her head a black cap, which bore this inscription, "Heretic, Relapsed, Apostate, Idolater." They then forced her to the centre of the square, tied her to the stake, and set fire to the faggots. As the smoke and flames rose round her, Joan² was seen embracing a crucifix, and the last word that she was heard to utter was the name of "Jesus."³

¹ This little square is now called *Place de la Pucelle*, in honour of Joan of Arc. A fountain in its centre, surmounted by a statue of the Maid, marks the spot where she was burned.

² "It is easy to trace the true character of Joan. A thorough and earnest persuasion that hers was the right cause—that in all she had said she had spoken the truth—that in all she did she was doing her duty—a courage that did not sink before embattled armies and beleaguered walls, or judges thirsting for her blood—a serenity amid wounds and sufferings, such as the great poet of Tuscany ascribes to the dauntless Usurper of Naples—a most resolute will on all points that were connected with her mission, perfect meekness and humility on all that were not—a clear, plain sense, that could confound the casuistry of sophists—an ardent loyalty, such as our own Charles I. inspired—a dutiful devotion on all points to her country and her God. Nowhere do modern annals display a character more pure, more generous, more humble, amidst fancied visions and undoubted victories—more free from all taint of selfishness, more akin to the champions of old times."—Lord Mahon.

³ *Monstrel.; Chron. de la Pucelle; Villaret; Lebrun des Char-*

mettes; Laverdy. . . . M. Laverdy's work consists chiefly of extracts from ancient manuscripts in the Bibliothèque du Roi, at Paris, and contains full accounts of Joan's trials. The works of different kinds relating to the Maid are very numerous: M. Chausard enumerates upwards of 400 expressly devoted to her life, or including details of her history. The fullest accounts of the Maid are derived from the revision of her trial, which took place twenty-four years after her death, by command of the pope, who had been petitioned by Joan's mother, Isabella. Many of the Maid's companions of all ranks, from the lowest to the highest, were at this time living, and bore witness to the purity of her life and the marvellousness of her exploits. As a strong reaction had taken place, and as no English witnesses were heard, the accounts of this trial may afford some room for cavil, but most of the facts may be safely admitted after a little deduction on the score of oratory and amplification. As a continuous narrative, full the spirit and colour of the times, without any sceptical inquiry, and vividly dramatic, we know nothing superior to the story of Joan given by Barante in his *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne*.

CHAPTER IV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1431—1461.

HENRY VI., SURNAMED OF WINDSOR.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1422—DEPOSITION, A.D. 1461.

Coronation of Henry VI. as King of France at Paris—The pageant unsuccessful—The Duke of Burgundy withdraws his alliance from England—His reconciliation with Charles the French king—Death of the Duke of Bedford—He is succeeded as English Regent of France by the Duke of York—Fresh victories of the English in France—Exploits of Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury—Imbecile character of Henry VI. on reaching manhood—His marriage with Margaret of Anjou—Quarrels and factions in the English court—The Duchess of Gloucester tried and punished for sorcery—The Duke of Gloucester murdered—Death of Cardinal Beaufort—English reverses in France—The French recover the whole of their country except Calais—Causes of their success—Unpopularity of the Duke of Suffolk in England—He is banished, and irregularly executed—John Cade's insurrection—He effects an entrance into London—His defeat and death—Revival of the claims of the house of York—The Duke of York appears in arms—He is apparently pacified—Defeat and death in France of Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury—Increasing imbecility of Henry VI.—The Duke of York appointed protector of the realm—Commencement of the wars of York and Lancaster—Victory of the Yorkists at St. Alban's—Political intrigues and insincere treaties that followed—The civil war renewed—Victory of the Yorkists at Bloreheath—Warwick, the "king-maker," their principal champion—The Duke of York openly claims the crown—He is satisfied with a compromise—His defeat and death at Wakefield—Atrocities of the Lancastrians after the battle—Edward, eldest son of the Duke of York, succeeds to his father's claims—He defeats the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross—Defeat of the Earl of Warwick by the Lancastrians upon Barnet Common—The Yorkists rally—Popularity of Edward—He enters London in triumph—He is proclaimed king.



HE affairs of the English were not mended by the burning of the Maid of Orleans. Thinking to please the people of Paris and to counteract some of the effects of the coronation at Rheims, they determined to get up another ceremony of the same kind. Young Henry, who had been crowned King of England at Westminster in the preceding year, was brought over to Paris to be crowned as King of France. At one time it was proposed to conduct him from Paris to Rheims, where the regal unction was supposed to have more virtue; but this project was abandoned, owing to the dangerous state of the country, and, after many delays, he was crowned in the church of Nôtre Dame, at Paris, in the month of November, 1431. The ceremony was splendid, but there was no joy on the part of the people; few of the great French lords attended; even the Duke of Burgundy was absent; and, instead of a French prelate, Henry's relative, Cardinal Beaufort, placed the crown on his head. Another discouraging symptom was that the royal boy—the son of a hero—though now nine years old, was spiritless and unpromising.

The utter disorder of affairs in England still prevented the sending of money or any considerable reinforcements to the Duke of Bedford; and the incurable madness of the French nobles clogged and impeded the opposite party, who were still poorer than the English. Charles led an errant life, apparently indifferent to the fate of his country, which suffered more from a linger-

ing, irregular war, than it had done during more decisive conflicts. He was gay in the midst of his mistresses, and his courtiers were only made unhappy by the rancorous jealousies they entertained of one another. Now and then the scene was darkened by an assassination, such as we have already described. The only consistent plan acted upon was that of detaching the Duke of Burgundy from his English alliance; and here a circumstance upon which they had no reason to count played into their hands. The Duchess of Bedford, the strongest connecting link between her husband and her brother, died in November, 1432. In the month of May of the following year Bedford espoused Jacquetta of Luxemburg. The Duke of Burgundy complained that Bedford had acted unfairly in marrying Jacquetta, his vassal, without asking his consent; and that by marrying so soon he had shown a shameful disrespect to the deceased duchess, his very dear sister. The Duke of Bedford could not tolerate the harsh reproaches of his ally, and the less so from his knowing that Philip had courteously received fresh envoys from Charles immediately after the death of his sister. Some attempts at reconciliation were made by Cardinal Beaufort, but they were of no avail; Philip wanted a pretext for quarrelling, having at last almost concluded a satisfactory bargain with King Charles. To crown all, the Duke of Bedford's health was declining; and sickness, disappointment, and the daily exhibition of treachery, rendered him peevish and suspicious. Philip, however, affected scruples of conscience as to breaking the solemn

oaths which bound him to the English. His brothers-in-law, the Duke of Bourbon and the Constable Richemont, who were now steady in the interests of Charles, suggested that the pope could remove this difficulty; and, in a private conference, they induced Philip to agree to the general mediation of the Church of Rome, which had made several fruitless endeavours to promote a peace. By degrees the English were persuaded to refer their cause to the same arbitration. Eugenius IV. entered actively into the business, and arranged a grand European congress, which assembled at Arras in 1435. The Duke of Burgundy summoned the nobility of all his states to



THE HÔTEL-DE-VILLE, ARRAS.—From Coney's Ancient Cathedrals, &c.

his fair city of Arras; King Charles sent twenty-nine of his lords and ministers, the Duke of Bourbon and the constable being at the head of them: the interests of England were defended by Cardinal Beaufort and twenty-six lords, one-half of whom were English, the rest French: the great council of Basil despatched the Cardinal of Cyprus, and the pope was represented by the Cardinal of Santa Croce. In addition to all these negotiators there were ambassadors from the Emperor Sigismund, from the Kings of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, Navarre, Naples, Sicily, Cyprus, Poland, Denmark, and the Dukes of Brittany and Milan. The Duke of Savoy, who had played a conspicuous part in former negotiations

as well as wars, sent no ambassadors, because he had lately grown weary of the sins of the world, and had retired to a sort of hermitage. Europe had not yet seen any assembly of the kind half so magnificent; and, before the diplomatists proceeded to business, Duke Philip entertained them with jousts, tournaments, mysteries, and feasts. After the feasting came a course of sermons suited to the occasion; and then the Cardinal of Santa Croce opened the congress with a long speech, in which he dwelt on the duty of Christian nations to live in peace and harmony with one another. It was soon made evident that the representative of the pope was wholly biassed in favour of King Charles; at the same time the English, though they saw the rapidly growing friendship between the Bourguignons and the French, maintained a high tone, and at last Cardinal Beaufort disavowed the authority of the congress, and retired in disgust. Matters then proceeded smoothly with those who remained. Fifteen days after the departure of the English negotiators the Duke of Burgundy concluded a treaty with Charles: the terms were, of course, most favourable to Philip. In the first article Charles expressed his regret and penitence for the murder of Duke John. By the second article he agreed to abandon the men who had done that wicked deed, in order that they might be punished in person and in property—to do all that was possible to arrest them—and, failing in this, to banish them for ever from his dominions. By the fourth article, Charles engaged to build a chapel at Montereau for the good of the soul of Duke John; and, besides other pious foundations, a stone cross upon the bridge over the very spot where the duke had fallen. But these articles were insignificant preludes to those which followed. Charles engaged to pay Philip the sum of 400,000 crowns, and to put him in immediate possession of sundry fortresses as security for this money; he also ceded to Philip and his heirs the county of Mâcon, Boulogne, the towns and castles of Péronne, Roye, and Montdidier, together with several other towns and castles on the river Somme.

As soon as the treaty was sealed the congress repaired to the church of St. Waast. When mass had been sung, the Cardinal of Santa Croce ordered the treaty to be read. Then Jean Tudert, a dean of Paris, advanced, and threw himself at the feet of the Duke of Burgundy, and begged pardon publicly, on the part of King Charles, for the murder of his father. Then the Cardinal of Santa Croce, having placed a golden cross and the holy sacrament upon a cushion, made the Duke of Burgundy swear to forget and forgive the death of his father, and to live evermore in peace and friendship with the King of France. Then the two cardinals laid their hands upon

the duke's head, and gave him full absolution for all the oaths he had sworn to the English. The Duke of Bourbon and the constable swore upon the crucifix for Charles; and then followed a long process of swearing in the French and Burgundian lords, who to a man had taken many contrary oaths on former occasions.¹

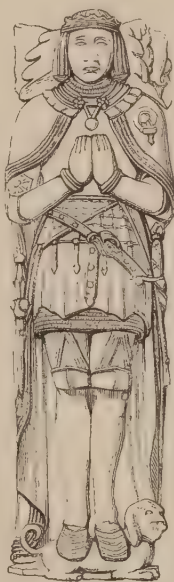
The Duke of Bedford did not live to see the conclusion of the memorable congress of Arras; he died at Rouen on the 14th of September, and was buried there in the cathedral.² The French hoped that his death, and the secession of the Duke of Burgundy, would lead to an immediate conclusion of the war; but in part through their own miserable follies, in part through the valour of those with whom they had to contend, it took them fifteen more long years to drive the English out of their kingdom. The troops of Charles took Meulan, Pontoise, and other places on the Seine, while the English were left without a chief. In Normandy, Dieppe was surprised; and the people in several places were excited to insurrection by Richemont. When the French ventured too frankly into the open field they were several times defeated; but the English found enemies rising on every side, and they could no longer trust any of their sworn allies. The Duke of Burgundy soon declared open war against them. He sent some troops to join the army of Charles, and began to make immense preparations in Flanders for the siege of Calais, which place he intended to appropriate. He made use of all his influence over the people of Paris, in order to induce them to forget their old quarrel with the Armagnacs and declare for the king. In the month of April, 1436, the Parisians opened their gates to the famous Burgundian chief L'Isle Adam; and the weak English garrison, surprised and betrayed, was compelled to capitulate.

When the capital was lost, a successor to the Duke of Bedford arrived in the person of the Duke of York, who brought with him a reinforcement of 7000 or 8000 men; but the war no longer excited the English nation with dazzling visions of conquest and glory; the imprudent and impoverished government could no longer afford the same liberal pay to the soldiers; the hardy and respectable yeomen who had followed

Henry V. with such enthusiasm, and who had filled the ranks of his archers with good will and merry hearts, no longer presented themselves, and the recruits were chiefly drawn from very inferior classes or conditions of men. But, inferior as they were to the picked men that fought at Azincourt, they were not destitute of the hardy national spirit; and in the course of the ten following years the French were frequently made sensible of this fact. The gallant Talbot, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury, soon reduced the revolted towns in Normandy; he defeated a French army near Rouen; he retook Pontoise in the depth of winter; he cleared the whole country round Paris; and, at one moment, nearly succeeded

in retaking that capital. The Duke of Burgundy, who was supposed to have learned the art of war from the English, did not practise that art against them with any effect; and he never ventured personally to face them in the field. The annals of war scarcely present a more miserable and ridiculous exhibition than Philip's siege of Calais, in the prosecution of which he spent immense sums. The Duke of Gloucester, formerly protector, now head of the council, who was getting ready reinforcements for Calais, sent a challenge to Philip, telling him that he would fight him and his whole army outside of Calais, as soon as the wind should serve for his voyage; and that if Philip would not await him there, he would follow him into his states of Flanders. Philip replied, that he would abide where he was; but four days before Gloucester landed, his army fled in a panic; and knights, men-at-arms, and all—30,000 men wearing helmets—followed their example, leaving an enormous quantity of baggage and all their artillery and engines of war be-

hind them. Philip was swept away by the rush of the fugitives, and the Constable Richemont, who had gone to share in the glory of capturing Calais, partook in his disgrace and vexation. The English, who had not waited for the raising of the siege to make incursions into Flanders, now fell with fury upon that country, taking several towns, and carrying off an immense booty. Gloucester soon followed Philip into the heart of Flanders, sending the most provoking messages after him; but Philip would not meet this army, small



JOHN TALBOT, EARL OF SHREWSBURY.³

¹ Monstrel.; Rym.; Olivier de la Marche; Rot. Parl.; Barante.

² The French wished Louis XI., the son of Charles VII., to destroy the monument, and throw the remains of the great warrior out of the church; but Louis rejected the brutal proposal, saying that he would not wage war against the dead, or in-

sult the remains of one who had made his father tremble so often, and who, were he alive, might yet make all France tremble.

³ The figure represents his monumental effigy at Whitechurch, Shropshire. Talbot inscribed on his sword this motto:—

"Sum Talboti pro vincere inimicos meos."

as it was. Gloucester, who owed him many grudges on account of the affair of Madame Jacqueline, had now taken upon himself the title of the Earl of Flanders, pretending that Philip had forfeited those states by his treasons, and that his nephew Henry, as king of France, had bestowed them upon him.

If Duke Philip's ardour for the war had been but lukewarm before the siege of Calais, it cooled almost to the freezing point after that disgraceful miscarriage; and a similar failure in the following year (1437), before the walls of Crotoy, in the neighbourhood of Crecy, did not tend to revive his spirits. Ghent and Bruges had openly revolted, and the subjects of all his states complained that they were beggared by the war. From this time he can scarcely be said to have taken a part in the struggle; but his neutrality alone was sufficient to turn the scales in favour of the French, who gradually regained possession of the provinces north of the Loire, though not without many a check. In Normandy and the neighbouring countries of Maine and Anjou, the English long presented a bold front. The Duke of York was recalled in 1437, and then the difficult command was given to the Earl of Warwick. Warwick died in two years, on which, after a considerable interval, the Duke of York was re-appointed. There was now a pause in the horrors of war occasioned by famine and the plague, which visited both England and France at the same time. In 1439 Talbot recovered Harfleur, the first conquest of Henry V., which had been wrested from the English. The valour of the nation never shone with a more brilliant light than during the siege, when Talbot, with a strong garrison before him, was attacked in the rear by an army far superior in number to his own, and annoyed at the same time by a fleet of ships which lay in the river and on the coast. Two years later Talbot displayed admirable generalship in relieving Pontoise, which was besieged by an army of 12,000 men; but all his skill and the valour of his troops could not long preserve that isolated position. In the course of the years 1442 and 1443 the French turned their arms against Henry's possessions in the south; but while they were gaining some fortresses in Guienne, the English took others in the north, and overran Picardy and Anjou. Soon after

this, the Duke of Burgundy turned a ready ear to proposals for an armistice; and negotiations were opened for a general peace. In the end all parties agreed to a truce for two years, to terminate April 1, 1446.

Henry of Windsor was now in his twenty-fourth year, but it had long been apparent that no increase of years would bring him the spirit of a man or the capability of managing his own affairs. Gentle, timid, submissive, and superstitious, he would have made a tolerably good monk, but he had not one of the qualities which constitute a good king. Parliament, which settled the regency, and apportioned and nicely limited the power and authority of its members, gave no authority whatever to the queen-mother, Catherine of France, the youthful widow of Henry V. This lady appears to have had little ambition; as three or four years after the death of the hero of Azincourt she married Owen Tudor, an obscure gentleman of Wales, who, however, boasted a most ancient and even a royal descent; but what, perhaps, had more influence over Catherine's choice was, the circumstance of his being one of the handsomest men in England, besides being "garnished with many godly gifts." In her affection for her promising family by this second marriage, from which sprung the royal line of Tudor, she may have somewhat neglected the care of the sickly and unpromising Henry. But all her cares had long ceased; for she died in 1437, and had now been buried nearly seven years in Westminster Abbey, by the side of her first husband.¹

In an evil hour part of the council took up the notion that Henry's miserable deficiencies might be all supplied by marrying him to a princess of intelligence and spirit; and for the execution of this precious scheme they fixed their eyes (of all the princesses in Europe!) upon Margaret of Anjou, the cousin of the French queen, and the devoted friend of Charles, in whose court she had passed much of her time. Margaret was handsome, of a womanly age, and noted for ability and decision of character; and she had not yet been intoxicated by power, or allowed opportunities of showing her pride, envy, and vindictiveness. The Earl of Suffolk, who negotiated the truce, and who was in high favour with the French court, also negotiated this fatal marriage.

¹ By an *ex post facto* law, passed in the sixth year of Henry VI., though not now found on the rolls of parliament, having apparently been torn out, such marriages as those of Catherine with Owen Tudor were declared presumptuous, derogatory to the royal dignity, and illegal, without the express consent of the sovereign. After Catherine's death, Tudor was apprehended and put in ward, but he was allowed to escape from the Tower. He was afterwards beheaded for his adherence to Henry VI. Jaquetta of Luxemburg, the widow of the great Duke of Bedford, followed Catherine's example, and married, to the great

annoyance of the English court, Sir Richard Woodville, who was only a knight. She and her husband, however, after some persecution and payment of a fine of £1000, were allowed to live in peace. Catherine, besides a daughter, had three sons by Owen Tudor. During the reign of their half-brother Henry VI., Edmund, the eldest, was created Earl of Richmond; and Jasper, the second, was made Earl of Pembroke. The first of these, by his marriage with the only daughter of John, Duke of Somerset, had Henry, who succeeded to the earldom of Richmond, and who afterwards ascended the throne as Henry VII.

It appears that the original notion was his, but that, though opposed most strenuously by the Duke of Gloucester, who here spoke the sense of the English people, he was supported by Cardinal Beaufort and other members of the government. The father of Margaret, though titular King of Sicily and Jerusalem, was deplorably poor—a very Lackland. Suffolk, instead of asking, as usual in such cases, for a dower in money or in territory, consented to pay a price for the young lady's hand, and finally agreed to resign Anjou and Maine, which were wholly or in greater part in possession of the English, to her father, whose hereditary states they were. This was giving up, by a stroke of the pen, that which the French had not been able to obtain by the sword; and, from the geographical position of the territories ceded, it was putting the keys of Normandy into the hands of the enemy. If Suffolk and Beaufort had made up their minds to end the ruinous struggle, and to give up the whole of the English conquests in France, we might perhaps, abstractedly, and in the cool philosophy of a better period, applaud both the justice and the wisdom of the cession; but such notions were not suited to the fifteenth century, nor to the conquerors of any other time—the nation was bent on preserving at least a portion of what they had obtained at an enormous expense of blood and treasure, and the minister that had dared to propose any such measure would have been torn to pieces by the English people. The cession, in the circumstances of the times, savoured strongly either of treachery or fatuity. Beaufort was now nearly fourscore years old, and it is more charitable to suspect him of dotage than to accuse him of treachery.

As soon as the Earl of Suffolk returned to England with the bride, he was elevated to the rank of a marquis, and from that moment he and the queen began to monopolize and divide between them the whole authority of government. They were constantly together, and people said that Suffolk looked more like her husband and King of England than the unfortunate Henry. There was a strong popular prejudice against French queens of any kind; nor did Margaret's conduct at all tend to remove it. She applied doctrines of government which she had learned in France to a country wholly and happily different, and incensed the people by her arrogant despotic conduct. The friends and admirers of the Duke of Gloucester, among whom the citizens of London were very conspicuous, said everywhere that he would have found them a better queen, and taken better measures for the preservation of the English conquests; but the duke, either from fear of the prevalent faction at court, or from some other motive, gave his approval, in a very marked

manner, in parliament to all the negotiations concluded by Suffolk.¹ It is quite clear, however, that there was no sincerity in these outward demonstrations, and that the duke—"the good Duke Humphrey," as he was called by the people—would, on account of his great popularity, be a formidable obstacle in the way of the queen and her favourite. Besides, the passionate and vindictive Margaret was not likely to forget that Gloucester had at first strongly opposed the measures which made her a queen and gave to her father a respectable existence.

In 1441, after an altercation with the cardinal, in which the duke was defeated and humiliated,² a strange prosecution was got up against his wife the duchess, Eleanor Cobham, who, it will be remembered, had the misfortune of being Gloucester's mistress before she became his wife, and could never wholly efface the unfavourable impression made by this circumstance. She is represented as an avaricious, grasping, ambitious, and dissolute woman; but her enemies drew this portrait, and whatever she might be, she was dear to the duke, although he was not the most faithful of husbands. The duke was much devoted to all the learning then in vogue, and exceedingly fond of the society of learned men. Among other doctors and clerks whom he entertained was one Roger Bolingbroke, whom he kept constantly in his house as chaplain. This Bolingbroke was much given to the sciences, especially to astronomy, and astronomy in those days was generally made to include astrology. Gloucester's wife, aware that Henry was sickly, and that her husband stood next in succession, was probably anxious to know whether the stars would tell when the king would die; and she had frequent consultations with the chaplain and others. On a sudden, soon after her husband's last violent quarrel with Cardinal Beaufort, she was accused of treason, "for that she, by sorcery and enchantment, intended to destroy the king, to the intent to advance and to promote her husband to the crown." The duchess and Bolingbroke were arrested, together with Southwell, priest and canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster; John Hum, priest; and Margery Jourdayn, commonly called the Witch of Eye. The duchess was examined in St. Stephen's Chapel before the Archbishop of Canterbury: she was condemned to do public penance in three places within the city of London, and afterwards to pass her life a prisoner in the Isle of Man, under charge of Sir John Stanley. Roger Bolingbroke, the learned astronomer, who died protesting his innocence of all

¹ *Rot. Parl.*; *Bymer*; *Hall*.

² The subject of the quarrel was the liberation (upon ransom) of the Duke of Orleans and other prisoners taken at Azincourt. Gloucester opposed their liberation.

evil intentions, was drawn and quartered at Tyburn; Margery Jourdayn was burned in Smithfield; Southwell died in prison before the time of execution; and John Hum received the royal pardon. The worst thing proved against the duchess was, that she had sought for love-philters to secure the constancy of her husband. The worst thing attempted to be proved against her was, that she kept by her a wax figure, made by the "cunning necromancers," and endowed with this remarkable quality, that, in proportion as it was sweated and melted before a fire, it would, by magical sympathy, cause the flesh and substance of the king to wither and melt away, and his marrow to be dried up in his bones. "The Duke of Gloucester," says the chronicler,¹ "bore these things patiently and said little." But his enemies were now preparing for him the safe silence of the grave. A parliament was summoned to meet in February, 1447, not in the usual place at Westminster, because the Londoners were devoted to the erring but generous-hearted victim, but at Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, where the favourite was in the midst of his dependents. Orders were given to the knights of the shire to come armed, and the men of Suffolk were collected and crowded in the town and neighbourhood. The king was conveyed to the town, and, as if his sacred person was in danger, a numerous guard was placed round the house he occupied. Gloucester, who was at his strong castle of Devizes, went to attend this parliament, and fell unsuspectingly into the snare. On the 11th of February, the day after the opening of the session, he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and, on the 28th day of the same month, he was found dead in his bed. The whole nation believed that the duke was foully murdered, and, with a single but striking exception,² all the writers living at or near the time hint, more or less openly, that this was the case. The body of the duke was shown to the people at Bury St. Edmunds, and there were no marks of violence upon it; but all men remembered that the bodies of Edward II., of Richard II., and of the other great Duke of Gloucester, who had been taken off at Calais during the reign of Richard II., had been exposed to view in the same manner, and bore no signs of the murderous hands of their enemies. Suffolk's party wished it to be believed that he had died of apo-

plexy. Some said he had died of a broken heart; but, even in the latter case, Suffolk and the queen were his murderers. Humphrey, however, was not a man likely to die of grief and despair, for he knew his great popularity, which in all probability must have assured him that the parliament, however composed, would not venture to proceed to extremities against him. What followed was a miserable show designed to furnish a plausible justification of his arrest. Five of his retainers were seized, and accused of plotting to release the Duchess of Gloucester from her confinement—to come to the parliament in arms—to murder the king, and proclaim the duke, their master, in his stead. They were convicted and condemned to die the horrible death of traitors; but when they were only half hanged, they were cut down, and, before the executioner could proceed in the bloody task of cutting up their bodies, Suffolk produced the royal pardon, and the men were easily restored to animation.³

As if he had not already created odium enough, the Marquis of Suffolk seized all the estates of the deceased duke, and, after keeping what best suited him, divided nearly all the remainder among his own family and most devoted partisans.⁴ The good Duke Humphrey left no legitimate children, and, on account of her conviction, Dame Eleanor could not claim any part of his property. The duke's friends in parliament boldly asserted his perfect innocence of treason, and laboured, session after session, to clear his memory from the imputation of his enemies. His old rival, his uncle Cardinal Beaufort, did not long survive him. He had for some time withdrawn from political affairs to his see of Winchester, where, however, in spite of his age and infirmities, he was still cherishing projects of ecclesiastical ambition, and dreaming of the triple crown of Rome which had so long eluded his grasp, but which he fancied was at last within his reach. He died in his palace of Walvesey on the 11th day of April, and the *sign*⁵ he gave of Christian feeling was shown in his will, whereby he bequeathed the mass of his property to charitable purposes.⁶

When the truce expired, the King of France consented several times to renew it for short periods; but this suited his own purposes, and he knew that many of his lords would not permit their operations to be hampered by any ar-

¹ Hall.

² This is Whethamstede, who was abbot of St. Alban's at the time, a warm friend of Gloucester, and a declared enemy of the Suffolk party, whom he calls "dogs, scorpions, and impious noisers." He asserts that the duke died of grief and sickness. It appears that the abbot could have no motive for concealing the truth if he knew it.

³ Rymer; Rot. Parl.; Whethamstede; Hall; Grafton.

⁴ Rymer.

⁵ "Lord Cardinal, if thou think'st on heaven's bliss,

Hold up thy hand; make signal of thy hope:

He dies, and makes no sign."—*Henry VI.*, part ii.

It is almost impossible to remove the impression made by Shakespeare's terrific death-bed scene; but that it is historically incorrect there can be little doubt. The great cardinal died almost in public, surrounded by the clergy of his diocese.

⁶ Hall; *Continuation Hist. Croyland*; Nichols, *Royal and Noble Wills*; Milner's *Hist. Winchester*.

mistice, in case of a favourable opportunity for attacking the troops of Henry. The fact was, Charles had another civil war in the south upon his hands: the Count of Armagnac, favoured by the now discarded minister La Tremoille, had organized a formidable league against him. France, indeed, was for some time in such a distracted condition that she must again have fallen under the yoke, if the government of England had been able and willing to press her; but that government was now influenced by Margaret of Anjou, whose father, brothers, cousins, and a host of relatives were to benefit by its folly, weakness, and vacillation.

A.D. 1449. Maine, which lay so conveniently along the southern frontier of Normandy, and which Suffolk had so liberally surrendered to the queen's father, René of Anjou, had gradually been filled with French troops and companies of adventure in the service of King Charles, who insulted the English lines almost with impunity. The Duke of York had been for some time recalled. In vain his successor, the Duke of Somerset, represented to his government that he had no money—no efficient army—and that all the fortresses in Normandy were falling into ruin from want of proper repairs. Charles wanted a decent pretext for breaking the armistice, and such pretexts are always found when sought for. Some English soldiers, who had been expelled from their houses in Maine, plundered a town in Brittany, just as the French had plundered many a place in Normandy during the truce. Somerset, conscious of his weakness, offered a reparation in money; but Charles named a sum which it was impossible for him to pay, and then threw his troops across the frontiers of Maine, and called up his columns from all sides to fall upon both Lower and Upper Normandy. While the English were negotiating about the damage done in Brittany, Verneuil and Pont de l'Arche were surprised or betrayed. The Bastard of Orleans, now Count of Dunois, led the main body of the army to Rouen, within the walls of which he had many secret agents. His force was immense, but the capital of Normandy was taken rather through the treachery of the inhabitants than the valour of his troops. The Duke of Somerset had been obliged to shut himself up in Rouen, and all that he had to oppose to an army without, and to a vast and disaffected population within, was a weak garrison of 1200 men; but the brave Talbot was with him, and where Talbot was the English were sure to do something to save their honour. But the situation of the English was too desperate to be saved even by the heroism of a Talbot: the whole town rose against them, opened their gates to the Bastard, and drove the garrison into the

citadel, where Somerset capitulated on the 4th of November, 1449, being obliged to order the surrender of several other important fortresses as the price of his own liberty and that of his brave men. Talbot was given as an hostage—Somerset retired to Caen.¹

Popular indignation obliged the A.D. 1450. minister Suffolk to do something; but all that he did, and it might be all that he could do, was to send a reinforcement of 3000 men into Normandy. Sir Thomas Kyriel, the leader of these men, had the old confidence of a captain of Henry V. and Bedford; and he did not doubt that, in case of the French meeting him in the open field, he could give a satisfactory account of them, however superior their numbers. He accordingly gladly joined battle at Fourmigni with an army under the command of the Count of Clermont; but, while he was engaged, a second army, led on by the Constable of France, closed upon him in flank and rear. Some of his men then broke and fled, but more remained to fight desperately, and die with their swords in their hands. The victory of the French was complete, and they boasted of it without any reference to the enormous disparity of numbers.² Bayeux, Avranches, and other towns, immediately surrendered to them; and soon after, the Duke of Somerset was driven out of Caen. The last siege the English sustained was at Cherbourg; but that place being furiously assailed both by sea and land, surrendered on the 12th of August; and the whole of Normandy was lost.³

The Count of Dunois and other captains had already made an impression on the English possessions on the Garonne: the Count of Penthievre had recently been despatched with an army in that direction, and, soon after the conquest or submission of Normandy, the mass of Charles' forces marched against Guienne, where there were scarcely any English troops, and where the people, though not much attached to the French, from whom they still differed materially in language and habits, were wavering and divided. The nobles generally had declared against the English: when the French army began their campaign in earnest, in 1451, the castles were surrendered to them without any fighting. The English, collecting their weak and scattered detachments, retired to Bordeaux and the places in the neighbourhood of that fair and flourishing city, where their flag had floated for 300 years. Castillon, St. Emilion, Libourne, Rions, were carried by assault; and the Sire d'Orval advanced with a

¹ Monstrelet; Hall.

² Monstrelet; Villaret. Sir Thomas Kyriel had drawn some troops from the garrisons, and joined them to his 3000; but his force was still very inferior to the army of Clermont, to say nothing of the second French army under Richemont.

³ Monstrelet.

body of horse to the environs of Bordeaux. At his approach the English garrison and 8000 or 10,000 of the citizens, with the mayor at their head, made a sortie with more spirit than discipline: D'Orval charged them rudely at several points, broke them, covered the roads with their wounded and their dead, and carried off a considerable number of prisoners. But Bordeaux

was not lost by an unlucky sally; and this year the French were awed by its formidable attitude. In the following summer the Counts of Dunois, Penthievre, Foix, and Armagnac penetrated into Guienne from four different sides: the important town of Blaye surrendered to them; other places declared for Charles; and, hemmed in or crushed by numerous and still increasing forces, the Eng-



lish, who no longer possessed a foot of ground in the province except Fronsac, Bayonne, and Bordeaux, were forced to consent to give up those places by the festival of St. John, if they were not previously relieved and reinforced by troops from England. The time passed; not a man was sent to their succour; and on the appointed day the garrisons of Fronsac and Bordeaux opened their gates to the officers of Charles. Notwithstanding their stipulation, the garrison of Bay-

onne still attempted to defend that place; but they were compelled to capitulate soon after to Count Gaston de Foix.¹

Thus was lost the last fragment of the brilliant heritage of Eleanor of Aquitaine, which had been secured by the policy and valour of Henry II. Nothing now remained to the English in France

¹ The connection, at once political and commercial, which bound England by the closest ties with Guienne and Languedoc, during whole centuries, at times, too, when northern and west

save Calais and a strip of marshy land commanded by its batteries. In Normandy and other parts of France their expulsion was hailed with a general though not unanimous joy; but it was far different in Guienne, where the people, who did not consider themselves Frenchmen, and who were strongly attached to their old franchises, which the English, accustomed to liberties of the same sort, had respected, felt that they had much to lose and little to gain by being included in that national system and placed under French governors. Forgetting all their former complaints against the pride of the Islanders, the people of Guienne long continued to regret the days when the red cross of England waved over their thriving cities and sea-ports. Nor did they submit to their new masters without an effort to restore the dominion of their old ones.¹

The tables had been turned: the English began, under Henry V., to make their conquest of France when that country was cursed with a mad king, an intriguing and vindictive queen, and a factious nobility; and they finished losing all they gained, and a great deal more, when the same curses fell upon their own country. But the shame of those losses was not to be borne patiently by a high-spirited people, and before the final closing of the account of defeat and expulsion, they took a terrible vengeance on the Duke of Suffolk—for such was the title which this minister, rising as his country sank, had now taken to himself.

Bitter complaints had been repeatedly made in parliament by a spirited minority, and as misfortunes thickened this minority became a majority, whose indignation was overwhelming. Towards the end of 1449, while the public mind was exasperated by the recent loss of Rouen, Suffolk was attacked in both houses. He had a short breathing-time during the Christmas recess,² but the popular clamour rose louder and louder; and when parliament met, early in January, 1450, he complained of the accusations made against him, defended his loyalty and patriotism, and challenged his accusers to the

proof. This challenge was readily accepted. Four days after, the commons requested the lords to commit him to the Tower. The lords replied that they could not commit a peer without some specific charge. The commons took only two days to get up a direct charge, and, when they produced it, it was neither honest nor ingenious. It simply charged the duke with having furnished the castle of Wallingford with provisions and military stores, with the object of assisting the King of France, who, they asserted, was preparing to invade England. The lords, however, without hesitation, ordered the arrest of the obnoxious minister, and he was seized and conveyed to the Tower. The bill of impeachment, which the commons prepared in ten days, contained several additional charges. For example, they charged Suffolk with the design of destroying both Henry and his partial mistress Margaret, and placing the crown on the head of his own son; and they said that he had contracted engagements with the French, in the view of obtaining their assistance for these ends. To the charges of liberating the Duke of Orleans, and of ceding Maine and Anjou, he was certainly amenable as a minister; and these charges were now preferred against him. But the commons were still wavering and uncertain as to their proofs; and on the 7th of March, a month after laying their first impeachment of eight articles, they presented a new impeachment of a very different kind, which contained sixteen articles, some of which seem probable enough, but none of them amounted to absolute treason.

On the 13th day of March, Suffolk was brought to the bar of the lords, and falling on his knees before the king, he vowed that he was innocent of any treason. In pleading, he kept to the absurd impeachment in eight articles, never alluding to the charges of waste of money, improvidence, and corruption, or indeed to any other of the sixteen charges contained in the second bill of impeachment. As to the article relating to his project to secure the crown for his own son, he maintained that it was absurd, and the pro-

ern France was at war both with England and what are now her own southern provinces, must have greatly promoted the intellectual and social development of England. Thierry speaks thus of Languedoc:—"The county of Toulouse, and the great lordships which in the thirteenth century were its dependencies, either as allies or vassals, were infinitely more civilized than any other territories comprised within the limits of ancient Gaul. They drove a great trade with the ports of the Levant. Their cities enjoyed municipal constitutions, and even resembled in some measure the Italian republics. The wealthy burgesses had each his own mansion-house, flanked with towers; and their sons might be knighted if they chose, and joust at tournaments like noblemen. This love of political equality, which scandalized the knights of France, Burgundy, and Germany, bringing all classes of the population into free intercourse with each other, inspired the Gallic inhabitants of the coasts of the Mediterranean with a spirit of activity which displayed itself in all kinds of moral culture. Their literature was the most re-

fined in Europe, and the language of that literature was classical in Italy and Spain. Their Christianity was ardent and exalted; for they were by nature impassioned, and it did not consist in an implicit belief of the dogmas, and a mechanical observance of the practices of the Roman church. Without openly revolting against that church, they had at that remote period anticipated, and in some sort had even exceeded, the religious reformation which the sixteenth century saw burst into light in other countries. All this was effected amongst them insensibly, without a religious war—without any burst of fanaticism—without their having themselves exactly measured the degree of their dissent from the Catholic church." Many traits in this description seem to have been transplanted into England at an early date.

¹ *Monstrelet*: A. Thierry, *Hist. Guyenne*; Hall: *Stow*.

² During this interval the Bishop of Chichester, a friend of Suffolk and keeper of the privy seal, was massacred by the people of Portsmouth for the part he had taken in the negotiations about Maine and Anjou.

ject impossible. He could not deny the cession of Maine and Anjou; but he urged that he was not alone in that guilt (if guilt it were), for the other lords of the council had authorized that measure, and the peers in parliament had afterwards sanctioned it. The commons were determined that he should not escape, and refused to vote any supplies; the court, by which could he meant little but the queen, were equally resolved that he should not be convicted; and the whole proceeding ended, as it began, in irregularity.

On the 17th of March, Suffolk was again called up to the lords, the king being present. The chancellor¹ observed to the duke that he had not claimed the privilege of a peer, and asked him whether he had more to say in defence of his conduct. Suffolk said that he thought he had said enough to establish his innocence: and he threw himself upon the will of the king, his master. The scene had been arranged beforehand; the chancellor instantly rejoined, saying that, as the duke did not put himself upon his peerage for trial, the king would not declare him either innocent or guilty; but with respect to the second impeachment (to which Suffolk had given no answer), the king, not as a judge taking council of the lords, but as one to whose authority the prisoner had submitted of his own free will, commanded him to quit England before the 1st of May, and to remain in banishment for the space of five years.

If parliament had entered into this compromise, and were satisfied with it, it was far otherwise with the people of London. These were furious that the traitor, the cause of all the disgrace abroad, as they considered him, should be allowed to escape so easily; and, on the day of his enlargement, upwards of 2000 persons collected to take his life. Suffolk, however, evaded the rage of this mob, and went to his estates, where he summoned his relatives, friends, and dependents. In their presence he swore upon the host that he was a wronged and innocent man; and then he went to Ipswich, and embarked for the Continent. On the 2d of May, as they were sailing between Dover and Calais, the two small vessels which carried the exile and his retinue were brought-to by the *Nicholas of the Tower*, a great ship of war. The duke was ordered on board the *Nicholas*, the captain of which said to him, as he stepped upon the deck, "Welcome, traitor!" He was kept on board two days, during which the ship stood off and on, probably communicating with some great movers in the business on shore, and

the duke employed himself with his confessor. On the third day a cock-boat came alongside, and in the boat were a block, an axe, and an executioner. Suffolk was handed over to the latter, who cut off his head. A general cry had been raised that Suffolk still retained the confidence of Margaret, and that it was insupportable to see the "queen's darling" escape with a certainty of being soon recalled to power and to vengeance; but who were the great directors of his assassination was never clearly proved. No investigation took place; the people rejoiced at the death, and their minds were soon excited by other events which were the faint prelude to the wars of the Roses.²

John Cade was a native of Ireland, who had passed some time in France as a soldier of the English, or, according to other authorities, as an outlaw. It appears, however, that he had returned to his own country, and that he came from Ireland, then governed by the Duke of York, into England, at the moment when the excitement against the government was at the highest. Insurrections had broken out in several parts of the kingdom before Suffolk's fall, and Cade put himself at the head of a popular movement immediately after that event. He assumed the noble name of Mortimer, and claimed a descent which made him a relation (though illegitimately) of the Duke of York. None but very questionable evidence was ever brought to show that this prince had employed him, yet it is certain that Cade, or rather the peculiar circumstances of the times, without which Cade would have been nothing, played the game of the duke, and encouraged the hopes which York had long entertained of grasping the royal power. The men of Kent³ had long been noted for their determined spirit; they were the boldest and least vicious of the insurgents who, under Wat Tyler, nearly overturned a former weak government; they were probably better informed than the people of the inland counties of what was passing in France; and they were now more violent in their complaints than the rest of the nation. It was said that the queen held them guilty of the recent murder of her favourite, whose headless body lay for some time exposed on the beach near Dover, and that she had threatened to take a sanguinary vengeance. Cade threw himself among these men, who se-

² Hall; *Continuation Hist. Croyland; Slow.*

¹ This was the Archbishop of York. Suffolk's chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, resigned the seals at the first blush of the prosecution. According to some accounts, the present scene passed in the king's apartment, to which all the lords, spiritual and temporal, were summoned.

³ Thierry ascribes the readiness of the men of Kent to take the lead in popular insurrections to their having preserved some remembrance of their fathers having made terms with William the Conqueror. A much more likely cause lay in the law of gavelkind prevailing in that county. This "incensate custody of gavelkind," as it is called in the *Glory of Generosity*, "tendeth to the destruction of ancient and gentle houses," and hence also to the multiplication of small democratic proprietors.—P. 94.

lected him to be their captain. He led them towards the capital; and about the middle of June, a great multitude, estimated at 15,000 or 20,000, encamped at Blackheath, from which point Cade kept up a correspondence with the Londoners. The court sent to demand why the good men of Kent had quitted their homes. Cade gave their reasons in a paper entitled "The Complaint of the Commons of Kent." After alluding to the report that Kent was to be destroyed by a royal power, and made a hunting forest, "for the death of the Duke of Suffolk, of which the commons of Kent were never guilty," Cade, or the pens that wrote for him, went on to complain that justice and prosperity had been put out of the land by misgovernment; that the king was stirred to live only on the substance of the commons, while other men fattened on the lands and revenues of the crown; that the people of the realm were not paid for stuff and purveyance forcibly taken for the king's use; that the princes of the royal blood were excluded from the court and government, which were filled exclusively by mean and corrupt persons, who plundered and oppressed the people; that it was noised that the king's lands in France had been alienated and put away from the crown, and the lords and people there destroyed with untrue means of treason; that the commons of Kent had been especially overtaxed and ill-treated; that their sheriffs and collectors had been guilty of infamous extortion; and that the free election of knights of the shire had been hindered. The court pretended to be preparing a proper answer to this startling list of grievances, but it employed the time thus gained in collecting troops in London. In this interval Cade sent in another paper, headed "The requests by the captain of the great assembly in Kent." This document, though conceived in respectful language, went more directly to the point. It required that the king should resume the grants of the crown, so that he might reign like a king royal; that he should instantly dismiss all the false progeny and affinity of the Duke of Suffolk, and take about his noble person the true lords of his royal blood, namely, the high and mighty prince the Duke of York, long exiled from the king's presence, and the mighty princes the Dukes of Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk; that he should punish the false traitors who had contrived and imagined the death of that excellent prince the Duke of Gloucester, of their holy father the cardinal,¹ and others, and who had promoted and caused the loss of Anjou, Maine, Nor-

mandy, and other parts of France. The court had now levied a considerable army; and this force was sent out to give the rebels their answer. Cade fell back from Blackheath to Sevenoaks, where, in a good position, he halted, and waited the attack of a detachment of the royal army. This detachment was defeated on the 24th of June, and the commander, Sir Humphrey Stafford, was slain. The soldiers had not fought with good will at Sevenoaks; and when their main body, still at Blackheath, got intelligence of that affair, they began to say that they liked not to fight against their own countrymen, who only called for a reasonable redress of grievances. The court now found that concession was expedient; and they sent Lord Say, a very obnoxious minister, and some other individuals, who had been closely connected with the Duke of Suffolk, to the Tower, which Lord Scales undertook to maintain for the king. The army was disbanded, and the king was conveyed for safety to the strong castle of Kenilworth. While this was doing, Cade re-appeared at Blackheath; and by the end of June, he had made himself master of all the right bank of the Thames, from Lambeth and Southwark to Greenwich. From Southwark he sent to demand entrance into the city of London; and this, after a debate in the common council, was freely granted to him by the lord-mayor. On the 3d of July, Cade led his followers into the heart of the capital. He seemed anxious to preserve the strictest discipline—he issued proclamations forbidding plunder, and in the evening he led his host back to the Borough. The next day he returned in the same good order; but he forced the mayor and judges to sit in Guildhall, and pass judgment upon Lord Say, of whose person he had, by some means, obtained possession. Say demanded a trial by his peers, but Cade's men hurried him to the standard at Cheapside, and cut off his head. Soon after, they did the same by Say's son-in-law, Cromer, the sheriff of Kent.² When this was over, they retired quietly to the Borough for the night. In the course of the following day a few houses were pillaged. The citizens now took counsel with Lord Scales, who had 1000 soldiers in the Tower; and it was resolved that they should prevent Cade from entering the city on the morrow. The insurgents got news of this intention in the night, and instantly made an attack on the bridge. The citizens resolutely defended it, and, after a nocturnal fight, which lasted six hours, and cost many lives, they remained masters of the passage.

¹ This murder of old Beaufort was the most absurd statement in these documents. Surely it was natural enough for a man to die at the age of eighty; and the cardinal, as we have said, died almost in public.

² Bills of indictment were also found against the Duchess of Suffolk, the Bishop of Salisbury, Thomas Daniel, and several other friends of the deceased minister, who, fortunately, were out of reach of the insurgents.

The insurgents retired into Southwark, and, in concert with the irritated citizens, it was resolved to delude them by promises of pardon, as had been practised with the followers of Wat Tyler. Both the chancellor and the ex-chancellor, the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, had taken refuge in the Tower, whence they despatched the Bishop of Winchester with a general pardon, under the great seal, to all such as should return to their homes. It appears that the prelate also promised a redress of grievances. His mission had the immediate effect of creating a division among the insurgents—one party being of opinion that they ought to accept the conditions; the other, that there was no faith to be put in them. Some began to retire into Kent: Cade accepted the pardon, and then the whole force began to disperse. But in two days Cade was again in Southwark, with a considerable host, who maintained that it would be folly to lay down their arms until they had obtained some security from government for the performance of its promises. Dissension, however, broke out afresh, and being awed by the warlike attitude of the Londoners, they retreated to Blackheath, and thence marched to Rochester, where their feuds terrified their leader. Cade, who expected to be murdered or delivered up to government, which had proclaimed him a traitor, and offered 1000 marks for his apprehension, got secretly to horse, and galloped across the country towards the Sussex coast. He was closely followed by one Alexander Iden, an esquire, who overtook him and attacked him sword in hand. After a desperate fight, the squire proved the better man. The

head of Cade was stuck upon London bridge, with the face turned towards the pleasant hills of Kent; and Iden was made happy with the 1000 marks. Pursuit was then made after Cade's companions; and many were taken and executed as traitors.² It was stated in a subsequent act of attainder, that some of these men confessed that their object had been to place Richard, Duke of York, on the throne; but this evidence is open to suspicion; and, moreover, it was not affirmed that the insurgents had been employed by the duke.³ But whatever may have been the caution, prudence, and patience of the Duke of York, that prince's name was certainly put prominently forward at this time; and it is equally certain, if the question was to be decided by descent and birth, that York had a preferable right to the throne.

We have shown in what manner the claims of the old line of the Plantagenets rested in Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.⁴ This Edmund, after faithfully serving the house of Lancaster in peace and in war, died in 1424; upon which, as he left no issue, and as his brother Roger and his sister Eleanor had died childless, his rights passed to his sister Anne, married to the Earl of Cambridge, who had been condemned and executed for treason in the beginning of the reign of Henry V. Anne Mortimer had a son, the present Prince Richard, who succeeded to the titles of his paternal uncle the Duke of York, as also to the lineal rights of his maternal uncle Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. But notwithstanding the growth of the doctrine of hereditary right—a doctrine which had gradually made way in Europe—it may

¹ *Stow; Fabyan; Paston Letters.*

² Thierry contrasts this insurrection with that under Wat Tyler, seventy years before. The latter he considers as chiefly one of the Anglo-Saxon race, represented by the serfs, against the Anglo-Norman, represented by the *gentilshommes*—the gentry—and to have been the final term of the series of Saxon revolts, and the first of a new order of political movements. Had it succeeded, as an historian of that period expresses himself, all nobility and gentry might have disappeared from England. What really followed M. Thierry describes thus:—

"(A.D. 1381–1450.) But, instead of this, matters remained as formerly established by the Conquest; and the serfs, after their defeat, continued to be treated according to the terms of the proclamation, which told them:—'Villains you were, and still are; and in bondage you shall remain.' Notwithstanding the failure of the great effort they had made to escape at once from bondage, and to obliterate the distinction of conditions which had succeeded that of races, the natural process by which that distinction became gradually less visible and revolting went on uninterrupted; and the enfranchisement of individuals, which had begun long before, became more and more frequent. The idea of the specific injustice of serfdom and prædial bondage (whatever its origin, and whether of ancient or recent institution)—this great idea, which had formed the grand tie uniting the conspirators of 1381, and which the instinct of freedom had implanted in the souls of the peasantry before it had reached the higher ranks, came at length to be owned as a true principle by the gentry themselves. In those moments of thoughtfulness when reflection becomes calmer and deeper—when reason prevails over interest and avarice—in the hour of domestic sorrow, of sickness, and of impending death—the nobles of that age re-

pent in such moments of doubt of their holding property in bondmen, as a thing displeasing to that God who had created all men after his own image. Many deeds of manumission, dated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, have the following preamble:—'Inasmuch as in the beginning, God made all men by nature free, and as the law of nations placed some afterwards under the yoke of bondage, we think it would be pious and meritorious in the sight of God to liberate such persons to us subjected in villanage, and to free them entirely from such services: Know therefore that we have freed and liberated from all yoke of servitude —, our knaves, of the manor of —, them and all their children, born and to be born.' . . . Jack Cade, who in 1448 played the same part as Wat Tyler in 1381, did not, like the latter, make himself the representative of the rights of the common people in opposition to the gentlemen; but, connecting his own and the popular cause with the aristocratic factions which then divided England, he went so far as to announce himself as one of the royal family, unjustly excluded from the succession to the throne. The influence which this imposture had on the minds of the people in the northern provinces, and in that very county of Kent which, seventy years before, had chosen tilers, bakers, and carters for its leaders, proves that a rapid amalgamation was in progress between the political interests and passions of the different classes of men in England, and that a certain order of ideas and sympathies was no longer attached, in a fixed and invariable manner, to a certain descent or social condition."—*The Norman Conquest.*

³ The act here alluded to was an act of attainder passed against the Yorkists in November, 1459, when their enemies were triumphant.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 537.

LORD SAYE AND SELE BROUGHT BEFORE
JACK CADE.

During the reign of Henry VI. the common people began to murmur against the burden of his taxes, and the vexatious despotism exercised by his queen and court. This discontent broke out, at length, into open revolt under the leadership of John Cade, a physician of Kent, who led some 20,000 men against London. They encamped at Blackheath; and when the King sent to ask what this revolt might mean, Cade presented a formal list of grievances. The answer returned by the king was a body of soldiers, but these were defeated, and the insurgents victoriously marched into London. It was while Cade and his followers occupied the city that Lord Saye, one of the king's favourites, was made prisoner, brought before Jack Cade, summarily tried at Guildhall, and beheaded in Cheapside.



LORD SAYE AND SILE BROUGHT BLOOD JACK CADE

be questioned whether the nation would have paid much attention to the genealogy of the Duke of York, if the notorious and still increasing incapacity of Henry, and the odium which his wife incurred, had not forced the subject upon their attention. The duke had been recalled from the command in France through the influence of Queen Margaret, and his post in Ireland was considered by his friends as a kind of exile. He had, however, acquired great popularity among the English and the descendants of the English in that country; and recently (in the year 1449) he had gained much credit by the ability he displayed in the suppression of an insurrection of the native Irish. Resigning his command there, he suddenly appeared in England in the end of August, 1451. After paying a short visit to the king in London, he retired to his castle of Fotheringay. He was mute as to his intentions, but the court took the alarm, and sought to oppose him by the Duke of Somerset, the nearest male relation to King Henry, and the head of the younger branch of the house of Lancaster. But it was under Somerset's government in France that the loss of Normandy was completed; and this circumstance, added to that of his being in high favour with the queen, rendered him almost as unpopular as the Duke of Suffolk had been.¹ Two years were spent in noisy discontent and silent intrigues. Each party stood in awe of the other, and measured its ground before proceeding to extremities. Some dark deeds were committed by both factions, but the scale of guilt seem rather to incline to the side of the court. Tresham, the speaker of the House of Commons which had prosecuted the Duke of Suffolk, was assassinated by some friends of the queen.

A member of the commons boldly proposed that, as Henry had no children, and was not likely to have any, the Duke of York ought to be declared heir to the throne; but the proposer was committed to the Tower. The commons, however, passed a bill of attainder against the deceased Duke of Suffolk, and agreed in a request that the king would be pleased to dismiss from office and from the court the new minister the Duke of Somerset, and several lords and ladies related to Suffolk. The court resisted or evaded both measures. Violent quarrels arose between the adherents of government and the Yorkists; the former asserting that there was treason afloat—the latter, that there were projects for depriving Duke Richard of his liberty, and treating him as the Duke of Gloucester had been treated at Bury St. Edmunds. In the beginning of the year 1452, the Duke of York repaired to his castle of Ludlow, in Shropshire, the neighbour-

hood of which was devoted to the Mortimer family. He collected a considerable armed force, but, by proclamation, declared that he had no evil intentions against the king, to whom he offered to swear fealty upon the sacrament. A royal army was sent against him; but while that force went westward by one road, York marched eastward by another, and appeared before the gates of London, which were shut in his face. He then marched to the borders of Kent, where he probably expected to be joined by the malcontents who had been out with Cade. It appears, however, that few joined him, and when Henry came up with him, at Dartford, he agreed to a peaceful negotiation. Two bishops were the negotiators on the part of the king; and when they asked why York was in arms, he asserted that it was for his own safety, seeing that repeated attempts had been made to work his ruin. Henry said that he cleared York of all treason, and esteemed him as a true man and his own well-beloved cousin. Notwithstanding the coyness of the men of Kent, it may be presumed, from the high tone maintained by the duke, that his force was considerable. He insisted that all persons who had trespassed and offended against the laws, especially such as were indicted of treason, should be arrested and put upon their trial. The king, or those who directed him, promised all this, and more. A mock order was given for the apprehension of the minister, the Duke of Somerset, and York was assured that a new council, in which he should have a seat, should be appointed forthwith. Upon this Duke Richard disbanded his army, and agreed to a personal interview. With singular confidence he went unarmed and almost alone to the king's tent. One of the first persons he saw there was the Duke of Somerset, who called him felon and traitor, epithets which were retorted with interest. When York turned to depart, he was told that he was the king's prisoner. Somerset, it is said, would have proceeded to a summary trial and execution, but this was prevented by the fears of the other ministers and courtiers. York was then sent to London, and held partly as a prisoner, and "straighter would have been kept, but it was noised that Sir Edward, Earl of March, son to the said Duke of York, was coming towards London with a strong power of Welshmen, which feared so the queen and council that the duke was set at full liberty; and on the 10th of March he made his submission, and took his oath in St. Paul's to be a true, faithful, and obedient subject to the king, there being present King Henry and most of the nobility."² York retired to his castle of Wigmore, and remained

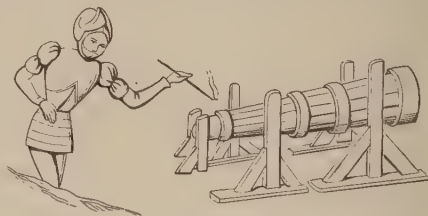
¹ Rot. Parl.; William Worcester.; Hall; Stow.

² Stow.

perfectly quiet till he was brought forward by the movements in parliament.

We have said that the people of Guienne did not submit without a struggle to the oppressive government of Charles VII. Soon after the pacification of the Duke of York,¹ they sent a deputation into England to request the assistance of a small army, to express their bitter regret at all the changes which had taken place, and to promise the most perfect loyalty and attachment to King Henry if he would enable them to throw off the French yoke.² Nearly all the lords of the Bordelais were equally irritated against the French, and they united with the citizens in the project of recalling the English. The chief of these nobles—the men of the highest rank in the country—the Sires of Duras, L'Esparre, Monferand, Rauzan, and L'Anglade, repaired secretly to London, where they treated with good effect, for, weak as was the government, it was determined to make an effort to recover what had been lost by miserable negligence. Four or five thousand good soldiers were collected and equipped, and the command was offered to the brave old Talbot, who, notwithstanding the weight of nearly eighty years, accepted it joyfully. At his approach to Bordeaux the nobles of the country crowded to his honoured standard—the people caught the flame of insurrection—and in a brief space of time the red cross of England was again raised in nearly every town in Guienne. Charles, at the moment, was engaged in a senseless war with the Count of Savoy; but these startling events recalled him from the neighbourhood of the Alps to the hills of Gascony. Having failed in his attempts to win over the people by promises of better government, he advanced against the towns on the Dordogne and the Garonne with fire and sword. Some of them he took by assault; and in these cases his troops were even more merciless than is usual on such occasions. In the summer following he laid siege to the important town of Castillon. Talbot determined to relieve this place. On the 20th of July, between

night and morning, he surprised and cut to pieces a considerable force, drove in the outposts, and fell upon the French in their intrenchments. Their position was strong, and defended by bombardis that discharged stone shot; but Talbot had nearly



BOMBARD.—Froissart MS. Bib. Royale, Paris.

carried it when the Count of Penthievre came up with another army. The English withdrew from the works, formed in good order, and even then did not despair of fighting their way back to Bordeaux; but their brave "octogenarian chief" was slain, and his son was killed in attempting to save him; and then the troops fled. About 1000 men were made prisoners. There was no second army—there was no Talbot to prolong the struggle. The French army soon appeared before Bordeaux, which, after a bold resistance of nearly two months, was compelled by famine to capitulate on the 10th of October.³

A.D. 1454. The uneasiness shown by parliament at the increasing incapacity of the king, and at the power of the queen and the Duke of Somerset, brought about the recall of the Duke of York to the council; and this measure was soon followed by the committal of Somerset, who was sent to the Tower at the end of the year 1453. On the 14th of February, 1454, parliament was opened by the Duke of York, as lieutenant or commissioner of the king. For some time the court had endeavoured to conceal Henry's real condition; but the lords were now resolved to ascertain it, and an accidental circumstance afforded them a good reason for forcing the privacy of Windsor Castle. Kemp, Archbishop of Canter-

¹ Paston Letters; Whethamstede; Rot. Parl.

² The inveterate dislike and contempt of the Aquitanian provinces for France and Frenchmen, and their attachment to England, were both of old standing, and had their root in very various causes. The influence of the Duchess Eleanor, Henry II.'s queen, in preserving her own vassals from falling away from the Anglo-Norman rule, was powerfully seconded by natural feelings and material interests pervading the whole southern provinces of France, from Marseilles to Bayonne. "By a singular destiny," says Thierry, "while Normandy, the old land of the kings and nobles of England, became to them a hostile territory, Aquitaine, from the Bay of Rochelle to the Pyrenees, seemed not unwilling to remain subject to their authority. It has already been seen how the latter country was preserved under the Anglo-Norman dominion by the influence of Henry II.'s widow, the Duchess Eleanor. After her death, the Aquitanians remained true to her grandson, through fear of becoming direct vassals of the King of France, now, as master of Poitou, their immediate neighbour. Pursuing a policy that was thought wise

in the middle ages, they would rather, setting aside all other considerations, have for their lord paramount a distant king, as in that case the country was commonly allowed to govern itself according to its own local customs, and by a native administration—advantages hardly to be expected under a sovereign whose immediate domains lay close at hand." The industrial and commercial interests of Languedoc, also, favoured a connection between that province and England, for the wools of England were transported across the country from Bordeaux to the seats of the woollen manufacture on the Rhone and its tributaries, the returns being probably made in the silks, spices, &c., of the East, imported at Marseilles, and in the drugs and sweetmeats of Montpellier.

Had we but sufficient ground upon which to proceed, it would be a curious subject of inquiry how far intercourse with the peaceful and industrious Albigenes in the early part of the thirteenth century may not, through this channel, have first transmitted Lollard opinions into England.

³ Monstrelet; A. Thierry, *Hist. of Guyenne*; Hall.

bury and chancellor of the kingdom, died; and as it was usual for the House of Lords to confer personally with the sovereign on such high occasions, a deputation of twelve peers went to Windsor, and would not be refused entry into the castle. They found Henry incapable of answering them or understanding them: in the words of their report to the house, "they could get no answer nor sign from him, for no prayer nor desire," though they presented themselves to him three several times. This report of the deputation was, at their prayer, entered on record in parliament, and was reasonably considered as authentic a testimony as could be procured of their sovereign's infirmity (of which there was no kind of doubt in the country); and after adjourning two days, they "elected and nominated Richard, Duke of York, to be protector and defender of the realm of England." York, still advancing no hereditary claim to the crown, accepted of the humbler office, with all the limitations put upon it by parliament; but a weighty circumstance probably this time contributed to his moderation. Queen Margaret had been delivered of a son about a year before, and, though the outcry seems to have been almost universal that this was no child of Henry, the legislature could not entertain the popular clamour, but recognized the infant Edward by creating him Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. In accepting this post as protector, York took care to obtain the most explicit declarations from the peers that he only followed their "noble commandments." In about nine months

Henry recovered his memory and some degree of reason—perhaps as much as he had usually possessed. The court instantly claimed for him the full exercise of royalty, and York at once gave up the protectorate. The first use made of this resumed authority by the king was to liberate the Duke of Somerset.¹ This step and some others, which showed that it was the intention of the court to restore the unpopular minister, irritated a great part of the nation, and induced York once more to take up arms. He retired again to Ludlow, where he was joined by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, and other men of rank. Again Henry went, or was car-

ried, with an army, towards Ludlow; but this time the duke, instead of avoiding him by taking a different road, anticipated his movements, and met him near to the capital with an army equal to his own. On the 22d of May, as the royalists were about to continue their march from St. Alban's, they saw the hills in their front covered with armed men, who were moving forward, and who did not stop till they came near to the barriers of the town. The duke sent a herald into the town, professing great loyalty and affection for the king, but demanding the person of the Duke of Somerset. It was replied by or for the king, that he would rather perish in battle than abandon his friends. Upon this, battle was joined. York was kept in check at the barriers, but another way into the town was pointed out; and, winding round part of the hill on which it stands, and crossing some gardens, the Earl of Warwick entered St. Alban's, and attacked the royalists in the streets. York then forced the barriers, and after a very short contest, the royalists gave way, rushed out of the town, and fled in the greatest disorder.² The Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford were slain: the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Sudeley, the Earl of Stafford, and the unfortunate king were wounded—all by arrows. The Duke of York found Henry concealed in the house of a tanner: his wound, though in the neck, was not serious. He was treated with mildness and outward respect; his conqueror conducted him to the noble abbey of St. Alban's, where they prayed



ABBEY OF ST. ALBAN'S.—From an old drawing in the British Museum.

together before the shrine of England's first martyr. When parliament met in the month of

² The number of the Lancastrians killed in this affair has been absurdly exaggerated in most of our old histories. One of the *Paston Letters*, written immediately after the fight, says that only six scores were slain.

¹ *Rot. Parl.*; Rymer; Wethamstede; *Paston Letters*.

July, it did little else than renew the protestations of allegiance to Henry and his son. After a prorogation, parliament met again on the 12th of November, when the Duke of York was appointed by commission to open the proceedings as lieutenant of the king. The commons, thereupon, sent up a message to the lords, stating, that as the Duke of York had been appointed to represent the king on this occasion, so "it was thought by the commons, that if the king hereafter could not attend to the protection of the country, an able person should be appointed protector, to whom they might have recourse for redress of injuries, especially as great disturbances had lately arisen in the west through the feuds of the Earl of Devonshire and Lord Bonville." The new Archbishop of Canterbury, in his quality of chancellor, said that the subject would be taken into consideration by the lords. Two days after, the commons repeated their request—refusing to proceed with any other business until it should be granted. York, therefore, was again declared protector; and he was to hold his authority till discharged of it by the lords in parliament. Still, however, parliament respected the rights of the infant prince, and it was declared in this session, as in the preceding year, that the protectorate should cease, in all cases, as soon as Edward attained his majority.¹ The ostensible reason for superseding Henry was his acknowledged incapacity, derived from physical maladies attended by mental derangement. There is no positive proof that he was worse than he had been a few months before; but if he were no better, the step need not surprise us. It happened to him, as to his reputed grandfather, the unhappy Charles VI.; being known to suffer fits of insanity, people could never count with any certainty on his lucid intervals, or put any trust in a king who was alternately declared to be sane or insane according to the rise or fall of a party. The House of Commons and the people would certainly have gone farther in the way of revolution; but the prelates, with one or two exceptions, and most of the lay lords, were still averse to a change of dynasty. The duke gave some of the most important offices to his tried friends. No acts of vengeance were committed; it was considered that the Somerset faction had suffered sufficiently in the deaths of the lords in the affair of St. Alban's. Not a drop of blood was spilt, not a single attainder passed.

Queen Margaret was not idle during this second short protectorate, and the powerful party of the court was put in motion. When parliament met, after the Christmas recess, in 1456, Henry, to the surprise of most people, attended,

and demanded back, and received from the lords, all his authority as king. No doubt was raised touching his malady, and York resigned the protectorate without a struggle—apparently without a murmur. All the officers he had appointed were dismissed and replaced by persons devoted to the queen. Then York thought it time to look after the personal safety of himself, his sons, and adherents. He retired to his estates, where he kept his vassals on the alert; and most of the great lords of his party did the same. This was the more necessary, as the families and friends of Somerset and Northumberland, and the other lords who had fallen at St. Alban's, openly expressed their determination to take a sanguinary vengeance.

In the end of February a great council was held at Coventry, and a sort of pacification was there effected between the Yorkists and the court party, the duke and his friend Warwick being compelled to give fresh assurances and oaths of fidelity. The king, who was no doubt sincere, whatever may have been the feelings of his wife and the courtiers, then endeavoured to reconcile York and his friends with the avengers of Somerset and Northumberland. London was chosen, by mutual consent, to be the scene of this great peace-making. After some days spent in deliberation, the king, who had assumed the character of umpire, gave his award, signifying that the Duke of York and the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury should build a chapel for the good of the souls of the lords they had killed at St. Alban's; that both those who were killed there and those who had killed them should be held loyal subjects; that the Duke of York should pay to the widow and children of the Duke of Somerset the sum of 5000 marks; that the Earl of Warwick should pay to Lord Clifford the sum of 1000 marks, and that the Earl of Salisbury should release Percy Lord Egremont from the damages he had obtained against him for an assault, upon condition of Percy's giving securities to keep the peace for ten years. This award was accepted; the court came into the city; and king, queen, Duke of York, and all, walked lovingly together in procession to St. Paul's.²

This was on the 25th day of March. In the month of May, Warwick, who had been allowed to retain the command at Calais, engaged, with great bravery, but without a due regard to the laws of nations, a strong fleet belonging to the Hanse towns, captured five or six ships, and carried them into Calais. The powerful Hanseatic league complained to the English court, which

¹ Rot. Parl.

² *Whethamstede; Rot. Parl.* Long accounts of the procession to St. Paul's are given in *Hall, Stow, and Holinshed*. The Duke of York and the queen walked hand in hand. The great quarrel was between these two.

called upon Warwick for explanations. Warwick presented himself at Westminster; but in a few days he fled, alleging that his life was aimed at by the malice of the courtiers, who had set on men wearing the king's livery to assassinate him.¹ He joined his father, the Earl of Salisbury, and soon after they had a conference with the Duke of York and his friends. He then hastened over to Calais, where he was so popular, that his recall or dismissal by the government of Henry would have been but an idle ceremony. During the winter months he collected some veteran troops who had served in the French wars. In England the Yorkists were not less active; and as the court was raising an army as fast as the embarrassment of its finances would permit, it became evident that a fierce conflict was inevitable. The Yorkists asserted, as before, that they only armed for their own security. In the month of September, 1459, the Earl of Salisbury moved from Middleham Castle in Yorkshire, to join his forces to those of Duke Richard, who lay in the Welsh marches. At Bloreheath, near Drayton, in Shropshire, he found himself in presence of a Lancastrian army, commanded by Lord Audley, who had thrown himself between the earl and the duke with the view of preventing their junction. The Lancastrians were far superior in number; but Salisbury, by superior generalship, and the better discipline of his troops, gained a complete victory. Two thousand of the Lancastrians were slain, and Lord Audley himself was included in the number.

Salisbury joined the duke at Ludlow Castle, and Warwick, the true hero of these unhappy times, appeared there soon after with the fine troops he had raised at Calais.² The Lancastrians were not unprepared: 60,000 men had been collected from different parts, and Henry was at Worcester with this force. After some fruitless negotiations, the Lancastrians advanced from Worcester against their enemies, who, notwithstanding the comparative smallness of their numbers, boldly awaited their attack. The positions occupied by the Yorkists showed the military science

of Warwick and his father Salisbury. As the Lancastrians approached, they were cannonaded with some effect; the lines of the enemy were imposing; and it was resolved to put off the battle for that day. During the night, Sir Andrew Trollop, who was marshal of the Yorkist camp, and who had the immediate command of most of the men brought from Calais, deserted with all his veterans to the standard of Henry. This defection was so important that it finished the campaign: the Yorkists broke up from the intrenched camp near Ludlow, and retreated in different directions without being followed.

All this happened on the 13th and 14th of October, 1459. On the 20th of November a parliament met at Coventry, and attainted the Duke of York, his duchess, his sons, the Earl and Countess of Salisbury, their son the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Clinton, and many others. The Duke of York had got safely to Ireland, where he was still popular. The Earl of Warwick had retired to his sure asylum of Calais, conducting with him his father, the Earl of Salisbury, and the young Earl of March, the Duke Richard's heir. The court appointed the Duke of Somerset to the command of Calais; but when that obnoxious nobleman appeared before the port, the batteries opened upon him, and he was glad to escape to Guisnes. While he lay there, the

WAR-SHIPS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.³

mariners of his fleet deserted to a man, and went over to their great favourite, Warwick, carrying all the ships with them. This gave the "king-maker" the command of the Channel, and after taking two small fleets, fitted out by the Lancas-

¹ As Warwick was leaving the court, one of his retinue was struck by a servant of the royal household, and a dreadful fray followed. It is not proved that there was a design to murder the earl; but it is quite clear that the parties were in such a state that any accident must bring them to a collision.

² *Whethamstede; Hall; Scow.*

³ The nearer vessel is restored from the ship of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Cotton MS. Julius E. IV.; the distant from Froissart MS. in the British Museum.

trians, he sailed to Dublin.¹ From Ireland he returned to Calais, and then, crossing the Channel, he landed in Kent towards the end of June, 1460. He only brought 1500 men with him; but manifestoes had been previously circulated, and the men of Kent crowded to his banner. As he approached Canterbury, the archbishop, who had been promoted during the first protectorate of the Duke of York, went out to meet him and welcome him. The Lord Cobham and all the knights and gentlemen in the neighbourhood soon joined his army, which was swelled to 30,000 men before he reached Blackheath. On the 2d of July, the city of London welcomed him as a friend and deliverer; and he rode through the city accompanied by his father and Edward the heir of York, to whose beautiful person and promising appearance all eyes were turned. Five bishops followed in the train of Warwick, who, without losing time, continued his march into the midland counties. He found the Lancastrians at Northampton, occupying an intrenched camp, not unlike that which he and his friends had formed at Ludlow in the preceding year. There were other points of resemblance between these two affairs, for Lord Grey de Ruthyn now deserted the Lancastrians as Sir Andrew Trollop had deserted the Yorkists. The former, however, were not so fortunate in their retreat: they lost 300 knights and gentlemen, besides the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lords Beaumont and Egremont.² The unhappy Henry was taken prisoner a second time, but Margaret escaped with her son Edward, and, after many adventures, got into Scotland. The victors marched back to the capital and summoned a new parliament, to meet at Westminster. This parliament repealed all the acts passed at Coventry the year before, alleging that that parliament had not been duly and freely elected. Then the Duke of York, who had come over from Ireland, entered London with a splendid retinue. From the city he rode to Westminster, where he dismounted and entered the House of Lords. It was an exciting moment: he walked straight to the throne and laid his hand upon the gold cloth which covered it; but there he paused—looked round—and did not seat himself on the throne. He had, however, at last made up his mind to claim it. His friend, the Archbishop of Canterbury, asked him if he would not visit the king, who was in the palace hard by? The duke replied that Henry ought rather to wait upon him—that he was subject to no man in that realm—but, under God, was entitled to all sovereignty and respect. The peers maintained a dead silence, and the duke, leaving the house, took possession of

the royal palace as his own.³ In less than a week—on the 16th of October—the duke sent a formal demand of the crown to the lords, requiring their immediate answer. The lords told him that they refused justice to no man, but that they could give no answer without the advice and consent of the king. They, however, were forced to attend to the duke's paper, in which he traced his descent, and claimed as the representative of Roger Mortimer, whose right he maintained was according to all law preferable to that of a descendant of Henry of Bolingbroke, who had entered upon the thrones of England and France against all manner of right. Many of the great lords had attained to their greatness under Henry of Bolingbroke, his son, and grandson, whom it was now proposed to declare usurpers; and the Yorkists had irritated the tenderest susceptibilities of many of the lords by their repeated threats of resuming the estates and grants of the crown. At the same time, no doubt, they felt some sympathy for the inoffensive king, who, now that the queen was away, was pitied by the people at large. Indeed, a notion had gone forth that Henry was very likely to become a saint, and to be canonized, like his predecessor Edward the Confessor, whom he resembled in many respects. As the Duke of York would not brook delay, the lords waited upon Henry on the following morning. The captive king, or those who advised him, made a spirited reply, reminding the lords that he, as an infant, had inherited the crown which had been worn with honour by his father and his father's father—that he himself had been permitted to wear it without challenge for nearly forty years, and that the lords and princes had repeatedly sworn fealty to him. The lords were then requested to make search for arguments and proofs against the duke's right. The lords, greatly embarrassed, wished to have the opinion of the judges, but the judges asserted that such high matters could be decided only by the princes of the blood and the parliament, and refused to attend. The upper house then summoned the king's serjeants and attorneys, who were obliged to attend against their will, the lords holding them as bound by their office to give advice to the house. The lords deliberated and voted with an appearance of perfect freedom, just as if Warwick had not been nigh at the head of a victorious army; and, on the 23d of October, they presented their objections to Richard's title. These were—1. The duke's oaths of fealty and the oaths they had all taken to Henry; 2. Many acts of parliament passed since the accession of the house of Lancaster; 3. That entails had been made of the crown on the male line only, whereas he claimed

¹ Whetham; Paston Letters.² Whetham; Stow; Hall.³ Whetham; Hall; Rot. Parl.

through a female. The other two objections were thoroughly ridiculous; they referred to York not having borne his proper coat-of-arms, and to a declaration made by Henry IV., which everybody knew to be utterly false.

The duke's counsel had an easy task in replying to these objections. Nothing was of much weight except the oaths, and these the duke offered to refer to the consideration of the highest spiritual court. The lords were compelled to acknowledge that the hereditary law was wholly in favour of York. At the end of this curious inquiry, they suggested a compromise, which York had the moderation to accept. Henry was to retain the crown during his life; but at his death it was to devolve to Richard, and to be vested in him and his heirs, to the exclusion of Prince Edward, the son of Margaret of Anjou.¹

But there was a powerful party whose voices were not heard in these deliberations, and the energetic Margaret was at large exciting them to take up arms for her son. Soon the gentle hills of England glittered again with hostile lances; and hostile bands, collecting from all quarters, advanced to meet in two great armies, the one under the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Northumberland and Devon, and the Lords Clifford, Dacres, and Nevil; the other under the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury, and other lords. They met, on the last day but one of the year, at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, where Richard imprudently gave battle with forces very inferior in number. The onslaught was terrific; the men on both sides fought with savage fury, for the people had entered into the delicate questions of right and legitimacy, and their passions were worked up to frenzy. For a time the Yorkists maintained the conflict with a good hope of victory, but a sudden charge in their rear, made by some troops of Borderers who had been brought up by Queen Margaret, proved fatal to them. The duke himself was slain; and of 5000 men who had followed him to Wakefield, 2000 remained upon the field. The Earl of Salisbury was pursued and taken during the night: he was carried to Pontefract Castle, where he lost his head. York's second son, the Earl of Rutland, a beautiful boy only twelve or thirteen years old, was stopped at Wakefield bridge, as he was flee-

ing with a priest "called Sir Robert Aspoll, who was chaplain and schoolmaster to the young earl." The poor boy fell on his knees to pray for mercy, but as soon as he was known, Lord Clifford,



WAKEFIELD BRIDGE AND CHAPEL.—From an old view in the British Museum.

whose father had been killed by the Yorkists at St. Alban's, plunged his dagger into his heart, vowing, by God's blood, that he would do the like to all of kin to York; and then the savage bade Aspoll go on and tell his mother, the duchess, what had happened. England was not yet accustomed to such deeds, and a cry of horror ran through the land. Margaret vented what spite she could upon the lifeless body of Duke Richard; by her orders his head was stuck over a gate of the city of York, and a paper crown was put upon it in cruel mockery. Nearly all the officers and persons of note died fighting at Wakefield, where no quarter was given; but a few knights and esquires who escaped from the field were taken and executed by order of the queen at Pontefract and other places. This vindictive woman was mad for blood, and her fury was but too well seconded by such of the Lancastrians as had lost friends and relations in the war.

A.D. 1461. Edward, Earl of March, now

Duke of York, was lying at Gloucester when he received news of the death of his father, brother, and friends: he had raised a body

² Wakefield bridge was built in the reign of Edward III. It has eight arches. Leland notices it in his *Itinerary* as "a fair bridge of stone built over the Calder;" "and on the east side of the bridge," he says, "is a right goodly chapel of our Ladye." The chapel, which was removed not long since, stood upon the site of a chapel built by Edward III. (1327-77), which appears to have been pulled down and rebuilt by Edward IV. (1461-83), in memory of his father. The architecture is in the florid Gothic style of the fifteenth century. As the endowments were withdrawn at the dissolution it fell into decay, and was for some time used as the counting-house of a corn-factor. It is now set up in the grounds of a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Wakefield.

¹ Rot. Parl.; Whetham.; Hall.

of troops to reinforce the army in the north, but, being too late for that operation, he moved towards the south-east, with the intention of throwing himself between the queen's army and the capital, within the walls of which was the main strength of his party. The fate of Duke Richard, which was proclaimed in manifestoes, greatly irritated the vassals of the house of Mortimer, and thousands who had not moved before, now left the Welsh marches and followed the standard of his son. Upon this Edward was encouraged to proceed directly towards the queen; but he found an enemy sooner than he expected, for a great force of Welsh and Irish had been detached under Jasper Tudor, King Henry's half-brother, and a dreadful conflict took place on the 1st of February, at Mortimer's Cross, near Hereford. Edward gained a complete victory: 3600 of his enemies were left on the field; Owen Tudor, the second husband of Catherine of France, was taken, and, with eight other Lancastrians of rank, was beheaded at Hereford a few days after, as a retaliation for the queen's executions at Wakefield, Pontefract, and other parts in Yorkshire. Jasper, Owen Tudor's son, had the good fortune to escape out of the battle.

Before Edward could join him in the east, the Earl of Warwick was attacked and routed by the queen, who had followed the high northern road with good hopes of reaching London. At the town of St. Alban's, which was held by the Yorkists, she experienced a severe check; but, turning that position, she fell upon the army of Warwick, which occupied the hills to the south-east of the town. The combat was prolonged over the undulating country that lies between St. Alban's and Barnet; and the last stand was made by the men of Kent upon Barnet Common. At night-fall, Warwick found himself beaten at all points; and so precipitate was his retreat, that he left King Henry behind him at Barnet. The queen and her son found this helpless man in his tent, attended only by the Lord Montague, his chamberlain. In this running fight the Yorkists lost nearly 2000 men, and on the following day the Lord Bonville and the brave Sir Thomas Kyriel, who had been made prisoners, were executed in retaliation for the beheading of Owen Tudor and his companions at Hereford. On the 17th of February King Henry was freed again from the hands of his enemies: five days after, a proclamation was issued in his name, stating that he had consented to the late arrangement respecting the succession to the crown only through force and fear. Edward, "late Earl of March," was declared a traitor anew, and rewards were offered for his apprehension.

But Edward was now in a situation to proclaim traitors, and to put a price upon other men's

heads himself. His victory at Mortimer's Cross produced a great effect. As he marched eastward, every town and every village reinforced him, and when he joined the Earl of Warwick and collected that nobleman's scattered forces, he had an army more than equal to that of the queen. The favour of the Londoners, the cruelties of the queen, and the conduct of the undisciplined troops which she had brought from the north, made the balance incline wholly to the side of the Yorkists. It appears that Margaret and her party had no money, and that their troops subsisted by plunder. Wherever they stopped they laid the country bare, making free by the way with whatever they could carry off. After the battle, they not only plundered the town of St. Alban's, but also stripped the rich abbey.¹ At the same time the Londoners were told that Margaret had threatened to wreak her vengeance upon them for the favour they had so constantly shown to her enemies. She sent from Barnet to the city, demanding supplies of provisions; and the mayor, not knowing as yet that Edward was at hand, loaded some carts with "lenten stuff" for the refreshing of her army; but the people would not suffer them to pass, and, after an affray, stopped them at Cripple-gate. During this disturbance some 400 of the queen's horse, who had ridden from Barnet, plundered the northern suburbs of the city, and would have entered one of the gates, had they not been stoutly met and repulsed by the common people. A day or two after, on the 25th of February, the united forces of Edward and Warwick appeared in view, and were received as friends and deliverers. The northern army was in full retreat from St. Alban's, and Edward, who was a stranger to the scruples and indecision of his more amiable father, was fully resolved to seize the throne at once. He rode through the city like a king and a conqueror; and he was carried forward to his object by a high stream of popularity and the enthusiastic feelings of the people, who could not sufficiently admire his youth, beauty, and spirit, or pity his family misfortunes.

The Lord Falconberg got up a grand review of part of the army in St. John's Field; and a great number of the substantial citizens assembled with the multitude to witness this sight. Of a sudden, Falconberg and the Bishop of Exeter, one of Warwick's brothers, addressed the multitude thus assembled, touching the offences, crimes, and deceits of the late government—the long-proved incapacity of Henry—the usurpation and false title through which he had obtained the throne; and then the orators asked if they

¹ The plunder of the abbey entirely changed the worthy abbot's politics, and, from a zealous Lancastrian, Whethamstede became a Yorkist.

would have this Henry to reign over them any longer. The people with one voice cried "Nay, nay." Falconberg or the bishop then expounded the just title of Edward, formerly Earl of March, and drew a flattering, but not untrue picture of his valour, activity, and abilities. Then they asked the people if they would serve, love, and obey Edward; and the people of course shouted "Yea, yea;" crying "King Edward! King Edward!" with much shouting and clapping of hands. On the following day, the 2d of March, a great council, consisting of lords spiritual and temporal, deliberated and declared, without any reference to the authority of parliament, which never met till eight months after, that Henry of Lancaster, by joining the queen's forces, had broken faith and violated the award of the preceding year, and thereby forfeited the crown to

the heir of the late Duke of York, whose rights by birth had been proved and established. On the 4th of March, Edward rode royally to Westminster, followed by an immense procession. There he at once mounted the throne which his father had only touched with a faltering hand; and from that vantage ground he explained to a favourable audience the doctrine of hereditary right and the claims of his family. The people frequently interrupted him with their acclamations. He then proceeded to the Abbey church, where he repeated the same discourse, and where he was again interrupted by shouts of "Long live King Edward!" On the same day he was proclaimed in the usual manner in different parts of the city.

At the time he took these bold steps Edward was not twenty-one years old.

CHAPTER V.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

EDWARD IV.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1461—DEATH, A.D. 1483.

Edward IV., on his accession, prosecutes the war—He defeats the Lancastrians at Towton—His coronation—His claims confirmed—Queen Margaret's exertions, in Scotland and France, to restore her party—They rally and are defeated—Henry VI. imprisoned in the Tower—Edward IV. marries Lady Elizabeth Gray—Indignation of Edward's supporters at the marriage—Rapacity of the new queen's relations—Rupture between Edward and the Earl of Warwick—Marriage of the Duke of Clarence with Warwick's daughter—Disturbances in England—Quarrels between Edward and Warwick—Warwick and Clarence obliged to leave England—Reconciliation between Warwick and Margaret of Anjou—Warwick resolves to restore Henry VI.—Unexpected landing of the earl in England—Flight of Edward to the Continent—Henry VI. led back from prison to the throne—Edward's sudden return—His pacific professions on landing—His welcome in London—Battle of Barnet, and defeat and death of Warwick—Landing of Queen Margaret in England—Her total defeat by Edward at Tewkesbury—Atrocious murder of Prince Edward, son of Henry VI.—Sanguinary proceedings of the victors—Death of Henry VI. in the Tower—Quarrels between the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester—Edward sends a defiance to the King of France—He invades France—Interview between Edward and King Louis—Edward's campaign turned into jollity and revel—His inglorious return to England—Continuing dissension among Edward's brothers—Clarence accused of sorcery and treason—His mysterious death in the Tower—Disturbances in Scotland—The Duke of Gloucester invades Scotland—Indecisive results of his campaign—Louis of France violates his engagements to Edward—His politic aggressions on Burgundy—Death of Edward IV.



INSTEAD of staying in London to enjoy the pageant and festivity of a coronation, Edward was obliged to take the field instantly, and face the horrors of a war which became more and more merciless. The Lancastrians, after their retreat from St. Alban's, had gathered in greater force than ever behind the Trent and the Humber; and, by the middle of March, they took up ground in the neighbourhood of the city of York, being, horse and foot together, 60,000 strong. Their chief commander was the Duke of Somerset, who acted in concert with Queen Margaret; for Henry still lay helpless at York, and the Prince Edward, Margaret's son, was only

eight years old. Instead of awaiting their attack in the southern counties, the Yorkists determined to meet them on their own ground in the north. This resolution was adopted by the advice of the Earl of Warwick, who set out at once with the van of the army. Edward closely followed him; and, partly through good-will to him and his cause, and still more from an anxious wish to prevent a second visit from the northern army, the men of the south flocked to his advancing banner, and by the time he reached Pontefract Castle, he was at the head of an army of 49,000 men.

England had never before witnessed such a

campaign as this. There was no generalship displayed; the ordinary precautions and manoeuvres of war were despised, and Yorkists and Lancastrians moved on in furious masses, with no other plan than to meet and strike. They met in full force at Towton, on the 28th of March, and began a general combat in the midst of a terrible snow-storm. They fought from nine o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon, when the Lancastrians, who were more numerous than their adversaries, but not so well armed and equipped, were driven from the field, upon which they left 28,000 dead—a far greater number than had fallen in battle on the side of the English during the whole French war. Edward, who had none of the generous or merciful feelings of youth, had ordered that no quarter should be given. The Earl of Northumberland and six northern barons died fighting; the Earls of Devonshire and Wiltshire were taken prisoners and beheaded as traitors. The Duke of Somerset, the commander-in-chief, escaped with the Duke of Exeter to York, whence they fled rapidly to the Scottish borders, carrying with them Queen Margaret, her son, and her husband. The previous battles of the Roses sink into insignificance when compared with this mighty slaughter: the loss on both sides had hitherto usually ranged between the moderate numbers of three hundred and five or six thousand; but at Towton there perished, between Yorkists and Lancastrians, thirty-eight thousand men.¹

Edward entered York a very short time after the flight of Henry, and having decapitated some of his prisoners, and stuck their heads upon the walls, from which he took down the heads of his father and young brother, he continued his march as far north as Newcastle. The people submitted to the conqueror, whose hands were yet reeking with the blood shed at Towton; but the Scots, who had contracted a close alliance with Henry, were disposed to give him further trouble. But Edward, confident in his officers, and impatient for his coronation, soon left the

army and returned to London. On the 29th of June he was crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnities; and he then created his brother George Duke of Clarence, and his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester.

The Scots, who had been gratified by the gift of their old town of Berwick, laid siege to Carlisle, and assisted Margaret in making an incursion into the county of Durham: but both these operations were unsuccessful. Henry, who was

carried about by the Lancastrians, had a narrow escape from being made prisoner near Durham; and the Scottish army before Carlisle was defeated with great loss by Lord Montague, one of Edward's commanders. By the time the new king assembled his first parliament, which was not till the 4th of November, all opposition had disappeared, and there was no armed force on foot in England, except such bands of his victorious army as he could afford to keep embodied. As the chiefs of the Lancastrian party were all proscribed, or about to be so, as some of the peers were absent, and others intimidated, and as the

House of Commons and the city of London were declared and enthusiastic Yorkists, no opposition was to be apprehended. An act was passed to declare Edward's just title. No allusion was made to the mental derangement or incapacity of Henry, or to any of those demerits in the late government which might have justified this revolution. The position assumed was the high ground of legitimacy. After stating Edward's right by descent, the act proceeded to declare the three kings of the Lancastrian line tyrants and usurpers, and to recite how, upon the 4th day of the month of March last past, Edward had "taken upon him the realm of England and lordship of Ireland, and entered into the exercise of the royal estate, dignity, and pre-eminence, having on the same 4th day of March, removed Henry, late called Henry VI., son to Henry, son to the said Henry, late Earl of Derby, son to John of Gaunt, from the occupation, intrusion, reign, and government of the realm."² The act thus confirmed Edward's



EDWARD IV.—From a rare print by R. Elstracke.

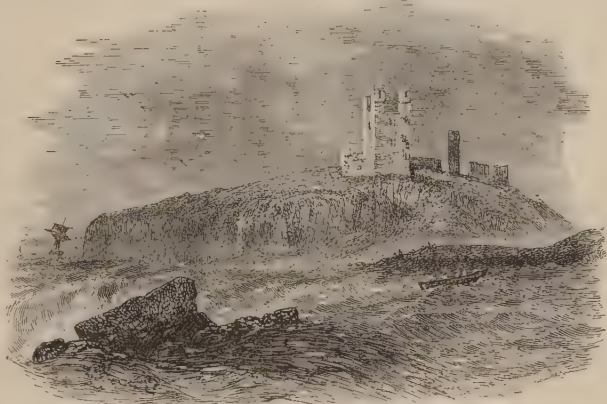
¹ Paston Letters; Cont. Hist. Croy.

² Rot. Parl.

title, and fixed the commencement of his reign from the 4th of March, the day on which he had been proclaimed. The other proceedings of the parliament were in keeping with this act: the grants made by the three Henries were resumed, with certain exceptions, and bills of attainder were passed against the expelled king, the queen, Prince Edward, the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the Earls of Northumberland, Devonshire, Wiltshire, and Pembroke, the Lords Beaumont, De Roos, Nevil, Rougemont, Dacres, and Hungerford, and 150 knights, esquires, and priests. Considering the fearful thinning the party had undergone on the bloody field of Towton, this proscription must have included most of the great heads of the Lancastrian faction. As usual in such cases, the loyalty of the Yorkists was gratified and enlivened with gifts of the forfeited estates. Before the dissolution Edward made a gracious speech to the commons, thanking them for the "tender and true hearts" they had shown unto him, and promising to be unto them a "very right wise and loving lord."¹

If the deposed Henry had been left to himself, he would have found peace, and as much happiness as he was susceptible of, within the walls of some religious house; but Margaret was as resolute and as active as ever, and nothing was left to the proscribed nobles but their desperateswords. The queen, on finding her intrigues in Scotland counteracted by the money and the large promises of Edward, passed over to France, to see what assistance might be obtained from family affection, and gratitude for past services. The Duke of Brittany, pitying her forlorn condition, gave her a little money; but Louis XI., who had succeeded in the preceding year to his father Charles VII., was a most cunning, cautious prince—one that never gave anything without an equivalent, immediate or prospective, and who had even less family affection than the generality of kings. Louis explained how poor he was, how distracted the state of his kingdom; but when Margaret spoke of delivering up Calais as the price of his aid, he turned a more ready ear. He was not, however, in a condition to do much; and all that the fugitive queen obtained from him was the sum of 20,000 crowns, and about 2000 men, under the command of Peter de Brezé, seneschal of Normandy, who, it ap-

pears, raised most of the men at his own expense. Such a reinforcement was not likely to turn the tide of victory. Margaret, however, returned to England, and threw herself into Northumberland, where she was joined by the English exiles and some troops from the borders of Scotland. She even obtained some trifling successes, taking the castles of Alnwick, Bamborough, and Dunstanburgh; but she was obliged to flee when the Earl of Warwick advanced with 20,000 men: the French got back to their ships, all but 500, who were cut to pieces at Holy Island. A storm assailed her flying ships; the vessels that bore her money and stores were wrecked on the coast, and she and De Brezé reached Berwick in a wretched fishing-boat. This was in the month of November. In December, Warwick reduced Bamborough and Dunstanburgh; or rather those places surrendered, on condition that the Duke of Somerset, Sir Richard Percy, and some others, should be restored to their estates and honours, upon taking oaths of allegiance to Edward; and that the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord de Roos, and the rest of the garrisons of the two places should be allowed to retire in safety to Scotland. Alnwick Castle was garrisoned by more determined men; and an attempt was made by a Lancastrian



DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE.²—Finden's Ports and Harbours.

force to relieve it; but Warwick got possession of it by capitulation early in January.

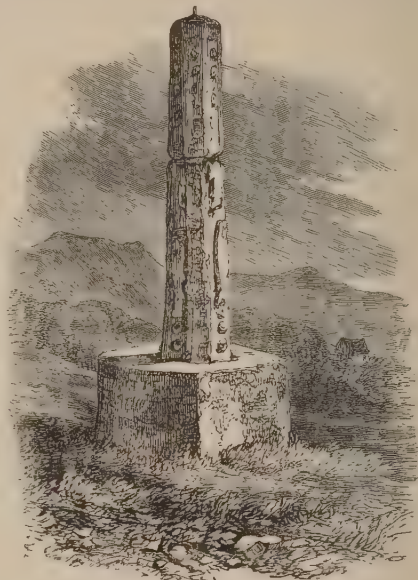
Edward gave Alnwick to Sir A.D. 1463. John Ashley; and this circumstance converted Sir Ralph Gray from a very violent Yorkist into a very violent Lancastrian;

² Dunstanburgh Castle is not recorded earlier than the beginning of the fourteenth century, when it was rebuilt by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who likewise owned Pontefract Castle. It was taken and dismantled by Edward IV., but its extensive ruins still inclose an area, nearly square, of about nine acres. There is no appearance of the keep, the remains consisting only of the outworks. Dunstanburgh Castle is situated six miles north-east from Alnwick.

for Gray had expected to get Alnwick for himself. This kind of sudden political conversion became very prevalent. Somerset and Percy got back their lands, and their attainders were reversed in parliament. King Henry was now conveyed for safety to one of the strongest castles in Wales. Margaret sailed once more from Scotland, to solicit foreign aid. She landed at Sluis, in Flanders, attended by De Brezé, the Duke of Exeter, and a small body of English exiles. Philip, Duke of Burgundy and Lord of Flanders, with all the adjoining country, was the same Duke Philip that had so long been the ally of the Lancastrians, and that had repeatedly sworn oaths of fealty to Henry; but the whole political system of his early life had changed, and in his old age he had become cautious and reserved. He had no wish to quarrel with the predominant faction in England; his subjects of Flanders were intolerant of all measures likely to interrupt their trade with the English; the duke therefore gave Margaret some money to supply her immediate wants, and sent her with an honourable escort to her father in Lorraine, counselling her to wait events and be patient. But patience was a virtue little known to Margaret of Anjou, who, though she remained some years on the Continent, never remitted her endeavours to raise up enemies against Edward, and stir the people of England to fresh revolts.

A.D. 1464. As early as the month of April the Lancastrians were again in the field. The Duke of Somerset, in spite of his recent submission, flew to the north, where Percy had raised the banner of King Henry, who had been brought from Wales to give the sanction of his presence to this ill-arranged insurrection. The Lord Montague, brother to the Earl of Warwick, scattered their forces or prevented their joining: he defeated Percy on the 25th of April, at Hedgley Moor, near Wooler; he surprised Somerset on the 15th of May, at Hexham. Percy died fighting; the Duke of Somerset and the Lords de Roos and Hungerford were taken and beheaded; and their deaths were followed by a series of executions at Newcastle, Durham, and York. Sir Ralph Gray, who had been out in this affair with the Lancastrians, was taken by the Earl of Warwick in the castle of Bamborough some weeks after, and carried to King Edward, who, during the short, murderous campaign, had been detained at Doncaster by an illness. Edward treated Gray with the utmost severity; his knightly spurs were stricken off by the king's cook; his coat-of-arms was torn from his body, and another coat, reversed, put upon his back: he was sent bare-foot to the town's end, and then he was laid down on a hurdle, and drawn to a scaffold, where his head was struck off. King

Henry lurked for a long time among the moors of Lancashire and Westmoreland. About a year after the battle of Hexham he removed into



PERCY'S CROSS ON HEDGLEY MOOR.—Scott's Border Antiquities.

Yorkshire, where he was recognized by some persons of the opposite faction, or, as some say, betrayed by a monk. In the month of July he was seized in Waddington Hall, as he was sitting at dinner, by the servants of Sir James Harrington, who, with his associates, the Tempests, Talbots, and other Yorkists of those parts, forwarded the royal prisoner with a good guard to the capital. As the captive king rode through Islington, he was met by the Earl of Warwick, who lodged him safely in the Tower.

The destruction of the greatest of his enemies, the flight of Queen Margaret, the captivity of her husband, the truces and treaties he had concluded with Scotland, with the King of France, with the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Brittany, the Kings of Denmark, Poland, Castile, and Aragon, and the congratulations of the pope on his accession, seemed to prove that Edward's throne was safe and unassailable; but a sudden passion for a beautiful woman—the least dishonourable and ungenerous passion he ever indulged in—shook the throne until it fell; and he, in his turn, became, for a season, a fugitive in foreign lands. Jacquetta, once Duchess of Bed-

¹ This monument, to commemorate the death of Sir Richard Percy, stands on Hedgley Moor, in Northumberland, about sixty paces east of the road which runs from Morpeth to Wooler. It consists of a stone pillar fixed in a pedestal, having the arms of Percy and Lucy cut upon it in relief.

ford, was still living with her second husband, Sir Richard Woodville, or Wydeville. One day Edward paid this lady a visit at her manor of Grafton, near Stony-Stratford. By accident or design, Jacquetta had with her at the time of this visit, her beautiful daughter Elizabeth, who was widow of Sir John Gray, a Lancastrian, who had been slain in the second battle of St. Alban's, and whose estates had been forfeited. This young widow threw herself at the feet of the young and amorous sovereign, imploring him to reverse the attainder of Sir John Gray, in favour of her innocent and helpless children. Whether the effect of this touching appeal was foreseen or not, it seems quite certain that the experienced Jacquetta contrived to turn it to the best account for the advantage of her daughter, and that it was through her ingenious manoeuvres that the impetuous Edward was induced to contract a private marriage with Elizabeth at Grafton on the morning of the 1st of May, 1464. The fears of Edward induced him to keep this union a profound secret for some months; but on the 29th of September, having prepared his friends and gathered around him the relations and connections of his wife, who, notwithstanding their having been all of them Lancastrians, were not slow in changing their politics when Elizabeth became queen, he summoned a great council of the prelates and lay lords to meet in the royal abbey of Reading. There the king's brother, the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick, who are generally supposed to have been incensed at the unequal and impolitic marriage, took the fair Elizabeth by the hand, and introduced her to the august assembly, by which she was welcomed as their good and right queen. In the month of December following, Edward summoned another great council at Westminster, which settled upon his wife 4000 marks a-year. Early in the following year he began to make preparations for her coronation; Jacquetta, who was come of a princely line, suggested or seconded an invitation which Edward sent to her brother James of Luxemburg; and James came over with a retinue of 100 knights and esquires to do honour to the coronation of his niece. On Saturday, the 25th of May, Elizabeth was paraded in a horse-litter through the streets of London, being most richly attired, and escorted by thirty-eight new-made knights of the Bath, four of whom were citizens of London; and on Sunday she was crowned at Westminster. The feasts, the tournaments, and public rejoicings which followed were unusually magnificent.

Up to this time Edward had left most of the offices and emoluments of government to the great family of the Nevils, to whom he indisputably owed his crown. Warwick, the eldest

brother, was chief minister, general, and admiral; he held, besides, the post of warden of the West Marches, chamberlain, and governor of Calais—the last the most profitable of all. The second brother, the Lord Montague, after his victories at Hedgley Moor and Hexham, had received the title and forfeited estates of the Percies, Earls of Northumberland, and he had the wardenship of the East Marches besides. The youngest brother, whom Edward had found Bishop of Exeter, had received the seals as chancellor on the 10th of March, 1461, six days after Edward's accession; and he had very recently been raised to the archiepiscopal see of York. Other members of the family had found most liberal provisions in the spoil and estates of the Lancastrian families; and while Edward had employed himself in the pursuit of pleasure, the Nevils had had their own way in the council. But now the Woodvilles, the Grays, all the relations and connections of the new queen, rushed to the table with an enormous and indiscriminating appetite, every man, in right of consanguinity, seeking a title, an estate, a place, or a rich wife. The court had great influence in such matters; and as the fortunes of the family had taken a turn by an unexpected marriage, they seem to have determined to pursue the system, and actually contracted five or six profitable alliances in a very short time. In one of these matches they clashed with the Nevils. Warwick had solicited the hand of the heiress of the Duke of Exeter for his own nephew; but by the superior influence of Elizabeth, this young lady was contracted to Thomas Gray, her eldest son by her former marriage. The Nevils were incensed at this measure; and other things trenching on their monopoly soon followed. The queen's father, now created Earl Rivers, was made treasurer in the place of their friend Lord Mountjoy; and, shortly after, the hitherto insignificant husband of Jacquetta was made lord high constable, in lieu of the Earl of Worcester. Other great families were irritated by the queen absorbing five heirs of dukes or earls for her five unmarried sisters. For a time the history of this reign is nothing but a scandalous chronicle of match-making and match-breaking, and selfish family intrigues.

In this year a marriage was negotiated for Edward's sister, Margaret of York, whose hand was solicited by Charles, Count of Charolois, heir to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and by Louis XI. of France, Charles' deadly enemy, for one of his sons. This Count of Charolois, who, in a very few months, succeeded to his father, and who obtained the name of Charles the Rash, had always been the declared friend of Henry VI. and the Lancastrians; but he changed, like other men, on seeing

Edward firmly established, and courted his alliance, in the hope that he would assist him against Louis. Edward inclined to these proposals, and was in this probably seconded by the nation, which considered the trade with Flanders as a primary object, and which never was well disposed to French marriages and alliances; but Warwick, who hated the Count of Charolois, insisted that it would be more honourable and advantageous to marry Margaret to the French prince. Edward yielded, or pretended to yield to his arguments, and commissioned the great earl himself to go over to France and negotiate the alliance. Warwick went with his usual magnificence; and the astute Louis, who beat all his contemporaries in king-craft, received him with the honours usually paid to a sovereign prince. The first interview took place at La Bouille, on the Seine, five leagues from Rouen, on the 7th of June. Warwick then proceeded to the capital of Normandy. "The queen and princesses came likewise to Rouen; and the king remained there with the Earl of Warwick the space of twelve days, when the earl returned to England."¹ During the whole or the greater part of the time that Warwick stayed at Rouen the King of France lodged in the next house, and he visited the earl at all hours, passing through a private door with a great air of mystery. This looks like one of the usual mischievous tricks of Louis, who must have known that the best way to weaken and distract the English government was to provoke suspicions and a rupture between Edward and Warwick. The earl arrived in London on the 5th of July, and he was soon followed by the French king's ambassadors, the Archbishop of Narbonne and the Bastard of Bourbon, who, it appears, were charged to put the finishing hand to the treaty of alliance. But another more prevailing bastard had been before them. Under pretence of performing a joust with Edward's wife's brother, Anthony Woodville, who, by marrying the heiress of the late lord, had become Lord Scales, Anthony, Bastard of Burgundy, had crossed over to England while Warwick was absent in France. According to the chronicler, this visitor performed his deeds of arms much to his credit; but the encounter did not last long—"for as it was done to pleasure the King of England, he would not suffer the combat to continue fierce any time, so that it seemed rather for pastime."² Indeed, Messire Anthony had come on another errand than to get his bones broken in Smithfield, where the joust was held. He was commissioned by the Count of Charolois to press the match with Margaret; and he had obtained the promise of Edward, who overlooked

the commission he had given Warwick to treat with King Louis. If afterwards any obstacle arose, it was removed by the sudden death of Duke Philip, which happened at Bruges, on the 15th of July, and which left to the count, his heir, the succession of states and territories which exceeded in wealth, if not in extent, the whole kingdom of France as then possessed by Louis. Such a suitor was sure to prevail over a weak young French prince with nothing but a narrow and uncertain appanage. But weighty as were these considerations, they did not prevent the proud Earl of Warwick from considering himself juggled, insulted, and disgraced; and as the king, who had resigned himself to the counsels of the queen's relations, took no steps to soothe his irritation, he soon retired, in the worst of humours, to his castle of Middleham. Edward, upon this, pretended to be in danger from treasonable attempts: he no longer moved anywhere without a strong body-guard of archers, and he or his court circulated reports that Warwick had been won by Louis, and that that king considered him as secretly disposed to restore the line of Lancaster. The Nevils were now expelled from court; but the youngest of the brothers, George, Archbishop of York and chancellor, notwithstanding the family resentment, put himself forward as an arbitrator and peace-maker; and chiefly by his means a reconciliation was effected in the beginning of the following year.³

Warwick presented himself again A.D. 1468. at court and in the capital, where he was hailed by the people. He appeared with the king and queen in some public pageants; but he could not tolerate the abridgment of his influence. The Woodvilles and the Grays, on the other hand, thought that he was still too powerful; and Edward, who desired a life of ease and pleasure, was annoyed by the stern interference of the man who had made him a king. It was soon understood that all this was likely to end in another field of Towton.

The Duke of Clarence, second brother to King Edward, was considered as next male heir to the throne; for Edward, as yet, had only daughters by his marriage with Elizabeth. The duke's position probably made him an object of suspicion and dislike to the queen, and, at the same time, of ambitious speculation to Warwick, whose society he much affected. The earl had a daughter, the fair Isabella, who, it appears, inspired the young prince with a sincere, and, for a time, uncalculating passion. Edward and the queen's party endeavoured to prevent the union; but, in spite of all opposition, the Duke of Clarence married the Lady Isabella at Calais, in the month of

¹ Monstrelet, *Contin.*

² *Ibid.*

³ Worcester; Rymer.

July, 1469. While the Earl of Warwick and his brother, the Archbishop of York, were engaged abroad with this ceremony, an insurrection of the farmers and peasants of Yorkshire broke out, and assumed a very alarming character; and it appears that Warwick's other brother, the Earl of Northumberland, who was on the spot, did little to crush it. The rallying words of the insurgents varied several times; but at last they fixed in a general cry for the removal of the queen's relations—the taxers and oppressors—from the council. Edward advanced as far as Newark; but his army was weak and unsteady, and he fled, rather than retreated, to Nottingham. From Nottingham Castle he wrote letters with his own hand to Calais, beseeching his brother Clarence, Warwick, and the archbishop to come immediately to his assistance. These personages did not appear for some weeks, and in the interval a royal army, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, was defeated at Edgecote, on the 26th of July. Pembroke fell in the battle, and it is said that 5000 of his men perished with him. The insurgents, in a hot pursuit, overtook and captured in the forest of Dean the Earl Rivers, the father, and Sir John Woodville, one of the brothers of the queen; they carried these victims to Northampton, and there cut off both their heads. The Earl of Devon, whose folly and pride had been the real cause of the wretched defeat at Edgecote, was also taken and beheaded. The court believed that the insurgents in these executions acted under orders received from Clarence and his father-in-law Warwick.¹ These great personages, with the Archbishop of York, now arrived in England, and being joined by the Archbishop of Canterbury, they repaired in a very friendly manner to Olney, where they found Edward in a most unhappy condition; his friends were dead or scattered, fleeing for their lives or hiding themselves in remote places; the insurgents were almost upon him. A word from Warwick sent the rebels quietly back to the north; but the king was scarcely freed from that danger ere he found that he was a prisoner in the hands of his pretended liberators, who presently carried him to the strong castle of Middleham. Thus England had two kings, and both prisoners.

At this remarkable crisis the Lancastrians rose in arms in the marches of Scotland; and, after some trifling successes in those parts, meditated an advance into the south. Warwick had at this moment no notion of restoring Henry. In conjunction with the parliament, he summoned all loyal subjects to the standard of King Edward,

and immediately marched northward to meet these new insurgents. The murmurs of the army compelled him to release his captive; and at York Edward was presented to the troops as a free and happy king. Warwick then went on and dispersed the Lancastrians: he took their leader prisoner, and brought him to Edward, who ordered his immediate execution. Soon after—but not before Warwick and his associates had exacted sundry grants and places—Edward was allowed to return to London, where, for the first time since his leaving Olney, he became really free. Then family treaties were signed, pledges given, and the most solemn oaths interchanged—each party binding itself to forgive and forget all that had passed. Edward was to love his brother Clarence as before; and even the insurgents of Yorkshire and other parts were included in an amnesty.²

In the month of February, when A.D. 1470. this family peace had lasted about twelve weeks, the Archbishop of York gave an entertainment to the king, the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick, at his manor of the Moor, in Hertfordshire. As Edward was washing his hands previous to supper, an attendant whispered in his ear that an armed band was lurking near the house. Without his supper, and without any examination as to the correctness of this report, the king got secretly to horse, and, riding all night, reached Windsor Castle. The Duchess of York, the mother of the king, and the friend of Warwick, laboured to dispel these jealousies and animosities, and another hollow reconciliation was brought about. But then there broke out an insurrection among the commons of Lincolnshire, who complained of the extortions and oppressions of the purveyors and other officers of the royal household. Although he believed that this new disorder was their own work, the king was obliged to permit the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick to take the command of some forces destined for its suppression. Edward, however, marched from a different point with a more numerous army; and, after some faithless and savage deeds, he came up with the insurgents before Clarence and Warwick could reach them, and beat them in a sanguinary battle, which was fought on the 12th of March, at Erpingham, in Rutlandshire. The common insurgents were permitted to depart; but all the leaders who had not fallen in battle were sent to the block. The king then turned openly against his brother Clarence and Warwick, who, it was said, would have joined the insurgents on the following day. After some military manoeuvres and long marches, the duke and the earl found

¹ It seems, however, probable that the unfortunate men were sacrificed by the spontaneous fury of the people. The Earl of Devon was beheaded at Bridgewater.

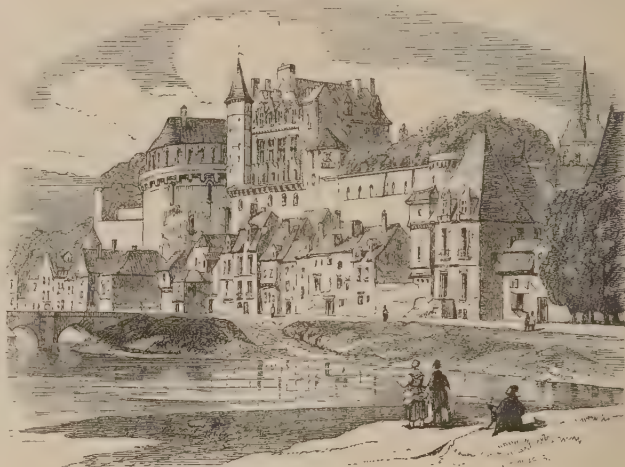
² *Cont. Hist. Croyl.; Rot. Parl.; Paston Letters.*

it necessary to disband their forces, and listen to conditions which the king offered by proclamation from the city of York. These terms were not very harsh, if they had been honourably meant; but they were not, and this was well known. Warwick, therefore, turned from the north, fled into Devonshire, and, with his wife, daughter, and several other ladies, his son-in-law Clarence, and a considerable number of friends, embarked at Dartmouth, and made sail for Calais. But when, after a tedious navigation, he reached his old place of refuge, he found the artillery of Calais pointed against his ships, and, on seeking an explanation, learned that a Gascon knight, whom he had left there as his lieutenant, was advised of all that had recently passed in England, and was resolved to keep the place for King Edward.

Warwick then sailed away for the coast of Normandy, to seek a temporary asylum with his cunning friend King Louis, who was right glad to see him as he was; for, in the preceding year, as soon as Warwick had made his peace with Edward, it had been resolved to join the Duke of Burgundy, who was at war with the French, and to send a great English army to the Continent. It was in the month of May that Warwick, Clarence, and their families landed at Harfleur, where the Lord-admiral of France received them all with great respect, showing much gallantry to the ladies. Their vessels were admitted into the harbour, though they were numerous enough to excite some suspicion. After a short time, the ladies with their retinues were honourably escorted to Valogne, where lodgings had been prepared for them by order of the French king. Though a truce had been concluded, Louis was exasperated against his nominal vassal Charles the Rash, who, since his marriage, had become wholly English and Yorkist: he wore on all occasions the blue garter on one of his legs, and the red cross on his mantle, which, adds the chronicler, plainly showed how fierce an enemy he was to his liege lord the King of France. When the Duke Charles heard of the honourable reception given to the fugitives, and of Warwick's men being allowed to sell the captured ships and goods of his subjects in Normandy, he became still more furious, and, by way of reprisal, seized upon all the French mer-

chants who had gone to the fair of Antwerp. Louis, who was prepared for a war, cared little for all this, and gave frequent audience to the fugitives at Tours, Amboise, Vendôme, and other places. He was happy in his own way; for never did sovereign so delight in political manoeuvre and intrigue, and never was intrigue more difficult than the one he had now upon his hands.

In the month of June, in the château of Amboise the fallen Lancastrian Queen Margaret



THE CHATEAU OF AMBOISE.—From *France Monumentale et Pittoresque*.

and her son the Prince of Wales met (at first by secret appointment) their old enemy the Earl of Warwick. It was a scene for Shakspeare. Warwick had accused the queen of an attempt to murder him, and he knew her to have been the person that had sent his own father, his friends and associates, to the block. Margaret had cursed the name of Warwick for fifteen long years of misfortune and humiliation. Through that nobleman's means her husband was a prisoner, and she and her son, after suffering the extremity of privation and peril, were exiles and wanderers, dependent on the stinted bounty of relations or political friends. But even the vengeance and hatred of Margaret of Anjou could give way to higher considerations, and, when Warwick joined in cursing Edward of York, and engaged to restore the Lancastrian line, either in the person of her husband or son, she took him to her heart as a friend and brother. The great earl, however, did not engage to do all this without driving another of his hard bargains. Margaret's son, Prince Edward, married the Lady Anne, Warwick's second daughter; and thus though he destroyed the prospects of Isabella, Duchess of Clarence, he still provided, and in a

more direct manner, that one of his children should be Queen of England. "An unaccountable match this," exclaims Comines, "to dethrone and imprison the father, and then marry his daughter to the son; but this was by King Louis' adroit management." "It was no less surprising," continues the chronicler, who wrote of state matters with the knowledge of a statesman and diplomatist, "that he should delude the Duke of Clarence, brother to the king whom he opposed, who ought, in reason, to have dreaded and endeavoured to prevent the restoration of the house of Lancaster; but affairs of this nice nature are to be managed with great craft and artifice, and not without." Up to this point it seems pretty evident that Warwick's scheme was to place his first son-in-law, the Duke of Clarence, upon the throne instead of his brother Edward; but this plan would never have found favour in the sight of King Louis, whose assistance was indispensable, and even the all-prevailing Warwick might have doubted whether the Yorkists, to whom he must have addressed himself in this case, would have been mad enough to divide against each other, and endanger a revolution which had been effected with such difficulty. The Lancastrian party, on the contrary, weakened though it was, was quite ready for another desperate plunge into the vortex; and Warwick, who was determined to recover his ascendancy and vast property, and to be revenged on him whom he considered the ungrateful king of his own making, by whatsoever means that offered, did not despair, when allied with Margaret and her son, of making that party believe in the sincerity of his conversion, though he had slaughtered their relations and friends in the field and on the scaffold.

The Duke of Clarence was at this time not much more than twenty-one years old, and, judging from all that is recorded of him, he must have conjoined a weak, bad head to a very indifferent heart. He was not, however, so far gone in fatuity as to be insensible to Warwick's startling alliance—perilous to the whole house of York—or to be blind to his own false position; and now an excellent negotiator came to him from his brother's court in the person of a fair lady. Comines, who was actively engaged in some of these transactions as friend, agent, and confidential minister of the Duke of Burgundy, and who had gone to Calais to keep the lieutenant-governor "true to his principles," tells us, that one day a lady of quality passed through that town into France to join the Duchess of Clarence. "But," he adds, "the secret business to be managed by this lady was to implore the Duke of Clarence not to contribute to the subversion of his own family, by going along with

those who were endeavouring to restore the house of Lancaster—to remember their old insolences, and the hereditary hatred that was between them, and not to be so infatuated as to imagine that the Earl of Warwick, who had married his daughter to the Prince of Wales, and sworn allegiance already, would not endeavour to put that prince upon the throne to the exclusion of all the Yorkists. This lady managed the affair with so much cunning and dexterity, that she prevailed with the duke to go over to King Edward's party, the duke desiring first to be in England. This lady was no fool nor blabber; and being on her way to join her mistress the Duchess of Clarence, she, for that reason, was employed in this secret mission rather than a man." This mission appears to have been the sole precaution taken by Edward or his court at this crisis. "The king seemed never concerned at anything, but still followed his gallantries and his hunting; and nobody was so great with him as the Archbishop of York and the Marquis of Montague, both brothers to the Earl of Warwick: these swore to be true to him against all enemies whatsoever, and the thoughtless king put an entire confidence in them."¹ His brother-in-law, Charles the Rash, was both prudent and active on this occasion: he got ready a strong fleet to blockade Harfleur and the mouth of the Seine; he sent Edward word of the very port where Warwick designed to land; and, as the sea was an uncertain element, and the earl might break his blockade and escape his ships, he repeatedly warned him to take care of himself, and put his kingdom in a posture of defence. But Edward only laughed at these fears: he said he wished his adversary were landed; and only begged the duke to keep a good look-out at sea, so as to prevent the earl from again escaping into France, when he, Edward, should have beaten him in battle by land.

Warwick did not make him wait long. The Duke of Burgundy's fleet, which lay in battle array at Havre, was dispersed by a storm: as soon as the weather cleared Warwick set sail with a fair wind, and on the 13th of September landed safely on the Devonshire coast. Edward at the moment was in the north, whither, it appears, he had been drawn by a feigned revolt headed by some of the Nevils. The great earl had not been landed above five or six days before the whole country flocked to his standard. "Fully furnished on every side by his kindred and friends, he took his way towards London, where he expected to find more open friends than privy enemies."² The capital, indeed, had been greatly excited by one Doctor Godard, who had preached at St. Paul's Cross in favour of the king in the Tower; and, in the neighbourhood,

¹ Comines.² Hall.

the men of Kent had taken up arms. As London seemed secure, and as news was brought that Edward had retraced his steps to Nottingham, Warwick soon changed his direction, and marched straight towards the Trent, summoning every man between the ages of sixteen and sixty to join him. Edward, in the mean time, found that the men he summoned did not come, and that those who were with him began to desert. One day, as he sat at dinner, news was brought him that the Marquis of Montague, Warwick's brother, and several other persons of quality, had mounted their horses and caused the soldiers to toss their bonnets in the air, and cry "God bless King Harry!" Edward was at this moment in Lincolnshire, near the river Welland: he instantly armed himself, and posted a battalion of his guards at a neighbouring bridge in order to prevent the passage of the enemy, for Warwick's van was within half a day's march of him. The Lord Hastings was with Edward with a body of 3000 horse; but Hastings had married a sister of the Earl of Warwick, and, while the king had probably no great confidence in him, the soldiers possibly had no great affection for the queen's brother, Earl Rivers, who was also in attendance. Edward, at all events, determined to flee; and as his bravery was always conspicuous, we must conclude that resistance was hopeless.

It happened that his quarters were at no great distance from the sea, and a small ship that followed with provisions for his army lay at anchor with two Dutch vessels hard by, apparently in the Wash.¹ He had but just time to get on board these vessels, with a few lords and knights, and about 300 men. Before leaving the rest, they were exhorted to go and join the Earl of Warwick, pretending great friendship, but at the same time to retain secretly in their hearts their old affection and allegiance to King Edward. The three vessels presently weighed anchor: not one in twenty of Edward's followers knew where they were going, and they were all without any clothes except the warlike gear they had on their backs, and no money had they in their pockets.² Edward sailed directly for Holland. The Easterlings, who joined the calling of privateers to that of merchants, and who at times appear to have been pirates as lawless and cruel as the corsairs of Tunis or Algiers, were then at war both with the English and French: they had many ships in the narrow seas, and had done the English much prejudice this year already. Eight of these Easterlings gave chase to Edward's weak squad-

ron. Edward ran his ships ashore on the coast of Friesland, near the small town of Alkmaar. Grutuse, the governor or stadtholder of Holland, Friesland, and Zealand, was at that time in Alkmaar, and he, by his prompt protection, saved the whole party from captivity—for the Easterlings had brought their ships close in shore, and only waited the turn of the tide to board the three vessels. "The king," says Comines, "having no money, was forced to give the master of his ship a gown lined with martens, and to promise to do more for him another time; and sure so poor a company was never seen before; yet the Lord de la Grutuse dealt very honourably by them, giving them clothes, and bearing all their expenses till they came to the Hague, to which place he safely conducted them." From the Hague the governor despatched news to the Duke of Burgundy, Edward's loving brother-in-law, "who," adds the chronicler, "was much surprised when he heard it, and would have been much better pleased if it had been news of Edward's death, for he was in great apprehension of the Earl of Warwick, who was his enemy, and now become absolute in England." On the other side, King Louis, whose many agents soon carried him the intelligence, was overjoyed, and, being a religious sovereign, he gave orders that the nobles, the clergy, and the good people of Paris should make processions in honour of God and the Virgin Mary, and continue them for three days, with praise and thanksgiving for the great victory which Henry of Lancaster, lawful King of England, had gained over the foul usurper, the Earl of March, as also in gratitude for the happy peace that would now subsist between the two countries. Processions were afterwards performed in all the principal towns in Louis' dominions.

Warwick was now possessed, in appearance, of all the power in England. From the neighbourhood of the Welland he turned back upon London, which he entered in triumph on the 6th of October, in company with Clarence—for as yet this son-in-law concealed his hostile projects. Warwick went directly to the Tower, and released King Henry, whom five years before he had himself committed to that prison. "When he imprisoned him he went before Henry, crying 'Treason! treason!' and 'Behold the traitor!'—but now he proclaimed him king, attended him to his palace at Westminster, and restored him to his royal title; and all this in the presence of the Duke of Clarence, who was not at all pleased with the sight."³ A great number of persons of the first rank, who were in King Edward's interest, and who afterwards did him good service, took sanctuary in different religious houses. The

¹ Hastings, however, remained true to Edward, accompanied him in his flight, contributed to his return, and continued to serve him faithfully, with the exception of taking "bribes from France."

² Hall says that Edward embarked at Lynn on the Wash.

³ Comines; Hall.

⁴ Comines.

queen, with her mother Jacquetta and her three daughters, had fled to the sanctuary of Westminster, where, being in great want of all things necessary, Queen Elizabeth was shortly after delivered of her first son. Save that of the Earl of Worcester, who was hated for his severity by the people, no blood was shed in this rapid revolution. We are left in the dark as to the proceedings of the parliament which met in the month of November, for its acts were erased from the rolls at the subsequent counter-revolution. It is stated, however, on good authority, that an act of settlement entailed the crown on Henry's son Edward, Prince of Wales, and, in case of that prince's death, on the Duke of Clarence. Warwick, of course, would take care to attain his enemies and reward his friends: this "king-maker," in fact, was in all essentials king, and the imbecile Henry was still a captive, and in all probability a more unhappy one than he had been in his undisturbed prison in the Tower.¹

A.D. 1471. But if Edward had lost a crown like a game at cards, he regained it with equal rapidity. On the 12th of March, about five months after his flight from the Wash, he appeared with a fleet off the coast of Suffolk, having been assisted in secret by the Duke of Burgundy, who played as double a part in this business as might have been expected from his great rival Louis XI. He had issued a proclamation forbidding any of his subjects to join Edward, but, underhand, he sent him 50,000 florins, with St. Andrew's cross, furnished him with three or four great ships of his own, which he had equipped for him at Vere, in Walcheren, and hired secretly fourteen Easterling ships, all well armed—"which supply was very great, considering the times."² As Edward's troops, however, did not exceed 1200 men, he was deterred from landing in the Wash, on the shores of which was assembled a Lancastrian army, but, bearing to the north, he sailed into the Humber, and landed on the 16th of March at Ravenspur, the place where Henry of Bolingbroke had disembarked when he came to dethrone Richard II. Finding the people in the north not very favourable, he veiled his designs; and even at York he only engaged the citizens to assist him to recover his honour and estate as Duke of York, solemnly swearing not to attempt to recover the crown.³

A few oaths cost nothing in these times, and,

in the present case, the necessity for dissimulating soon passed. At Pontefract, Warwick's brother, the Marquis of Montague, who already repented of the revolution he had helped to make, opened a correspondence instead of fighting, and permitted Edward's weak column to march within sight of his quarters, where a great force was collected. As soon as the Yorkists crossed the Trent they were on their own ground, and the people flocked from all sides to



REMAINS OF THE SANCTUARY, WESTMINSTER.—Smith's Antiquities of Westminster.

the standard of Edward, who then reassumed the royal title. In the neighbourhood of Coventry he found himself in presence of a Lancastrian army, under the command of the Earls of Warwick and Oxford and the Duke of Clarence: now was the moment for the latter to act, and, making his men put the White Rose of York over their gorgets, he went over with colours flying to his brother Edward. Upon this sudden manœuvre of his son-in-law, Warwick found himself compelled to decline the battle which was offered to him, and then Edward threw himself fearlessly between his enemies and the capital, which had forgotten the sermons of Doctor Go-

¹ *Cont. Hist. Croyl.; Fabyan; Hall; Comines.* ² *Comines.*

³ We are indebted to the Camden Society for the publication of a very curious *Histoire of the Arrival of Edward IV. in England*, which throws much light upon the short and extraordinary campaign that commenced at Ravenspur. This history is also valuable as confirmatory of the narrative of Hall and other old writers.

⁴ This noted sanctuary was one of those exempted from suppression by Henry VIII. The church belonging to it was supposed to have been of the time of Edward the Confessor. It was destroyed about a century ago; but some remains survived, and were discovered on the demolition of some buildings with which the vestiges had been incorporated.

dard and the roast-meats' of the Earl of Warwick, and was once more all for King Edward. Comines attributes the enthusiastic reception he met with in London to three things especially:—the first was, he says, the great number of his partizans in sanctuary within the walls, and the recent birth of a young prince; the next, the great debts which he owed to the richest of the merchants, who could only hope for payment through his restoration; and the third was, that the ladies of quality and rich citizens' wives, whom he had formerly delighted with his gallantries, forced their husbands and relations to declare themselves of his side. Whatever were their motives, it seems certain that the return of the White Rose of York was hailed with enthusiasm by the citizens. But Edward had short time to enjoy these demonstrations: the Lancastrian army had collected in one mass, and Warwick was advancing upon the capital by the high north road. After passing only two days in London, Edward took the field. He found Warwick's force drawn out in order of battle on Barnet Common, only twelve miles from London. About 40,000 Englishmen prepared to draw the sword and bend the bow against each other—the two armies, it appears, being nearly equal in number. But it was late in the day, and the eve of Easter Sunday, and so the battle was delayed till the morrow. Edward slept this Saturday night at Barnet; the Earl of Warwick lay to the northward of that town. The Duke of Clarence sent to make an offer of his mediation, but this was indignantly rejected by his father-in-law. "Go tell your master," cried the proud earl to the messenger, "that Warwick, true to his oath, is a better man than false perjured Clarence, and will settle this quarrel by the sword to which he has appealed." At an early hour on the following day, battle was joined. "Both sides fought on foot, and the king's vanguard suffered extremely in this action; the earl's main battle advanced against his, and so near, that the king himself was engaged in person. The Earl of Warwick's custom was never to fight on foot; but now, at the importunity of his brother the Marquis of Montague, he sent away his horses. The conclusion of all was, that the earl, the Marquis of Montague, and several other brave officers were killed."²

This battle of Barnet lasted from four o'clock

in the morning till ten, during which time there was a thick mist, raised, as was once generally believed, by Friar Bungay, a great magician. There is a mist of another kind, and one which we cannot now clear, hanging over nearly the whole history of the battle, which, notwithstanding the time it lasted and the statement of Comines, we are disposed to believe was much less fierce and murderous than most of the preceding conflicts.³ The results, however, are well authenticated. Of all the great Lancastrian lords who had fought on the side of the king-maker, not one escaped except the Earl of Oxford, who joined Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, who was in arms for King Henry in Wales. Edward lost Lord Cromwell, Lord Say, and the son of Lord Berners, with Sir John Lisle, Thomas Parr, and John Milwater, who were esquires to his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester. The common dead were buried on the same plain, half a mile from Barnet, where a chapel was erected for the good of their souls.⁴ The body of the "king-maker,"



OBELISK NEAR BARNET TO MARK THE SPOT WHERE WARWICK FELL.—From a sketch by J. W. Archer.

with that of his brother Montague, was carried,

¹ One of the secrets of Warwick's popularity lay in his kitchen and buttry. His hospitality was as boundless as his wealth. "When he came to London," says old Stow, "he held such an house, that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast, and every tavern was full of his meat; for he who had any acquaintance in that house, he should have had as much boiled and roast as he might carry on a long dagger."

² Comines.

³ Sir John Paston, who, along with one of his brothers, fought in the battle on the Lancastrian side, says, in a letter to his mother, written on the Thursday following, that the killed of both

parties amounted to more than 1000.—*Paston Letters*. Some historians make the amount of the slain 10,000!

⁴ Stow says that this chapel, which marked the field of battle, was standing in his time. Lysons (see *Environs of London*) gives it as his opinion that the battle was not fought on Barnet Heath, but rather to the south-east, about East Barnet; but he quotes no authority, and all tradition is strongly opposed to his opinion. The conflict seems really to have taken place on the elevated plateau to the north of the town of Barnet, and is probably marked with sufficient accuracy by the modern stone column at the end of the common, where the highroad forks.

to London, and lay naked in the church of St. Paul's for the space of three or four days, that all men might see the end he had met with. King Henry, who had been taken in London, defenceless and helpless, was sent back to his old apartments in the Tower. But Margaret of Anjou, who was as active and resolute as ever, called the victorious Edward again into the field only five days after the battle of Barnet. Many circumstances had detained her on the Continent, and it was her fortune to land at Plymouth with her son Prince Edward and a body of auxiliaries, chiefly French, on the very day on which Warwick was defeated and slain. In part, probably, on account of their old antipathy to the French queen, who now came surrounded with Frenchmen, and in part because they were weary of this civil war, the people opposed her progress, and, by securing the bridges and fords of the river Severn, prevented her joining the forces under the Earl of Pembroke in Wales. On the 4th of May, King Edward, with his brothers Clarence and Gloucester, fell upon her on the left bank of the Severn, near Tewkesbury. Her troops had thrown up some intrenchments, from which they had repulsed the Yorkists; but the Duke of Somerset, who commanded her army, had the folly to quit this position, and, sallying forth, he ordered the mass of his troops to follow him, which some did, and others did not. Those who sallied were driven back with dreadful loss, and those who stayed behind were suspected of treachery, for no general was now sure of his officers. Somerset rode up to the Lord Wenlock, who had remained behind the intrenchments, and knocked out his brains with his battle-axe. The banner of the audacious Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was already within the Lancastrian lines; Edward and Clarence now followed, and the affair of Tewkesbury terminated in panic, confusion, and murder. Margaret of Anjou, who had survived so many catastrophes and escaped from so many battles, remained a prisoner at last, and with her was taken her son, the Prince of Wales, who was now in his eighteenth year. "What brought you to England?" cried the ungenerous Edward. "My father's crown and mine own inheritance!" replied the royal youth. Edward brutally struck him on the mouth with his gauntlet, and then Clarence and Gloucester, or their attendants (or, according to an earlier account which does not mention Clarence and Gloucester, Edward's servants) despatched him with their swords in the king's tent.¹ The Duke of Somerset, with the grand-prior of St. John's, Sir Humphrey Audely, Sir Gervis of Clifton, Sir William Gainsby, Sir William Cary, Sir Henry Rose, Sir Thomas Tres-

ham, and seven esquires, escaped from the field, and took sanctuary in a church in Tewkesbury. This sacred kind of asylum had long been respected, and to this principle and feeling Edward had recently owed the preservation of his wife, his children, and his best friends, whom the Lancastrians had permitted to live undisturbed in the sanctuaries they had chosen in London and Westminster. But the king and his brothers were regardless of these circumstances, and Edward broke into the church at Tewkesbury sword in hand. A priest bearing the sacrament threw himself between the savages and their victims, and would not move till the king promised to pardon all who had taken sanctuary there. These men, who might have escaped, tarried in the church, trusting in the royal pardon, from Saturday the 4th of May till Monday the 6th, when they were dragged from the foot of the altar and beheaded.

Margaret of Anjou lived for five years the prisoner² of her conqueror, was then ransomed by Louis XI., and died in France about eleven years after the fight at Tewkesbury. The death of her husband, which immediately followed Edward's return to London, probably did not much affect her. The triumphant party had now evidently made up their minds to show no mercy; but that event was probably precipitated by a desperate attempt made on the 14th of May, by Thomas Nevil, the Bastard of Falconbridge, Warwick's vice-admiral, to release Henry from his confinement and proclaim him once more. On the 21st of May King Edward entered London in great pomp with 30,000 men, and on that evening, or the following morning, King Henry was found lifeless in the Tower. The best of the contemporary chroniclers, though he does not name the murderer, hints clearly that he *was murdered*, and that the deed was done or ordered by Edward, or by his brother Clarence, or Richard, Duke of Gloucester, or some other member of the royal house of York. "May God," he exclaims, "grant time for repentance to the person, whoever he was, who laid his sacrilegious hands on the Lord's anointed."³ The dead body, surrounded by guards and torches, was exhibited to the people in St. Paul's, and afterwards quietly buried in the abbey of Chertsey. But this unhappy prince was not allowed rest even in the

² She was at first confined in the Tower of London, afterwards at Windsor, and then at Wallingford. All that Edward would allow for the support of herself and servants was a pittance of five marks per week.

³ *Cont. Hist. Croyl.* Fabyan, who was living in London at the time, says, "Of the death of this prince (Henry VI.), divers tales were told; but the most common fame went, that he was stiked with a dagger by the hands of the Duke of Gloucester, which, after Edward IV., usurped the crown, and was king, as after shall appear."

¹ *Cont. Hist. Croyl.*; Fabyan; Hall; Stow.

grave. A few years after, Gloucester, then Richard III., was made uneasy by the popular belief that miracles were wrought at his tomb, and he ordered his bones to be removed—some say to Windsor: then, on the fall of Richard, Henry VII. wished to bring them back to Westminster, but it appears that they could not be found.

The episodes to the lamentable history of the fall of the house of Lancaster are numerous, and, in some respects, exceedingly romantic. Some of the leaders, like the Duke of Exeter, appear to have been secretly assassinated; others, like the Earl of Oxford, were shut up in different castles; and others, like the Earl of Pembroke, the late king's half-brother, and uncle to Henry VII., escaped to the Continent, where, for the most part, they lived in extreme poverty. Some Lancastrians, whose learning and abilities were worth purchasing—as Dr. Morton, and Sir John Fortescue, lord chief-justice to Henry VI., and the greatest English lawyer of his time—obtained the reversal of their attainders, together with fresh employments from the Yorkists.

Now seemed the "glorious summer" of the house of York. The young Prince Edward, who had been born in the sanctuary of Westminster during his father's flight into Holland, was created Prince of Wales, and recognized as lawful heir to the crown—not in parliament—but in a great council of prelates and lay lords. The Lancastrians as a party were annihilated. There was nothing to disturb the tranquillity of the Yorkists but the base and selfish passions of the three royal and most legitimate brothers. The Duke of Clarence, the second brother, it will be remembered, had married the Earl of Warwick's eldest daughter, Isabella, and, in her right, he now demanded the entire property of his deceased father-in-law; but Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest brother, was eager to divide the great prize with him, and therefore proposed to marry Anne, Warwick's younger daughter, and widow to Prince Edward, whom the brothers between them had murdered at Tewkesbury. Clarence, to defeat this project, concealed the young lady; but Gloucester had far too much activity and cunning to allow himself to be duped by so miserable a manœuvre—he soon found out the Lady Anne in London, where it is said she was disguised as a cook-maid, and, getting possession

of her person, he lodged her, for present security, in the sanctuary of St. Martin's. Richard then appealed to Edward and the council, and was allowed to marry the Lady Anne; but Clarence swore that he would not "part the livelihood with him." The loving brothers pleaded each his cause in person before the king in council, and every man, says the monkish chronicler, admired the strength of their respective arguments. In the end, but not until the whole capital had been agitated as if by the approach of another civil war,¹ the king composed these differences, allotting a handsome portion to the Lady Anne, and leaving all the rest of the property to the elder sister, Isabella, the wife of Clarence. As it has been remarked,² the greatest sufferer in this adjustment was the widowed Countess of Warwick, who was mother to both the ladies, and who had brought the mass of the property into the family; for Clarence and Gloucester got the whole between them, and the countess was reduced to absolute want.

A.D. 1475. After some curious negotiations with the Duke of Brittany and his brother-in-law the Duke of Burgundy, who was finding himself overmatched by the policy and craft of Louis XI., Edward contracted an alliance offensive and defensive with the two dukes; and in order, we presume, to give a startling effect to his beginning, he sent a herald to demand from the French monarch the immediate surrender of his kingdom, which he claimed on the old grounds. Comines says, that this was only a letter of defiance,³ and that it was written in such an elegant style, and such polite language, that he could scarcely believe any Englishman wrote it. When Louis had read the letter to himself, he withdrew into another room, and, sending for the herald that brought it, he told him that he had a wonderful respect and affection for his master, King Edward, whom he knew in this matter to be set on and deluded by the Duke of Burgundy, a weak and treacherous ally. "Besides which," continues Comines, who had changed sides, and was now in the service of Louis, "the king used several good arguments to induce the herald to persuade his master to a peaceful accommodation, secretly putting 300 crowns with his own hands into his pouch, and promising him 1000 more when the good peace should be

¹ Sir John Paston, writing to his brother on the 17th of February (1471), says:—"Yesterday, the king, the queen, my Lords of Clarence and Gloucester, went to Shene to pardon; men say, not all in charity; what will fall men cannot say. The king entreateth my Lord of Clarence for my Lord of Gloucester; and, as it is said, he answereth, that he may well have my lady, his sister-in-law, but they shall part no livelihood, as he saith; so what will fall can I not say." On the 15th of April, 1473, he writes: "The world seemeth queasy (uneasy) here; for the most part that be about the king have sent hither for their harness,

and it is said for certain that the Duke of Clarence maketh him big in that he can, showing as he would but (only) deal with the Duke of Gloucester; but the king intendeth, in eschewing all inconvenience, to be as big as they both, and to be a stiffer (stickler) between them; and some men think that under this there should be some other thing intended, and some treason conspired; so what shall fall can I not say."—*Paston Letters*.

² Walpole, *Hist. Doubts*.

³ He states, however, that Edward demanded the French crown as "his inheritance."

concluded; and then, in public, his majesty ordered that a piece of crimson velvet, thirty ells long, should be presented to the said herald, who was gartered king-at-arms."¹ His chivalrous occupations did not render him insensible to a good bribe. Garter promised to do what he could, and advised Louis to open a correspondence with the Lord Howard or the Lord Stanley, two of Edward's favourites and ministers, whom he knew to be averse to the war.

Having prolonged a truce with Scotland, and concluded a matrimonial treaty with that court, and being most abundantly furnished with money by means of repeated grants voted by parliament, and of benevolences—an unheard-of species of imposition first introduced in the present period—Edward collected a fine army of 16,000 or 18,000 men. With this force he landed at Calais, on the 22d of June. The first check to this mighty enterprise proceeded from his brother-in-law of Burgundy, who had agreed to join him in force, but who, having wasted his resources in one of his rash expeditions in another direction, came to the rendezvous with a mere handful of troops. Edward, irritated at this circumstance, and still more at seeing that Duke Charles and his subjects entertained the greatest jealousy of the English, refusing them admittance into the towns of Artois and Picardy, soon inclined his ear to the skilful negotiators of Louis and to the lords of his own council, who, through conviction or bribery, recommended an immediate peace with the French king. The English army lay inactive for nearly two months at Peronne, where all the preliminaries were settled, and where the money of Louis was made to circulate freely among the corrupt ministers and courtiers of Edward. The French diplomatists promised whatever was asked, and agreed, among other things, to pay 50,000 crowns for the release of Margaret of Anjou. One day the King of France sent the King of England 300 cart-loads of the best wines of the kingdom; and a few days after, the two sovereigns agreed to a personal interview on a bridge thrown across the Somme at Piquigny, near Amiens, there being a strong barricade of wood between them—for Louis was very suspicious, and he knew the old story of the bridge of Montreau, in which his own

father had figured. Comines and another agent were sent to survey the river and neighbourhood. "On the one side, by which our king was to come," says this historian, "was a fine open country; and on the other side, indeed, was the same, *only* the King of England, to come to the river, was obliged to pass a causeway about two bow-shots long, with marshes on both sides of it, which might have been of very dangerous consequence to the English, if our intentions had not been honourable. And certainly, as I have said before, the English do not manage these matters with so much cunning and policy as the French



BELFRY AND MARKET-PLACE, PERONNE.—From *Voyages dans l'Ancienne France*.

do, let people say of them what they will, but proceed more ingeniously, and with more frankness; but one must be patient with them, and take care not to quarrel." The barricade in the midst of the bridge is described as being made of strong grating or lattice-work, such as lions' cages are made of, the space between the bars being no wider than to admit a man's arm. On the 29th of August, in the morning, the two kings appeared on opposite sides of the river. Louis went first to the grating, attended by about twelve persons of the greatest quality in France, among whom were John, Duke of Bourbon, and the cardinal, his brother. "The King of England advanced along the causeway, very nobly attended, there being in his train his brother the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Hastings, his chamberlain, his chancellor, and other peers. He was dressed in cloth of gold, and he wore upon his head a black velvet cap with a large *fleur-de-lis* made of precious stones. In truth, he was a prince of a most noble, majestic presence; his person graceful and erect, but now a little inclining to fat. When he came within a short distance of the railing he pulled off his

¹ Comines.

cap, and bowed to within a foot of the ground; and Louis, who was leaning against the barrier on the other side, bowed in the like manner. They embraced through the holes of the grating; and the King of England making another low bow, the King of France said, 'Cousin, you are right welcome; there is no person living I was so ambitious of seeing, and God be thanked that this interview is upon so good an occasion.' The King of England returned the compliment in French; and Comines tells us that his French was very good. When the compliments and ceremonies were over, they proceeded to business, and, in the end, a missal and a crucifix, said to contain some of the wood of the true cross, were brought to the grate, and the two kings, putting one hand on the book and the other on the crucifix, swore religiously to observe the present treaty. When the two kings had sworn, "our king," continues Comines, "who had always words at command, told the English king, in a jocose way, that he should be right glad to see him at Paris; and that if he would come and divert himself with the gay ladies there, he would assign for his confessor the Cardinal of Bourbon, who he knew would grant him easy absolution for any peccadillos in the way of love and gallantry. The King of England was much pleased with this railery, and made his majesty several smart repartees—for he knew that the cardinal was a gay man with the ladies, and a boon companion." After a few words spoken in secret to one another, the lords being sent to a distance, these gracious sovereigns shook hands through the grating, and departed, each his own way, Louis riding back to Amiens, and Edward to his army. The King of England was accommodated out of the King of France's stores with whatever he wanted, to the very torches and candles. The minute relater of these events expressly tells us that Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and some other Englishmen of high rank, were not present at the interview of Picquigny, as being averse to the whole treaty, and esteeming it dishonourable to their country; but he adds that they recollected themselves after the treaty was signed, and went into Amiens to King Louis, who splendidly entertained them, and generously presented them with plate and some fine horses. Louis, while thus buying and bribing, hated, feared, and despised Edward, all in a breath; and his caution, timidity, and contempt are hit off, as if involuntarily, by his confidential agent. During their ride back to Amiens he told Comines that he was rather uneasy at the readiness with which Edward had accepted his invitation to Paris. "Certes," said he, "our brother of England is a very fine king, and a warm admirer of the ladies; he might chance to find some dame at

Paris so much to his taste as to tempt him to return; his predecessors have been too often in Paris and Normandy already, and I have no great affection for his company on this side the Channel, though ready to hold him as good friend and brother on the other side of the water." "Nor," continues Comines, "ought any man to wonder, considering the mighty mischiefs which the English had brought upon France, and the freshness of their date, that the King of France should be anxious to send them home again, and to do all he could, by money or otherwise, to keep them in a good humour." That same evening, as they were going to supper, Lord Howard, who was to remain some time with the court, made Louis quake again, by telling him in his ear, with great glee, that it should go hard, but he would find a way to induce his master to go to Paris to be merry a while with him. "Though this proposition was not in the least agreeable to the king," adds Comines, "yet he dissembled pretty well, and fell a washing his hands, without giving a direct answer to the Lord Howard; but he whispered me, that he feared his forebodings were coming to pass. After supper, they fell upon the same subject again; but the king put them off with the greatest gentleness and wisdom imaginable, pretending that his expedition against the Duke of Burgundy would require his immediate presence in a different part of France." In private, Louis expressed his opinion of Edward in pretty strong terms; but if he perceived that his words were overheard by any save his most confidential friends, he fell into a tremor and trepidation, and took great pains to prevent his words from being repeated.¹ Some of his friends, and the chivalry of France generally, considered the treaty of Picquigny as very dishonourable to the nation; but he let them talk on, and felt himself a happy man when he saw Edward's back fairly turned, and heard that he and his army were on the other side of the Channel. If the French thought it disgraceful to buy, the English thought it disgraceful to be bought; and as they had given immense sums for carrying on the war, and had flattered themselves with recovering Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Guienne, at the very least, they were greatly incensed at the transactions of Picquigny, though all the corruption of Edward's ministers and courtiers was not revealed to them, and but few understood the fact that both the king and his cabinet had become pensioners to France. The principal articles of the treaty of Picquigny were, that Louis should pay instantly (which he did) the sum of 75,000 crowns; that he should pay Edward an annuity of 50,000 crowns; that he

¹ For some very amusing instances, see *Comines*.

should marry his son, the dauphin, to Edward's eldest daughter Elizabeth, or, in case of her death, to her sister Mary—such marriage to be concluded when the parties were of proper age; and that a peace or truce for seven years, at least, should be secured, together with a free trade between the two countries. Following their master's example, the Lord Hastings and the chancellor got pensions of 2000 crowns each; and Louis agreed to distribute annually 12,000 crowns more among the Marquis of Dorset, the Lord Howard, Cheney, the master of the horse, Sir Thomas Montgomery, Thomas St. Leger, and some others of the profligate courtiers.

On the whole, the country seems to have been tranquil for some years, till the house of York became suddenly involved in one of the darkest tragedies. It was impossible for a nature like Edward's to forget conduct like that of his brother Clarence; and that weak-headed prince appears to have accelerated his fate by fresh imprudence, and the betrayal, on all occasions, both public and private, of a provoking suspicion and jealousy of his brothers, the king and the Duke of Gloucester. In 1476 Clarence's wife, Isabella, died after an illness of two or three months; and one of her female attendants was condemned and executed for poisoning her. About the same time the Burgundian duke, Charles the Rash, was killed at the battle of Nancy, and, leaving no heirs male, his immense estates fell to his daughter Mary. Taking advantage of his opportune widowhood, Clarence immediately proposed himself as a husband to this great heiress, whose step-mother (Clarence's sister) seconded his suit. But as soon as Edward heard of this negotiation, his jealousy took the alarm; he opposed it with all his might, and caused it to miscarry. Clarence, who had not been guarded in his expressions before, could now put no restraint upon his tongue. The court, probably well informed of all this incautious man did and said, soon made him feel its vengeance. At first they attacked him through the sides of his friends. One Stacey, a priest in his service, was accused of having recourse to damnable magic (much like that laid to the charge of Eleanor Cobham, the wife of the unfortunate Duke Humphrey) to hasten the death of the Lord Beauchamp, by the slow melting of certain images. Being put to torture, that he might be forced to confess who were his setters on and accomplices, he named Thomas Burdett, a gentleman of Clarence's household, and one to whom the duke was greatly attached. These unfortunate men, it appears, were tried in a hurried manner by the judges and some temporal peers, convicted, and executed. They both died protesting their innocence. Clarence, who was too late to save their

lives, presented himself in the council, which for some time he had rarely attended, to prove that his servants had met with an unjust doom; and for this attempt, which was called an interference with justice, his brother, the king, in a public manner committed him to the Tower. Everything was conducted in a public manner except the execution. A parliament was summoned on the 16th of January, 1478, when the king appeared in person to prosecute his own brother Clarence, who was brought to the bar of the lords. The charges were monstrous, and for the greater part absurd; but Edward had witnesses to swear to them all, and the impossible part of the guilt was probably that which made the greatest impression. Clarence was accused of dealing with the devil by means of conjurors and necromancers; of having plotted to dethrone the king and disinherit the king's children; of having given to his servants large sums of money, venison, &c., that they might assemble and feast the king's subjects, in order to induce them to believe that Thomas Burdett had been wrongfully executed, and to spread a rumour that the king himself was notoriously guilty of the black art and dealing with the devil, and secret poisoning, and was, besides, a bastard, without right to the crown. After all this, it was charged that Clarence had induced divers of the king's subjects to be sworn upon the sacrament to be true to him and his heirs; that the duke had engaged to restore the confiscated estates of the Lancastrians; that he had gotten and preserved an act under the great seal of Henry VI., late king, whereby he, Clarence, was declared next heir to the crown in case of the death of Edward, Prince of Wales, and that the duke had ordered his retainers to keep themselves ready to take up arms for him and his rights at an hour's notice. None of the peers spoke in his behalf; but Clarence, it appears, vehemently denied every charge. His reply, however, has not been preserved; for, during the greater part of this tyrannical reign, nothing was inserted or allowed to remain on the rolls of parliament that was displeasing to the king. The duke was found guilty, and received sentence of death on the 7th of February. Soon after, the House of Commons were induced to appear in the lords, and petition for the immediate execution of this sentence.¹ But, notwithstanding these high sanctions, it was not thought proper to execute the sentence in an open manner, or, indeed, to allow that it had been executed in any way. On the 18th of February, or, according to some authorities, on the 11th of March, it

¹ About the same time an act was passed, reversing, as illegal, the judgment passed upon the female servant accused of poisoning the Duchess of Clarence.

was whispered that the duke had died in the Tower, upon which people speculated in their usual manner as to the mode of his death; the most popular belief—which there is nothing either to prove or disprove—being, that his brothers had secretly caused him to be drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine. Suspicion rested on Richard, Duke of Gloucester, on account of their old enmity, and because Richard kept fair with the queen, and profited by Clarence's forfeiture.

A.D. 1480. In this year the voluptuous life of the king was somewhat disturbed by a war with Scotland; but, though greatly irritated, Edward did not take the field: he intrusted the command to his brother Richard, who had an indefatigable activity, a good military reputation, and the favour of the army. At the northern court, brothers were intriguing against brothers, and the king, James III., whose tastes and habits were little suited either to overawe his boisterous nobles or to secure their willing obedience, was tottering on his throne; yet, notwithstanding these auspicious circumstances, the English made no impression upon Scotland. Richard of Gloucester failed in an attempt upon Berwick; and for two years the war was little more than an alternation of those raids on the borders of the two countries, which no truce or peace had ever yet prevented. But matters took a different turn when the Duke of Albany, the brother of King James, returned from a short exile in France, and laid claim to the crown, pretending that his brother was a bastard. On coming to the English court, Albany proposed that Edward should lend him a good army, and, in return for such assistance, he offered to surrender Berwick, to acknowledge himself the vassal of England, to renounce all alliance with Louis of France, and to marry one of Edward's daughters, if the church would permit—for he had two wives already. Without pausing at the consideration that Albany was pursuing that very line of conduct for which only four years before he had procured sentence of death against his own brother Clarence, Edward joyfully listened to the traitor Albany, and concluded a treaty with him in the month of June, 1482, at Fotheringay. The army was again intrusted to Gloucester, who marched to Berwick and invested that town. Richard had upwards of 20,000 men; and Albany, who co-operated, had a Scottish force, and a party within the walls of Berwick. The gates of the town were opened, but the castle defied the enemy; and King James, having assembled his barons, marched towards the Borders. As that sovereign lay at Lauder, his nobles, headed by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, commonly called, after this event, "Archibald Bell-the-Cat," burst into the royal

tent at an early hour between night and morning, carried off the chief favourite, Robert Cochran, together with five more of the king's habitual associates, and hanged them all over the bridge of Lauder. Upon this summary execution, James fled, or was carried a prisoner, to the castle of Edinburgh. The army disbanded, and the road to the capital was left open to the Duke of Gloucester and Albany, who appeared there in the month of July. The presence of an English army seems to have made some of the great lords sensible of the madness of their conduct: and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Dunkeld, Lord Evandale, the chancellor, and the Earl of Argyle, collected a small army of patriots, and posted themselves at Haddington, between Edinburgh and the English borders. These noblemen summoned all true Scots to their standard, but, at the same time, opened negotiations with the Duke of Albany, who, on the 2d of August, concluded a treaty, the principal clauses of which were, that he, on his part, would be a true and faithful subject to his brother, and that the court should restore to him all his estates and honours, and grant to him and his adherents a pardon for all past offences. There was, however, a third party to conciliate: this was the King of England, who obtained the town and castle of Berwick, and the restitution of certain sums of money which he had paid to James on a now exploded treaty for a marriage between his daughter Cecily and the son of the Scottish king. The Duke of Gloucester returned into England; and his companion, the Duke of Albany, liberated his brother from the castle, rode with him to Holyrood House on the same horse, and slept with him in the same bed—for these things in Scotland, as in France, were considered the best proofs of a perfect reconciliation.

By the treaty of Picquigny, the dauphin was to marry Edward's eldest daughter as soon as she was of proper age. By the usage of the times, a princess was marriageable at the age of twelve; but Elizabeth was now sixteen, and yet the French court never sent to claim her. Edward had been told repeatedly that Louis would not keep to this family engagement; but he believed, or pretended to believe, that that sovereign would not dare to insult him in so tender a point. But the old fox of France was now in a very different position from that in which he stood when he was fain to bribe, and fawn, and flatter through the grating on the bridge at Picquigny: his consummate craft had reduced his factious nobles to obedience; his great rival the Duke of Burgundy was in his grave, and he had cut off the head of the Duke of Brittany, that other ally of the English. While princes were disputing for the hand of Mary, the daughter of Charles the Rash (whom

Clarence had wanted to marry), Louis had seized most of the territories which belonged to that orphan, and now he saw an opportunity of giving a colour to that appropriation, and of rounding his kingdom, by means of an union with the house of Burgundy. In the month of February, 1482, the Duchess Mary, who was holding her court in the rich city of Bruges, went out to fly her hawks at the herons which abounded in that neighbourhood. In following the sport, her palfrey, in taking a leap, burst the girths of the saddle, and she was thrown with great violence against the trunk of a tree. She died in consequence of the injury she sustained in the month of March. She was only twenty-five years old. She left three children by the Duke Maximilian of Austria: Philip, born in 1478; Margaret, called "Margot la gente demoiselle," born at the beginning of 1480; and Francis, born at the end of 1481. Her old persecutor King Louis was in a very languishing state of health at the time; but the joy he felt at the death of his fair neighbour and kinswoman revived him wonderfully, and he instantly prepared to take advantage of the event. With all their turbulence, the people of Flanders had entertained some respect and affection for the fair Mary of Burgundy; but they had none for Maximilian, whom they considered not as their prince, but only as the husband of their duchess, whose authority or influence was terminated by her death. Louis opened a secret correspondence with the people of Ghent, and then demanded the hand of the "gente demoiselle" for his son the dauphin, the affianced of the Princess Elizabeth of England. Maximilian, the father of the infant, was averse to the match; but Louis expected this, and had provided against

it. The citizens of Ghent, who had all three children in their custody, forced a consent, and delivered up Margot to the agents of the French king, who settled upon her, as her marriage portion—which she was to convey to his son, the dauphin—all the broad and rich provinces which he, Louis, had gained from her mother Mary by fraud and by force of arms. The infant Margot, thus affianced at the age of three years, was carried into France to be "nourished and brought up." As long as it was necessary, Lord Howard, the English ambassador, was bribed, and Edward was amused with fine assurances; for, if the English had supported the Duke Maximilian at the proper time, they might have defeated the project—the last great achievement of the greatest politician of his day. But now the veil was dropped; the contract of marriage was confirmed publicly at Paris, and great rejoicings and feastings were held in that city. Edward felt himself duped, insulted, and disgraced, and he vowed that he would punish the old traitor Louis, and carry such a war into France as had not yet been seen in that country.¹ The excess of his rage is supposed to have hastened his death; but, from the dissolute life he had led for twenty years Edward was not likely, under any circumstances, to reach an old age. He died, after an illness of a few weeks, on the 9th of April, 1483, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and the forty-first or forty-second year of his age. He was exposed on a board, naked from the waist upwards, in order that people might see he had not been murdered. The body was buried with great pomp in the new chapel at Windsor.

¹ *Comines; Barante.*

CHAPTER VI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.

EDWARD V.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1483.—DEATH OF RICHARD III., A.D. 1485.

Proceedings of the Duke of Gloucester on the death of his brother, Edward IV.—His plots against the queen's relatives—He denounces Lord Hastings, and causes him to be executed—The queen's relatives executed—Penance of Jane Shore—The children of Edward IV. declared illegitimate—Richard, Duke of Gloucester, appointed king—He commences his reign as Richard III.—He causes his nephews to be murdered in the Tower—The Earl of Richmond set up against Richard III.—The Duke of Buckingham adopts Richmond's cause—Insurrection and execution of Buckingham—Richard III. seeks his niece Elizabeth in marriage for his son—On his son's death he endeavours to obtain her for himself—The Earl of Richmond prepares to invade England—Unpopularity of King Richard—The Stanleys league against him—Richmond lands in England—Battle of Bosworth—Richard III. defeated and slain—Henry, Earl of Richmond, proclaimed king—Affairs of Scotland—Reign of Robert III. of Scotland—Dissensions in his family—His son Robert starved to death—Duke of Albany becomes regent—James, Prince of Scotland, taken prisoner by Henry IV.—Duke of Albany's regency in Scotland—His alliance with France—James, Prince of Scotland, liberated—His reign in Scotland as James I.—His vigorous and strict administration—Conspiracy against him—He is assassinated—James II., his son, a minor, succeeds him—Troubles during the minority of James II.—Rebellion of the Douglasses—Sudden death of James II. at Roxburgh—He is succeeded by James III.—Feeble character of James III.—Factions among his family and courtiers—Execution of his favourites at Lauder Bridge.



WHEN Edward expired at London, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was in the marches of Scotland at the head of an army devoted to his service; the Prince of Wales, a boy of thirteen, was at Ludlow Castle, with his maternal uncle, the Earl of Rivers; and Edward's second son, who was only eleven years old, was in London with his mother. It is apparent that all eyes were from the very beginning fixed with doubt upon the powerful uncle, whose first movements, however, were calculated to remove suspicion from the public mind. Upon receiving the news of his brother's death, he rode southward to York, which city he entered with a retinue of 600 knights and esquires, all clad, like himself, in deep mourning. His first care was to order a grand funeral service in the cathedral; his second to collect all the nobles and gentlemen of that neighbourhood, who swore fealty at York to his nephew, Edward V. Richard himself was the first to take this oath; he then wrote to the widowed Queen Elizabeth and to her brother the Earl Rivers, assuring them of his loyalty and affection. When he again put himself in motion, it was observed that the number of his followers was greatly increased; but, as he asserted that this force was only meant to give security and dignity to his nephew's coronation, the circumstance did not awaken any great suspicion. But though they had been sworn friends and confederates, the queen-mother had her misgivings, and the fear and imprudence of Elizabeth contributed not a little to the ruin of her children. She had written to her brother, Earl Ri-

vers, to bring up the young king to London, with an escort of 2000 armed horsemen, and she had attempted to collect another army against the advice of the council. At this moment, the Marquis of Dorset, her son by her first marriage, had possession of the Tower, other Woodvilles and Grays had commands in different places, and the young princes were both in the hands of the queen's relations, who, unrestrained by the frightful executions made by Warwick on the insurgents, were ambitious and daring. On his death-bed, Edward, foreseeing evil consequences to his children, had patched up a reconciliation between his wife's relations and their rivals, the Lords Howard, Hastings, and Stanley, and they had all embraced, and sworn oaths of mutual forgiveness and future friendship. But we have seen the value of such ceremonials: the Howards, the Stanleys, and the rest of the great lords hated the aspiring family as much as ever, and the instinct of self-preservation alone would have excited a lively alarm at seeing the whole power of the state divided among them. The queen-mother, too, disregarding the precedents which established as a principle of the constitution that the right of regulating regencies belonged to parliament alone, betrayed, or at least she was suspected of a design to assume the regal power during the minority of her son, and this the great lords knew would lead to an administration composed exclusively of her relations, who had most of them the passion of revenge to gratify, as well as the passion of ambition. Before Richard began his march from the Borders, the most violent alterations took place at the council-board. The Lord Hastings was so irritated that he threatened

the queen. But the greatest of the malcontents was the Duke of Buckingham, a prince of the blood.¹ Richard, it appears, sent secret emissaries to Buckingham from York, and probably this adroit plotter did not forget Hastings and other lords. He so calculated time and distance that he arrived from the north at the town of Northampton on the same day (the 22d of April) that his nephew, young Edward, travelling from the north-west, reached Stony-Stratford, only ten miles distant. The Earl Rivers and the Lord Richard Gray rode back to Northampton to salute the Duke of Gloucester on the part of the king. Richard received them with much courtesy, and invited them to sup with him; but immediately after their arrival there came another visitor of higher rank, and whom he received with a more sincere welcome. This was the Duke of Buckingham, who brought with him a retinue of 300 horse. The two dukes, the earl, and the lord spent the evening together in a pleasant convivial manner, but after supper the two latter retired to quarters assigned to them in Northampton, and, while guards were placed over them, and all the outlets from the town secured, Gloucester and Buckingham remained in secret debate. On the following morning the Duke of Gloucester continued his progress to Stony-Stratford, riding a-head in company with the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl Rivers, and the Lord Gray, and still maintaining a friendly appearance with the two latter. As soon, however, as he was within the town, and found the young king within his grasp, he changed his tone, accused Rivers and Gray of estranging the affections of his nephew, and ordered them both under arrest. Then, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, he waited on the king. The two dukes bent their knees and saluted the poor boy as their sovereign, but in the next minute they arrested Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Hawse, two of his favourite servants, and ordered all the rest of his attendants to disperse immediately. All this part of the story is somewhat obscure; it is not explained very clearly whether the 2000 horse that came from Ludlow retired at this order or joined the dukes; but it appears pretty certain that the Earl Rivers, Lord Richard Gray, Vaughan, and Hawse were immediately conveyed northward under a strong guard to Pontefract Castle, and that from this moment young Edward remained a prisoner in the hands of Gloucester and Buckingham.²

The news was soon carried to London: the queen-mother received the tidings "a little before the midnight following, and that in the sor-

est wise; that the king, her son, was taken, her brother, his son, and her other friends arrested, and sent, no man wist whither, to be done with God wot what," and in "great heaviness," at the dead of night, she fled to her old sanctuary at Westminster, taking with her her second son, the Duke of York, and her five daughters. Meanwhile the Lord Hastings assured the people that the two dukes were loyal and acting for the public weal. From the fate he met with we must conclude that Hastings was a dupe, or that though he was ready to go to a certain length in order to displace the queen-mother and her relations, he was not prepared to abandon the cause of the children of his deceased master. He, however, obeyed the summons of the dukes, and went from London to meet them. Rotherham, Archbishop of York and chancellor, went to the queen-mother and endeavoured to comfort her and soothe her alarms; he delivered to her a friendly message which he had received from Hastings. Elizabeth suspected the faith of this nobleman, and she exclaimed—"A woe worth him, for he is one of them that goeth about to destroy me and my blood!" The archbishop replied—"Madam, be of good cheer, for I promise you if they crown any other king than your son whom they have now with them, we shall on the morrow crown his brother whom you have here with you." He then delivered the great seal to Elizabeth and departed home again, as day was dawning, by which time "he might in his chamber window see all the Thames full of boats of the Duke of Gloucester's servants, watching that no man should go to sanctuary, nor none should pass unsearched."³ Then, continues the contemporary historian, "was great commotion and murmur as well in other places about, as specially in the city, the people diversely divining upon this dealing." The Archbishop of York, whose intellect seems to have been confounded, presently repented of so hastily delivering up the great seal to the queen-mother, "(to whom the custody thereof nothing pertained), and he sent secretly for the seal again, and carried it with him, after the customable, to a meeting of the nobility and gentry. The Lord Hastings, whose truth towards the king no man doubted nor needed to doubt, attended this meeting, and asserted again that the Duke of Gloucester was sure and fastly faithful to his prince, adding that the Earl Rivers and the Lord Richard, with the other knights, were, for matters attempted by them against the Duke of Gloucester and Buckingham, put under arrest for their surety, not for the king's jeopardy, and that they should soon be examined by all the other lords of the king's council

¹ This weak man was a lineal descendant of Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest son of Edward III.

² *Cont. Hist. Croyl.*; *Sir Thomas More*; *Hall*.

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³ *Sir Thomas More*.

indifferently." Hastings recommended peace and good order in the city, in order that the king's coronation might not be disturbed, for which ceremony he said the dukes were coming up. He admitted, however, "that matters were likely to come to a field, but that, if they did, though both parties were in all other things equal, yet should the authority be on that side where the king himself was." With these persuasions of the Lord Hastings, "whereof," says Sir Thomas More, "part himself believed, of part he wist the contrary," London was somewhat quieted. The adherents of Gloucester and Buckingham spread the report through the city that proofs had been obtained of the horrible plotting of the queen's relations to destroy the two dukes and others of noble blood, to the end that they might alone govern the young king at their pleasure; and they even exhibited to the populace barrels filled with arms, which they said the traitors had privily conveyed to destroy the noble lords withal. The common people were very well satisfied with this kind of proof, and said, "it were alms to hang the traitors."

It is quite evident that the queen-mother had no party in London, that her relations were most unpopular, and that the peaceful and wealthy citizens longed for the arrival of the two dukes in order that tranquillity might be restored. At the approach of the young king, Edmund Shaw, goldsmith, then mayor, with William White and John Matthew, sheriffs, and all the other aldermen, in scarlet, together with 500 of the citizens, clad in violet, and all gallantly mounted on horseback, rode out to meet him as far as Hornsey Wood, where they received him right reverently.¹

There is a difficulty in fixing precise dates to these rapidly succeeding events, but it appears to have been on the 4th or 5th of May that Gloucester arrived in London, riding bare-headed before his nephew, who was shown to the people attired and attended as became a king. At first the royal boy was lodged in the palace of the bishop, but a great council was summoned, and, at the motion of the Duke of Buckingham, it was agreed to send the young king to the Tower, as the place of greatest safety. The lords in council

then fixed the 22d of June for the coronation; summoned fifty lords and gentlemen to attend and receive the honours of knighthood, which were usually distributed before that ceremony; appointed the Bishop of Lincoln chancellor, in the place of the Archbishop of York; changed a few other officers of the crown, and gave the post of protector to the Duke of Gloucester, who thereupon styled himself "brother and uncle of the king, protector and defender, great chamberlain, constable, and lord high admiral of England."²

Richard took up his residence in Crosby Place, Bishopsgate, where the majority of the council



GREAT HALL, CROSBY PLACE, BISHOPSGATE.³—From a drawing by J. W. Archer.

attended him late and early. At the same time, a minority, composed of Lord Hastings and others, met in the Tower; but they seem to have had the garrison of that place against them. Hastings vainly thought that he was secure, and that he could outwit the cunning Gloucester. On the 12th of June he told Lord Stanley, who was uneasy at the proceedings at Crosby Place, that he kept his secret agent there, who was sure to inform him of all that was doing. On the following day the protector suddenly entered the Tower, and took his seat at the council-table.

² Sir Thomas More; *Cont. Hist. Croyl.*; Fabyan; Rymer.

³ This fine specimen of the domestic architecture of the fifteenth century was built by Sir John Crosby, sheriff in 1470. The chief parts of the mansion surrounded three sides of a small deep quadrangle. The great hall, which still remains, is a magnificent apartment 54 ft. long, 27 ft. wide, and 40 ft. high. It has a beautiful bay window and a highly enriched timbered roof. Henry VIII. bestowed this mansion, in 1542, on Antonio Bonvicini, a rich Italian merchant. In the reign of Elizabeth it was appropriated to foreign ambassadors. Here Sully lodged when on embassy to England, in the reign of James I.

¹ Fabyan.

Shakspeare has helped Sir Thomas More to make this scene immortal. More says that Richard presented himself on Friday the 13th of June, about nine in the morning, "in a very merry humour. After a little talking with them, he said unto the Bishop of Ely, 'My lord, you have very good strawberries in your garden in Holborn; I request you let us have a mess of them.' 'Gladly, my lord,' quoth he: 'would to God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that!'" and then, withal, in all haste, he sent his servant for a mess of strawberries. The protector set the lords fast in communing, and thereupon, praying them to spare him for a little while, departed thence, and soon after one hour, between ten and eleven, he returned into the chamber amongst them all, changed, with a wonderful sour angry countenance, knitting the brows, frowning and fretting, gnawing on his lips, and so set him down in his place." Soon after, he asked what those persons deserved who had compassed and imagined his destruction. Lord Hastings answered that they deserved death, whoever they might be; and then Richard affirmed that they were that sorceress his brother's wife (meaning the queen) and others with her. "And," said the protector, "we shall see in what wise that sorceress, and that other witch of her council, Shore's wife, with their affinity, have by their sorcery and witchcraft wasted my body." On saying this, he plucked up his doublet sleeve to his elbow upon his left arm, when the arm appeared to be withered and small, "as it was never other." The lords, of course, perceived that this matter was but a quarrel, and they were all silent except Hastings, who said, "Certainly, my lord, if they have so heinously done, they be worthy heinous punishment." "What!" quoth the protector, "thou servest me, I ween, with ifs and with ands! I tell thee they have so done, and that I will made good on thy body, traitor!" "And therewith," continues More, "as in a great anger, he clapped his fist upon the board, a great rap. At which token one cried 'Treason!' without the chamber. Therewith a door clapped, and in came there rushing men in harness as many as the chamber might hold. And anon, the protector said to the Lord Hastings, 'I arrest thee, traitor!' 'What! me, my lord!' quoth he. 'Yes, thee, traitor!' quoth the protector. Another let fly at the Lord Stanley, which shrank at the stroke, and fell under the table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth; for as shortly as he shrank, yet ran the blood about his ears. Then were they quickly bestowed in divers chambers, except the lord-chamberlain (Hastings), whom the protector bade speed, and shrive him apace, 'for by Saint Paul,' quoth he, 'I will not to dinner till I see thy head off.'"

Whatever were the charges brought forward by Richard, it seems certain that the Lord Hastings was instantly seized by a body of armed men, who, rushing into the council-chamber, crying "Treason! treason!" at a signal given by Richard, hurried him to the green by the side of the Tower chapel, stretched his neck over a log of wood which happened to lie there, and cut off his head; and that the Lord Stanley, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Ely were arrested at the same time, and shut up in separate cells in the Tower. On the very day upon which these things happened in London, the Earl Rivers, the Lord Gray, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawse were beheaded at Pontefract Castle, without any form of trial. The execution was public; but the victims were prevented from addressing the people by an armed band, that was directed in person by Sir Richard Ratcliffe, one of Richard's boldest adherents, who is described as "a man that had long been secret with him, having experience of the world and a shrewd wit, being short and rude in speech, and as far from pity as from all fear of God." The Earl Rivers, who thus perished, was an accomplished man; he was fond of literature—he encouraged literary men, and first introduced to the notice of Edward IV. William Caxton, the first English printer.

These executions, it should appear, produced no reaction. On the 16th of June, only three days after, the protector, with my lord-cardinal the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several other prelates and lay lords, proceeded to the sanctuary at Westminster, to demand the person of the Duke of York, whose presence at the coronation was said to be indispensable, and whose abiding in sanctuary was held to be dangerous and dishonourable, as causing slanderous rumours to be spread and suspicions to be cast on the protector. The cardinal undertook to persuade the queen-mother with gentle words, for Richard was quite ready to disregard the sacred rights of church and sanctuary. According to the best authority, Elizabeth at last yielded rather to the conviction of the uselessness of all resistance, than to the arguments of the cardinal-archbishop, and, calling for her beautiful boy, she embraced him and delivered him over to them, and then burst into tears, as though she felt her child was lost. Richard carried the poor boy to the Tower, and secured him there with his brother.

The "pleasant vices" of the late king were now made scourges for his innocent progeny, and the dissoluteness of the whole court had disposed the minds of many people to look with a favourable eye upon any prince or minister that should present himself as a reformer of morals. Stories were circulated, both new and old! the late king was

again said to be a bastard; and his children were made equally illegitimate in reports which stated, with much circumstantiality, that the marriage of Elizabeth Woodville was altogether illegal. Among the many mistresses of Edward was none so conspicuous as Jane Shore, whom he had seduced from her husband, a young and wealthy citizen, and to whom he continued attached to the time of his death. "Many," says More, "the king had, but her he loved: whose favour, to say the truth (for sin it were to belie the devil), she never abused to any man's hurt, but to many a man's comfort and relief; where the king took displeasure she would mitigate and appease his mind; where men were out of favour she would bring them in his grace; for many that had highly offended she obtained pardon; of great forfeitures she got men remission. . . . A proper wife had she, and could both read well and write. As if it were in a virtuous anger, not for covetousness" (it appears, however, that Richard kept the goods or the money), "the protector sent into the house of Shore's wife (for she dwelt not with her husband) and seized all her plate and jewels, to the value of 2000 or 3000 marks, and then sent her to prison." She was delivered over to the ecclesiastical court to be punished according to canons which had long been a dead letter, at least about court. "Every man," says More, "was surprised to see the matter so suddenly and so highly taken; and for this cause, that Duke Richard, as a godly, continent prince, clean and faultless of himself, sent out of heaven into this vicious world for the amendment of men's manners, he made the Bishop of London put her to open penance." With no clothes on but her girdle, bare-footed, and carrying a lighted taper in her hand, Jane Shore was compelled to walk through the crowded streets of the city on a Sunday. The exhibition had the double effect of fixing the attention of the people on the immoralities of the late king, and of displaying in a striking light the moral rigour of the new protector.

This scene was followed by a sermon preached by Dr. Shaw, the brother of the lord-mayor, upon the text—"The multiplying brood of the ungodly shall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from bastard slips."¹ The doctor proceeded boldly to show that the two young princes in the Tower were illegitimate, inasmuch as Edward their father, in the very beginning of his reign, before he knew Elizabeth, the widow of Sir Thomas Gray, had clandestinely married Eleanor, the widow of the Lord Boteler of Sudeley. He afterwards took up the scandal which had been propagated by the Duke of Clarence, and by the Duke of Burgundy

before him, expressing his learned doubts whether Edward, the late king, were in reality the son of his reputed father Richard, Duke of York, seeing that there was no resemblance between them. But then he went on to tell the great crowd that attended him—for he was holding forth at Paul's Cross, and was a very popular



ST. PAUL'S CROSS.²—From a print by Hollar.

preacher—that the lord-protector, that right noble prince, was the very image and plain express likeness of that royal duke. It had been previously arranged that Richard should appear in the sermon-ward just as Dr. Shaw drew this striking comparison, but either he came too slow or the preacher went on too fast: he appeared at length, and then the doctor repeated his similitude; but the words lost the air of an inspiration, and the people, instead of shouting "Long live King Richard!" as they ought to have done, stared at each other in silent astonishment. The protector then pretended to be displeased with the preacher, who sneaked away.

On the Tuesday following (the 24th of June) the Duke of Buckingham, who went hand-in-hand with the Duke of Gloucester, presented himself on the hustings at the Guildhall, and there, supported by a number of lords, knights, and citizens, he eloquently harangued the Londoners. He spoke of the tyranny, extortion, and lust of the late king—of the numbers he had reduced to beggary by benevolences—of the honest families he had disgraced by his illicit amours. He went over the whole sermon of Dr. Shaw, and told the people that Richard was the only true issue of the Duke of York, and that the lords and commons of the north had sworn never to submit to a bastard. It appears that the more respectable citizens, among whom, however, Richard had a very strong party, required time for deliberation; but many of the poorer sort now threw up their bonnets, and cried "Long live King Richard!"

¹ *Wisdom of Solomon*, iv. 3.

² This cross was erected about 1450, and remodelled in 1595

THE SONS OF EDWARD IV. PARTED FROM THEIR MOTHER.

When Edward IV. died in 1483 he left two sons, the eldest of whom was aged thirteen, and heir to the crown. Their uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, on hearing that he was appointed guardian of the boys by his brother the late king, immediately left the army in York and repaired to London. At Stony Stratford he arrested Earl Rivers and Lord Grey, who had the eldest of the princes in charge, and straightway consigned these noblemen to Pontefract Castle. The queen-mother was so alarmed at this unscrupulous imprisonment of her kinsmen, that she proceeded to Westminster Abbey and craved right of sanctuary for herself and her younger son. When Richard arrived in London he called the Council, and received their sanction to demand the little Duke of York from his mother. *Accordingly he proceeded to Westminster Abbey, along with several prelates and lords, where the Queen, with many sighs and evil forebodings, yielded up her youngest son, in order that he might join his brother in the Tower.* These forebodings were justified, for the two boys were secretly murdered by the hirelings of their uncle, who had in the meantime crowned himself king, as Richard III.



THE SON OF EDWARD IV PARTED FROM THEIR MOTHER

On the next day a great deputation from the citizens, headed by Shaw the mayor, and accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham and many lords and gentlemen, waited upon the protector, who was lodging in Baynard's Castle. Richard, it is said, affected to be alarmed, and at first declined receiving them; but soon Buckingham was admitted to present an address, which was styled the "Consideration, election, and petition of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, of this realm of England." In this remarkable document, of which a copy has been preserved in the rolls of parliament, the former allusions to the illegitimacy of the late king and his brother Clarence were suppressed, but Edward's marriage with Eleanor Boteler was insisted upon; and "as Edward (the discourse proceeded) during his life and Elizabeth lived together sinfully and damnably in adultery, against the law of God and of his church, so it appeareth evidently and followeth that all the issuing children of the said King Edward be bastards." Then, to get rid of the children of the Duke of Clarence, Richard's elder brother, the attainder for treason against that prince was quoted; and, finally, Richard was invited and pressed to take the crown as his by right of birth, and by lawful election of the three estates of the land.

The protector hesitated; spoke of his want of ambition; his warm affection for the young princes, his nephews, for whom he yet trusted to preserve the crown. "Not so," said Buckingham; "the free people of England will never be ruled by a bastard; and if you, the lawful heir, refuse the crown, they know where to find another who will gladly accept it." Upon this, Richard modestly replied, that it was his duty to submit to the will of his people; and that, since they would have him for their king, he would take upon himself the royal estate of the two noble realms of England and France—the one to rule from that day forward, the other (meaning France), with their good help, to subdue and get again as soon as might be.¹ This is commonly reckoned the last day of the brief nominal reign of Edward V.

RICHARD III.

On the 26th of June, the day following the scene acted at Baynard's Castle, Richard proceeded to Westminster, where he seated himself between the great Lord Howard and the Duke of Suffolk upon the marble seat in the hall, telling the admiring people that he commenced his reign in that place, because it was his first duty as a king to attend to the laws and the doing of justice. He

then rode back to the city, and was received at St. Paul's by a grand procession of the clergy and the joyful shouts of the people. Ten days after, on the 6th of July, he was crowned in Westminster Abbey with his wife Anne, the daughter of Warwick. Neither lords spiritual nor lords temporal started the least difficulty: the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his clergy, anointed the usurper. There was a very full attendance of peers and peeresses; and while the Duke of Buckingham bore the train of the king, the Countess of Richmond did the like office for the queen. The ceremony was followed by promotions, donations, and acts of mercy. The Lord Howard was made earl marshal, and received the title of Duke of Norfolk: his son was created Earl of Surrey. Of the prisoners made in the council-chamber in the Tower on the day of Lord Hastings' execution, Lord Stanley was received into favour, the Archbishop of York was set at liberty, and the Bishop of Ely was released from the Tower, to be more gently guarded by the Duke of Buckingham in his castle at Brecknock.

Richard did not call a parliament, but he held a long conference with the lords who had attended his coronation, and whom he charged to be strict in preserving the peace, and putting down all crimes and disorders in their several counties. In a few days he began a royal progress through the kingdom, and wherever he stopped, he listened to petitions and administered justice in person. His course lay through some of the pleasantest parts of England, and the fine summer season disposed the people to enjoy the splendour and parade of the court. Everywhere he was received with acclamations—in the north with enthusiasm. From Warwick he went by Coventry, Leicester, Nottingham, and Pontefract, to York, where he and his queen were again crowned to gratify his northern adherents.²

But while all was sunshine at York, a dark cloud arose in London, that threatened a tempest in the south. Meetings were held by the friends of the queen-mother in different parts, and it was resolved to make an attempt to liberate the princes from the Tower. Their healths were drunk in secret; but the poor boys were already dead, and their fate had probably been hastened by these friends—for nothing was likely to escape the quick and suspicious eye of their uncle and his numerous agents. We venture to repeat the old story as told by Sir Thomas More; for, in spite of the scepticism of a few modern writers, it has not only consistency and probability, but

² Rotherham, Archbishop of York, here officiated, and set the crown upon his head. *Sir Thomas More; Cont. Hist. Croyl.; Drake, Eborac.; Rouse.* Rouse, who was living an eremitical life at Guy's Cliff at the time of this splendid royal progress, saw Richard at Warwick, and describes his personal appearance.

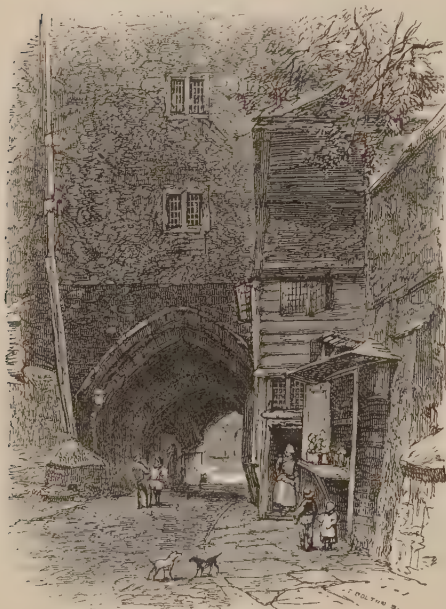
¹ *Sir Thomas More.*

also some remarkable evidences in its favour. In the course of his progress, Richard despatched from the neighbourhood of the town of Gloucester one John Green, "whom he specially trusted," with a letter to Sir Robert Brackenbury, governor of the Tower, ordering that the said Sir Robert should, "in some wise, put the two children to death." Brackenbury refused the commission, as something too horrible and dangerous to himself. Green returned with this answer to Richard, who, being then at Warwick, despatched Sir James Tyrrel, his master of the horse, with a commission to get, and keep for twenty-four hours, all the keys and the command of the Tower. One night, apparently in the month of August, Tyrrel, accompanied by Miles Forest, "a fellow fleshed in murder before-time," and John Dighton, Tyrrel's own horsekeeper, "a big, broad, square, and strong knave," ascended the staircase which led

hasty view of the dead bodies, which were then, by his orders, carried down and buried by the two murderers "at the stair-foot, meetly deep in the ground, under a great heap of stones."² Honours and rewards were immediately bestowed upon Tyrrel, Forest, Dighton, Green, and Brackenbury.

It was not King Richard's intention to reveal that the children were dead; but when the insurgents were up in arms he permitted the fact to be divulged. The news disconcerted the conspirators; but these men had gone too far ever to expect mercy from such a king, and they resolved to raise up a new competitor for the crown in the person of one who was not a prisoner in the Tower, but an exile in France—who was not an innocent, helpless boy, but a man in the vigour of life,³ and crafty, cool, and sagacious, as became one that had studied his politics in the school of Louis XI.

This was Henry, Earl of Richmond, the grandson of Owen Tudor and Catherine, the widow of Henry V. Richmond was considered as representing the line of Lancaster by right of his mother Margaret Beaufort, who was daughter of a Duke of Somerset, and a great-grand-daughter of John of Gaunt. Some princes or princesses might have been found in Spain or Portugal among the descendants of John of Gaunt, who were nearer representatives of that house; but the eyes of the legitimatists on this side did not reach so far; and the Yorkists could not very consistently recognize the rights of a line of princes whom they had voted usurpers. It was, therefore, proposed that Henry, Earl of Richmond, should marry the Princess Elizabeth (formerly affianced to the dauphin), eldest daughter of the late king, and now, by the death of her brothers, the representative of the more legitimate house of York. Elizabeth, the queen-mother, whose sanctuary was still respected, found means of corresponding with the managers for this new revolution; and she entered warmly into the project of the marriage. The Dowager-countess of Richmond, who had married Lord Stanley, became a party to the contract, as representative of her son, the exile Henry; and the Marquis of Dorset, with several members of the Gray and Woodville families, and many other noblemen who had hitherto pursued very different politics, united against Richard, and entered into the scheme. The best explanation of the conduct of the Duke of



THE BLOODY TOWER, TOWER OF LONDON. 1.—From a sketch by H. G. Hine.

to the chamber where the young princes lay sleeping together. While Tyrrel waited at the door, Miles Forest and John Dighton entered the room, and smothered the children in the bed-clothes as they lay, keeping the pillows and feather-bed hard upon their mouth. When the deed was done, Tyrrel stepped into the chamber to take a

¹ The Bloody Tower forms the gateway of the inner ward of the Tower of London. Tradition points out the room over the archway as the place where the children of Edward IV. were murdered, hence the name.

² *Sir Thomas More.* The continuator of the *History of Croyland*, another contemporary, says simply that the children were reported to have died in the Tower, though it was uncertain by what kind of violent death. A little more light will be thrown on this mysterious transaction in our narrative of the reign of Henry VII.

³ Henry was nearly thirty years old when he ascended the throne.

Buckingham who had done more than any man to place Richard upon the throne, is, that he was a fool and something worse. The more detailed explanations usually given are, that though made constable of the kingdom, justiciary of Wales, governor of all the royal castles in Wales, and steward of the royal manors in Hereford and Shropshire, and though he had obtained from Richard what had constantly been refused to him by Richard's brother and predecessor,¹ the whole or the greater part of the immense inheritance of Humphrey de Bohun, which he claimed in right of descent, Buckingham was still dissatisfied, and was, therefore, induced to listen to the acute reasoning of his prisoner Morton, Bishop of Ely, who was an implacable enemy of King Richard, and (next to Richard) the most adroit statesman in the country, and to the earnest persuasions of his own wife, who was sister to Queen Elizabeth. It is certain that indignation and horror at the murder of his wife's nephews in the Tower had nothing to do with Buckingham's sudden change; for he engaged to put himself at the head of an insurrection before that event was known; and by letters rashly written, and imprudently delivered, he called upon his friends to join him in placing upon the throne the legitimate king, Edward V., whom he (Buckingham,) on the 24th of June last past, had proclaimed a bastard at Guildhall. When that plan fell to the ground, he entered eagerly into the other, and was among the first to invite the Earl of Richmond into England. The astucious Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who had fled into France after the battle of Tewkesbury, had gone through many perilous adventures, and had occasionally suffered poverty and want. But now the French court and the Duke of Brittany, hoping much from his gratitude if he should become King of England, agreed to furnish him with some ships, men, and money.²

King Richard obtained the first hint of what was intended from the answer which Henry sent to the invitation of his friends in England. This was within a few days of the 18th of October, the time fixed for a general rising. He summoned all his loyal subjects to meet him at Leicester. The summons was readily attended to in the north, and a good army gathered round his standard. On the appointed day the insurrection broke out, and Henry Tudor was proclaimed at Exeter by the Marquis of Dorset; by the Bishop of Salis-

bury at Devizes; by the gentlemen of Kent at Maidstone; by the gentlemen of Berkshire at Newbury; and by the Duke of Buckingham at Brecknock.

Richard hit all the leaders at once by a remarkable proclamation, in which, maintaining his tone of morality, he called them all traitors, adulterers, and bawds, and said that their object was, the letting (hindrance) of virtue and the damnable maintenance of vice. At the same time, he set a price upon the heads of Buckingham, Dorset, and their confederates. Henry appeared with a fleet off the coast of Devonshire; but none of the confederates were there to meet him, and it did not accord with his prudence to attempt a landing with the small force he had brought. While he was sailing back to St. Malo, Buckingham, who moved from Wales too late, and who, when he did move, proceeded like an idiot, was blundering along the right bank of the Severn, seeking in vain for a passage across that river. The people of Herefordshire, Worcester, and Gloucestershire, who had no great affection for him and his Welsh army, broke down or defended all the bridges; and the fords, it is said, were rendered impassable by the autumnal rains. In a very short time the Welshmen, finding that the duke had made no arrangements for feeding them, and that they could not maintain themselves by plunder, deserted almost to a man, and returned to their mountains. Buckingham fled and concealed himself; and the news of his miserable failure induced the rest of the insurgents to disperse. Richard, without drawing a sword, marched all the way from Leicester to Salisbury, where Buckingham, his captive, having been betrayed by one of his own servants, a man named Banister, meantly implored to see him. Richard would not grant him an interview, but ordered his head to be struck off in the market-place, which was done immediately. The king then continued his march into Devonshire; but this was scarcely necessary, for the Marquis of Dorset and his friends had already taken flight for Brittany. He executed a few insurgents, the most conspicuous of whom was St. Leger, a knight, who had married Richard's own sister, the Duchess of Exeter; and then he returned to London to meet a parliament which had, at length, been summoned.³

This, which was Richard's only parliament, met on the 11th of November, and was so far from showing any dissatisfaction, that it proceeded at once to confirm the celebrated petition which had been presented by Buckingham and the citizens at Baynard's Castle the day before the protector changed himself into a king; and

¹ Edward IV. had kept the De Bohun inheritance to himself.

² "The Earl of Richmond," says Comines, "told me, not long before his departure from France, that from the time he was five years old, he had always been a fugitive or a prisoner. He had endured an imprisonment of fifteen years, or thereabouts, in Brittany, by command of the late Duke Francis, into whose hands he fell by extremity of weather, as he was escaping out of England with his uncle the Earl of Pembroke."

³ Rot. Parl.; Rymer; Cent. Hist. Croyl.; Drake, *Eborac.*; Hall; Stow

it declared him the lawful sovereign by birth, inheritance, free election, consecration, and coronation, and entailed the crown on the issue of his body, beginning with his son Edward, now declared Prince of Wales. It voted a bill of attainder, in the usual form, against the traitors who had attempted to disturb the lawful government. This bill was much less severe than might have been expected. The Countess of Richmond, Henry's mother, who had taken a most active part in the late attempt, was pardoned at the earnest entreaties of her second husband, the Lord Stanley—a man who seems to have been a match even for Richard in craft and duplicity, and who now, and indeed to the last moment, persuaded him that he had renounced all former notions, and had become his truest friend and servant. In the address or petition presented at Baynard's Castle, was the following strong passage, expressive of the feelings with which the rapacity and misgovernment of Edward IV. had filled the citizens: "For certainly, we be determined rather to adventure and commit us to the peril of our lives and jeopardy of death, than to live in such thralldom and bondage as we have lived long time heretofore, oppressed and injured by extortions and new impositions against the laws of God and man, and the liberty, old policy, and laws of this realm, wherein every Englishman is inherited." Parliament now passed an act, which, after reciting in equally strong terms the grievances lately suffered, abrogated and forever annulled all exactions under the name of benevolences—that equivocal and odious term introduced in the late arbitrary times. This was a boon to the nation, whose liberties were not directly impaired by the usurpation¹ of Richard.² His tenure was too precarious, and his reign too brief to allow him to become despot.

A.D. 1484. Richard felt that in spite of acts of parliament and all other instruments, whereby the children of his brother had been declared illegitimate, the whole party of the Yorkists were still inclined to consider the Princess Elizabeth as heiress to the crown. He was aware of the project of uniting her to Henry, Earl of Richmond, whose title was otherwise most defective, and he resolved to get the young lady into his power. He was startled by a circumstance which took place during the festival of

Christmas. The English exiles, with the Marquis of Dorset at their head, met Henry at an appointed place in Brittany, and after he had sworn to make Elizabeth his queen, they did homage to him as their legitimate sovereign. Richard opened an active and affectionate correspondence with his brother's widow, who was still with her daughters in the sanctuary at Westminster; and that vain, ambitious, heartless woman, tired of her long privations, and eager again for the pleasures of a court, listened to the proposals offered by the murderer of her children, brother, and nearest friends. Some precautions, however, she took; for Richard swore upon the host before some bishops and lords, and the lord-mayor and aldermen, that her life and the lives of her daughters should be in no peril; that they should all be treated as his kinswomen; and that he would grant an annuity to the mother, and marriage portions to the young ladies. After this, she left the sanctuary and went to court, where every possible attention was paid to her eldest daughter. Richard's design was, in this instance, transparent—it was to marry the Princess Elizabeth, whom he had called a bastard, but whom others called the lawful heiress, to his son, the Prince of Wales, a boy of eleven years. The plan, however, was defeated by the death of the young prince, who expired *suddenly* at Middleham Castle. For a time Richard was bowed to the earth by this unexpected calamity, but as soon as he recovered he evidently resolved to work out his scheme of ambition by marrying Elizabeth himself. Except for the poor boys who perished in the Tower, or in some other place, it is scarcely possible to feel the least sympathy for a single member of this abominable family. The Lady Elizabeth was kept constantly about the person of Richard's queen, and indulged in all the pleasures of the court, which did not always wear a puritanical gloom, for Richard found, that though his affectation of moral austerity might gain him friends in one direction, it made him lose friends in another. On a sudden Richard's wife Anne fell sick, and it seems to have been calculated that she should die. In the month of February (1485) Elizabeth, the mother, wrote to her son, the marquis, telling him to retire immediately from Henry, Earl of Richmond, as she had arranged a better plan for the family; and Elizabeth, the daughter (the worthy child of such a mother), wrote to Howard, now Duke of Norfolk, and in high favour with the king, to implore his good offices in forwarding her marriage with Richard, whom she called "her joy and maker in this world—the master of her heart and thoughts." She expressed her surprise that the queen should be so long in dying—the better part of February, she observed, was past, and

¹ Lord Campbell observes of the statute 1 Rich. III. c. 1, that "it is remarkable that this is the first statute in the English language, the statutes hitherto having been all in Latin or French, and it was taken as a precedent, for all statutes afterwards are in English. It is curious that in this reign, which we regard with so much horror, not only were laws given to the people of England for the first time since the Conquest, in their own language, but acts of parliament were for the first time printed."—Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, i. 704.

² *Rot. Parl.; Cont. Hist. Croyl.*

the queen still alive—would she never die? Anne died in March, and then the young Elizabeth, who had already worn robes similar to those of the queen, and who had appeared at court balls and festivals as the peculiar object of her uncle's attentions, expected to mount the throne. But when Richard opened his plan to his chief advisers, Ratcliffe and Catesby, they represented that such a marriage would be considered as incestuous by the clergy and the people; that it would confirm suspicions, already beginning to be entertained, that he had poisoned Queen Anne; and that such a conviction would assuredly deprive him of his friends in the north, whose attachment to him had mainly arisen out of their hereditary affection for the daughter of the great Earl of Warwick. Richard had counted on obtaining a dispensation for the marriage from the pope; but he was now made to feel that this, even if he had got it, would not be sufficient to screen him from popular indignation, and he resigned all thoughts of making the heiress his wife. His next step was to assert that he had never entertained any such project. He summoned a meeting in the great hall of the Temple, and there, before the commoners and the lord-mayor and aldermen, who had an unusually large share in state matters during this reign, he protested that he had never thought of such an event. In order to tranquillize the people of the north, he wrote a letter to the citizens of York, telling them how he had explained matters to the citizens of London, and requiring them to seize and send before the council all such persons as propagated false and malicious reports.

In the preceding summer Richard had adopted measures which drove Henry from Brittany, and well-nigh proved fatal to that rival. By means of money he converted Landois from a friend and ally into an enemy, and that Breton minister, with or without the consent of his master, the Duke Francis, engaged to seize the Earl of Richmond and send him a prisoner into England. Henry, being warned of this plot, fled with a few friends from Vannes, threw himself into a neighbouring forest, and, by pursuing unfrequented roads and using great speed, he gained the territories of the King of France.¹ There he was safe, for the French court considered Richard as an usurper. "This Richard," says Comines, "desired to live in the same friendship with our king as his brother Edward had done, and I believe would have had his pension continued; but our king looked upon him as an inhuman and cruel person, and would neither answer his letters nor give audience to his ambassadors." And though Louis XI., the king here alluded to, died seven

weeks after Richard's coronation, his son, Charles VIII., entertained the same sentiments. Henry was kindly received at Paris, and Charles even supplied him with some money and about 3000 Normans, whom Comines describes as "the loosest and most profligate fellows of all that country." "And thus," says the same writer, "did God of a sudden raise up against Richard an enemy without power, without money, without hereditary right (according to my information), and without any reputation, save what his person and deportment had acquired for him."

The real descent of his rival, his alliance with the French king, and the complexion of the army he was bringing into England, were all made the most of in a proclamation which Richard issued with the intention of exciting the prejudices of the people. He called him "One Henry Tudor, descended of bastard blood both by father's and mother's side, and who, therefore, could never have any claim to the crown of England, but by conquest." He asserted that this Henry Tudor, that he might achieve his false intent by the aid of the ancient enemies of England, had covenanted to give up in perpetuity to the crown of France all right to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and even Calais, and to dis sever the arms of France from the arms of England for ever; that he had promised and given away, to traitors and foreigners, archbishoprics, bishoprics, duchies, earldoms, baronies, and other inheritances of knights, esquires, and private gentlemen; that he intended to change and subvert the ancient laws and liberties; that he was coming with bands of robbers and murderers, and with rebels attainted by the high court of parliament, of whom many were known for open cut-throats, adulterers, and extortioners. He called upon his subjects, like true and good Englishmen, to arm for the defence of their wives, children, goods, and hereditaments, and he promised, like a diligent and courageous prince, to put his most royal person to all labour and peril necessary in their behalf. But he was without money, and he soon found that he could depend but little on his officers.

The last remnant of his popularity among the citizens of London appears to have been rent and destroyed by the exacting of some forced loans. As he and his parliament had for ever proscribed those practices of the late reign, he would not permit these extortions to be called "benevolences;" upon which the Londoners called them "malevolences."² The plan of his campaign was to intrust the defence of the sea-coasts to his friends, and to collect himself a great army in the centre of the kingdom. Most of these friends betrayed him; but, when he raised his own ban-

¹ Daru, *Hist. Bretagne*.² *Cont. Hist. Croyl.*

ner at Nottingham, the people of the north hastened to it, under the Earl of Northumberland. On the 7th of August Henry landed at Milford Haven with about 5000 men, of whom not above 2000 were English.¹ Richard moved southward to Leicester, where he was joined by the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Lovel, and Brackenbury, who brought up the levies from the eastern counties, from Hampshire, and from London. Many other lords and sheriffs of counties, who had been summoned, did not appear, and the Lord Stanley, the husband of Henry's mother, was among the missing. Keeping up his deception to the last, Stanley sent to say how much he regretted his non-attendance, which was caused solely by the sweating sickness that confined him to his bed. But Richard, who probably knew by this time that Henry had been allowed to march undisturbed through Wales, and through the whole country where the influence of the Stanleys was greatest, determined to look after the Lord Strange, the son of Lord Stanley, who was in his camp. Strange attempted flight; was seized, interrogated, and made to confess that the Stanleys were in league with the invader—all of them except his father, who, he said, he knew would soon join King Richard. He was allowed to write to Lord Stanley to hasten his coming, but he was kept a close prisoner as hostage for his father. It was then arranged by the Tudor party that the Stanleys should march a little in advance of the invading force, as though they were retreating before it, and that they should only join openly on the field of battle, when it was calculated Richard's mind would be too much occupied to attend to Lord Strange.

Henry, after crossing the Severn, was joined by the Talbots and a few other families, but his force was still very inconsiderable as compared with the army under his bold and experienced rival. But Henry knew that not one man in ten would fight for Richard, and he continued to press forward. On the 21st of August he moved from Tamworth town to Atherston, where he was joined by swarms of deserters from the enemy. On the same day Richard marched

from Leicester and encamped near the town of Bosworth.

Early on the following morning Richard, with the crown on his head, mounted his horse, mar-



BLUE BOAR INN, LEICESTER.²—Antiquarian Repertory.

shalled his troops, and advanced. Henry at the same time moved from Atherston: and the two armies soon met in the midst of the fine and spacious plain, nearly surrounded by hills, which commences about a mile to the south of Bosworth. "There," in the quaint language of a contemporary, "was fought a sharp battle, and sharper should it have been if the king's party had been fast to him: but many, towards the field, refused him, and rode over to the other party, and some stood hovering afar off, till they saw to which party the victory should fall."³ In fact, of all the lords that followed Richard scarcely one was

¹ "On his landing he (Henry) displayed a red flag, the old banner of the Cambrians, as if his design had been to excite that nation to take up arms and to render it independent of the English. That enthusiastic nation, over which the power of signs was always very great, without examining whether the dispute between Henry Tudor and Richard III. was not foreign to itself, rallied, by a sort of instinct, round its old standard. The *Red Dragon* was planted on the mountain of Snowdon, which the pretender appointed as the rendezvous for such of the Welsh as had promised him to arm in his cause. Not one of them failed to keep the appointed day; the bards themselves, feeling their ancient spirit rekindled, sang and prophesied in the style of the olden time, the victory of the Kymrys over the Saxon and the Norman enemy. But it was never contemplated to free the Cambrians from the yoke of the foreigner; the single

fruit of the victory was to place a man with a little Welsh blood in his veins upon the throne of the Norman conquerors of Wales. . . . Henry VII. placed the Cambrian dragon in his arms, by the side of the three lions of Normandy. He created a new office of pursuivant-at-arms, with the title of Rouge-Dragon, and by means of the archives of Wales, authentic or fabulous, traced his genealogy to Cadwallader, the last chief who bore the title of King of Britain; and from thence to Brutus, son of Æneas, the pretended progenitor of the Britons. But these frivolous acts of vanity, rather than of gratitude, were all that the new king did for the people whose devotion had given him victory and a kingdom."²—Thierry, *The Norman Conquest*, conclusion, section ii.

² Tradition states that Richard lodged in this house on the night before the battle of Bosworth Field.

³ Fabyan.

true to him except the Duke of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey. As he gazed along the enemy's lines he saw many a banner which, a few hours before, had been on his own side; and either immediately before the first attack, or very soon after, Lord Stanley appeared in the field with 3000 men, and joined his adversary. On looking back on his own lines he saw them wavering and broken by desertion, for whole bands at a time left their positions to fall into the rear or go over to Henry. Even the Earl of Northumberland, with the hardy men of the north, seemed inclined to keep aloof. Hesitation could only increase these evils: Richard gave the order, and the Duke of Norfolk, who led the van, began the attack by falling upon the advanced guard of the enemy, which was commanded by the old Earl of Oxford, who had recently been delivered from prison by Sir Walter Blount, once Richard's sworn friend, but who now, like so many other adherents, drew his sword for the Earl of Richmond. Norfolk's attack made a great impression, but no other leader seconded him. Of a sudden Richard put spurs to his horse, and, shouting "Treason!" galloped into the midst of the enemy. His quick eye had caught a glance of Henry, and, desperate as seemed his case, he hoped to retrieve it by his personal valour and his skill in the use of arms, if he could only engage his adversary hand-to-hand. He cut his way to Henry's standard; killed Sir William Brandon, the standard-bearer; made Sir John Cheney bite the dust; and was directing a deadly thrust at his rival, when a whole host closed upon him, threw him from his horse, and despatched him with many wounds. Then Lord Stanley picked up his crown, battered and blood-stained, and put it on the head of Henry. The Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Ferrers, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Bracken-

bury, and a few other knights, shared the fate of their master. It is said that, in the battle and the flight, 3000 men perished; but, considering the way in which the affair was managed, and Henry's politic anxiety to reconcile parties, and to show himself a clement sovereign, it is probable that this number is somewhat exaggerated. The battle of Bosworth Field, which terminated the war of the Roses, and placed a new dynasty on the English throne, was altogether on a scale inferior to that of several preceding conflicts. Counting both armies, there were not 18,000 men on the field, and of these the greater part were never engaged. When the victorious party had finished shouting "Long live King Henry!" they picked up the body of King Richard, stripped it, and laid it across a horse behind a pursuivant-at-arms, who, thus mounted, rode a little in the rear of the new king into the town of Leicester. There the body was exposed for two or three days, "that all men might behold it;" after which it was buried with little reverence in the church of the Grey Friars.

Such was the fate of Richard III., who had reigned two years and two months. There is some uncertainty about his precise age, but it appears probable that he was only in his thirty-third year when he died.¹ The disputes which have been raised on every part of his history have been extended even to his personal appearance. It seems very certain that the portrait usually exhibited is an incorrect one: he was small of stature, had a sharp visage, and unequal shoulders—his right shoulder being a little higher than his left;² the other traits seem to have been put in by imagination. There is some evidence to show that, instead of being a monster of ugliness, he was almost as handsome in features as his brother³ Edward IV.⁴

¹ *Cont. Hist. Croyl.*; *Fabyan*; *Hall*; *Buck, Life of Richard III.*; *W. Hutton, Battle of Bosworth Field*.

² So at least says Rouse, the hermit of Guy's Cliff, who saw Richard (whom he hated) at Warwick.

³ *Walpole, Hist. Doubts*. This appears to us one of the particulars in which the ingenious writer has best made out his case; and yet he can scarcely be said to have got rid of Richard's hump.

⁴ As we have now closed the reigns of the Plantagenets, which had continued so long and been so influential, this seems the proper place to introduce Mr. Hallam's remarks on the state of manners in England, as well as elsewhere, during the long period of their reign.

"All Europe was a scene of intestine anarchy during the middle ages, and though England was far less exposed to the scourge of private war than most nations on the Continent, we should find, could we recover the local annals of every country, such an accumulation of petty rapine and tumult, as would almost alienate us from the liberty which served to engender it. This was the common tenor of manners, sometimes so much aggravated as to find a place in general history, more often attested by records, during the three centuries that the house of Plantagenet sat on the throne." Mr. Hallam then quotes in a note this passage from Walsingham: "The same year 1332, certain evil-minded persons, enjoying the support of some of the magnates,

despising the youth of the king, and intending to disturb the kingdom, increased to such a multitude, and occupied the woods and defiles, so as to be a terror to the whole kingdom." Mr. Hallam proceeds: "Disseisin, or forcible dispossession of free-holds, makes one of the most considerable articles in our law-books. High-way robbery was from the earliest times a sort of national crime. Capital punishments, though very frequent, made little impression on a bold and licentious crew, who had at least the sympathy of those who had nothing to lose on their side, and flattering prospects of impunity. We know how long the outlaws of Sherwood lived in tradition; men who, like some of their betters, have been permitted to redeem by a few acts of generosity, the just ignominy of extensive crimes. These indeed were the heroes of vulgar applause; but when such a judge as Sir John Fortescue could exult that more Englishmen were hanged for robbery in one year than French in seven, and that if an Englishman be poor, and see another having riches, which may be taken from him by might, he will not spare to do so, it may be perceived how thoroughly these sentiments had pervaded the public mind."

Mr. Hallam ascribes the frequent impunity of these robbers to the general want of communication facilitating escape, and to the extensive forests that harboured evil-doers—to the frequent purchase of charters of pardon—nay, to the countenance of the nobility, for which he finds it difficult to account, but

The course of affairs in Scotland has been adverted to from time to time in the preceding pages; but it will be convenient to subjoin a brief summary of the history of that kingdom from the commencement to the close of the period, that the leading events may be seen at one view in their sequence and proper connection. The arrival of the fifteenth century found the throne of Bruce occupied by his great-grandson Robert III., who had ascended it in 1390;—a prince whom much amiability of nature, a genuine though a somewhat superstitious piety, and even intellectual tastes and accomplishments beyond the rude times upon which he was thrown, did not protect from the misfortunes and contempt that were the natural consequences of his extreme deficiency in all the more energetic and manly virtues. He had passed his fiftieth year before he obtained the crown; and for some years before his accession, the whole powers of the government, in the feeble old age of their father, had been left in the hands of his two younger brothers, the Earls of Fife and Buchan, whose very vices were fitted to win more admiration from their countrymen than his good qualities; for, although the one was a man of craft, the other of violence, both were equally unrestrained either by conscience or feeling, and in their respective ways of action equally unscrupulous and daring. The weakness of the new reign was sufficiently indicated from the first, by the Earl of Fife, afterwards created Duke of Albany, being permitted to continue, with the office of Custos or Guardian, ruler both of the kingdom and the king. From his timid brother, Albany never would have encountered any attempt to overthrow or limit his power: but Robert's eldest son, the Duke of Rothesay, showed himself, as he grew up to manhood, to be of a very opposite temper to his father. A strong party of the nobility as well as the national feeling rallied around the heir apparent; and in 1398, Albany found himself compelled to resign the post of regent to his nephew. The government was in the hands of Rothesay, when Henry IV. of England, in the close of the year 1400, made that inroad into the country as far as Edinburgh, which was attended with no results, but is memorable as the last expedition ever conducted by an English monarch in person against the northern kingdom. In bending, however, for the moment to the storm, and retiring from the which may have arisen from the necessity of keeping on good terms with such outlaws and desperadoes.

Three things, not mentioned by Mr. Hallam, had probably much to do with this frightful demoralization:—1st. The substitution of a foreign clergy and rites for the old native Anglo-Saxon pastors and their vernacular instructions; 2d. Easy absolution for crime by priests; and 3d. The traditional feelings of antipathy on the part of the Anglo-Saxon population to the Normans, transferred naturally enough to all wealthy persons.

head of affairs, the dark and ambitious Albany had only stepped aside to lie in wait for an opportunity of regaining his position. The thoughtless character of Rothesay made him an easy prey to his designing uncle. His wild pursuit of pleasure, and neglect first of his wife, and then of the mistress for whom he had abandoned her, had already involved him with several powerful enemies, when, by means of artful representations conveyed to the old king of the licentious conduct of his son, he was induced, about the beginning of the year 1402, to give an order, under the royal signet, to Albany, to arrest the prince, and place him in temporary confinement. He was seized at Straththrum, near St. Andrews, as he rode towards that city, and immediately lodged in the castle there, from which he was soon after transferred to a dungeon in the royal palace of Falkland, and there, it is believed, starved to death. The resumption by Albany of the office of regent immediately followed this horrid tragedy. Soon after, hostile operations against England were resumed; two Scottish armies were successively marched into that country, and were both defeated and dispersed—the first at the battle of Nesbit Moor, the second at that of Homildon Hill. In the latter, Lord Murdoch Stewart, Albany's eldest son, along with many other Scottish noblemen, fell into the hands of the victors. The following year, a numerous Scottish force again advanced towards the Border—this time under the command of Albany himself; but, although the regent gave out that his design was to avenge himself on the Percies for the disasters of the preceding campaign, there is every reason to believe that he was really in league with his former enemies, and was prepared to join their rebellion against King Henry IV., when the news of the result of the battle of Shrewsbury, which he received before he had entered England, at once induced him to return home and disband his army. The connection, however, that had been formed by the Scottish government with the disaffected party in England, was not broken off by the failure of the bold enterprise of Hotspur. Albany appears to have been again a party to the conspiracy of old Northumberland and Archbishop Scroop, in 1405, and to have, after its detection, actually raised another army for the invasion of England. At this moment, however, there was a truce between the two countries, and no hostile movement on the part of the Scottish regent had yet taken place when the remarkable event occurred of the capture, by an English vessel off Flamborough Head, of King Robert's second son, James, now the heir apparent, on his voyage to France. Robert III. survived the capture of his son rather more than a year, dying

at his castle of Rothesay, in Bute, on the 4th of April, 1406.

Immediately on the death of the king, a parliament met at Perth, and, after declaring James, now a captive in England, their lawful king, continued Albany in the regency. He was now in possession of whatever power belonged to the royal station, unlimited by even the form or shadow of participation. For some years after this, peace was preserved between the governments of England and Scotland. Meanwhile a formidable rebellion of the Lord of the Isles was suppressed by his defeat in the destructive battle of Harlaw, gained by the Earl of Mar, on the 24th of July, 1411, and by the treaty of Lochgillip, by which Albany soon after compelled the northern potentate to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Scottish crown, and to give hostages for his fidelity. On the 17th of May, in the following year, a new truce was concluded with England, to last for six years. In 1414, Albany at last succeeded in obtaining from Henry V. what he had long vainly endeavoured to extort from the more obdurate disposition or more cautious policy of the late king, the liberation of his son Murdoch. He was exchanged for the young Henry Percy, the son of Hotspur, who was not only re-admitted to his native country, but reinstated in all the forfeited honours of his family.

The Scottish regent made no such effort to procure the restoration of his captive sovereign as he had made to get back his son. It is supposed that it was an apprehension of not being able much longer to ward off the return of the king, if the two nations should remain at peace, that moved him suddenly, in September, 1417, to break the truce, and to commit what was long popularly remembered as the "Foul Raid," by marching towards the Border at the head of an army of 60,000 men, and, after beginning the siege of Roxburgh, immediately retreating in all haste on learning that an English force was on the way to meet him. The consequence was, that all the south of Scotland was laid waste by the avenging invaders.

It is possible that this unfortunate attempt of the Scottish government may have been made at the instigation of the French court, with which a close alliance had always been maintained by Albany, even while at peace, or at least in peaceful intercourse, with England. It was not until a short time after the "Foul Raid," however, that the Duke of Vendôme came to Scotland on an embassy from the dauphin; when it was agreed to send a body of Scottish troops to serve against the English in France. Seven thousand men were sent under the command of the Earl of Buchan (the regent's second son) and the Earl of Wigton. The services of these brave men in

a succession of bloody fields, till they were nearly all, together with 5000 more that had been subsequently brought over by the Earl of Douglas, swept away at Crevant and Verneuil, have been already commemorated. Long before these disastrous days, however, the state of affairs in Scotland had undergone a great change. The Regent Albany died at the palace of Stirling on the 3d of September, 1419, having reached the age of eighty years, during thirty-four of which he is said to have held the supreme power, under the nominal reigns of his father, brother, and nephew. He is properly to be regarded as the chief or leader of the feudal nobility, by whom he was raised up and supported against both the crown and the people, and whom, in return, he protected in all their local despotism and oppression. In the accounts of the old historians the feudal tyranny under which the country groaned during the whole period of the government of Albany is drawn in the darkest colours. The strongest proof of the closeness of the union that bound the one party to the other was given on the death of the old duke, when his son and heir Murdoch was suffered, as a matter of course, to assume the regency at the same time with his hereditary estates and honours. But Murdoch had neither the capacity nor the ambition of his father; he continued indeed to occupy the elevation to which he had been lifted by circumstances and accident, but all real power gradually fell from his hands, and his government at length became a mere anarchy. Things were in this state when the captive King of Scots, after the death of Henry V., whom he had accompanied on his glorious expedition to France, was at last permitted by the English government to return to his own country. His liberation was the result of negotiations which his friends in Scotland had long been pursuing, and which terminated in an agreement concluded at York on the 10th of September, 1423, by which it was stipulated that 40,000 pounds should be paid to England within six years, by half-yearly payments, under the name of compensation for the expenses of the maintenance of James during the eighteen years of his captivity. On the 24th of February following, the Scottish king espoused, at the church of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark, the Lady Joanna Beaufort, the daughter of the Duchess of Clarence, by her first husband the Duke of Somerset, and the descendant of Edward III. by both her parents. Tradition makes him to have fallen in love with this lady some years before, on beholding her from his prison in the Round Tower of Windsor Castle, an incident which is believed to have suggested his plaintive and elegant poem entitled "The King's Quhair." He arrived in Scotland on the 5th of April,

1424, and on the 21st of May was solemnly crowned, with his queen, in the usual venerated sanctuary, the abbey church of Scone.

The first great work to which James found it necessary to address himself, in the state to which his kingdom had been brought, was the reduction of the power of the nobility. The overthrow of that many-headed domination was indispensable, both for the security of his own position, and for the restoration of the blessings of order and good government to his people. Nor did he proceed timidly or by half measures towards an object, his success or failure in the complete attainment of which was to be his salvation or his ruin. "Let God but grant me life," he is said to have indignantly exclaimed when made fully acquainted with the universal violence and rapine that prevailed, "and by his help I shall make the key keep the castle, and the furze-bush the cow, throughout my dominions, though I should lead the life of a dog to complete it." A truce for seven years had been concluded with England, and James lost no time in taking advantage of this season of security from foreign hostility, to proceed with his work of internal reform. In a parliament which met at Perth five days after his coronation, a complete review of the manifold disorders of the kingdom was gone into, and numerous regulations were enacted for their correction. But legislation could in such circumstances only lop and somewhat repress the growth of the evil; its root lay too deep to be so reached. Having sedulously employed the interval in gaining over the instruments of his scheme, and making the other necessary preparations, James assembled another parliament at Perth, on the 12th of March, 1428, and on the ninth day after, suddenly ordered the arrest of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, his youngest son Alexander, and twenty-six of the other principal barons, their partizans, whom he had thus got into his power. Walter Stewart, Albany's eldest son, had been seized and placed in custody some time before. He was the first of the prisoners brought to trial, in a court held in the palace of Stirling, and over which the king himself presided, on the 20th of May. It is needless to add that he was condemned to die. He, his father, his brother Alexander, and Albany's father-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, now in his eightieth

year, were all executed on the Heading Hill, in front of Stirling Castle. All the estates of this once-powerful family being then declared forfeited to the crown, the other nobles who had



STIRLING CASTLE.—From an old view by Elphinstone.

been apprehended were set at liberty, and left to their reflections on the terrible example they had witnessed.

For several years after this, James continued to occupy himself, with the assistance of his parliament, which was usually summoned every year, in endeavouring to promote the improvement of his kingdom, and to remedy the mishaps of a long course of misgovernment, by means of a series of legislative enactments, still preserved, which comprehend the subjects of agriculture, commerce, foreign and domestic manufactures, the regulation of weights and measures, the police of the country, its defence against foreign hostility both by land and by sea, the administration of justice, and even the constitution of the supreme government, and which probably, taken altogether, furnish the most complete collection of materials that now exists for the illustration of the internal condition of any European country at this remote era. He also strengthened himself, and made provision for calling into activity

¹ Stirling Castle presents an assemblage of buildings erected at different periods, mostly altered and adapted to the uses of a modern garrison. The principal vestiges are a palace built by James V., a hall adjacent built by James III., and adjacent to this a royal chapel built by James III., and rebuilt by James VI. (I. of England). An area to the south-west of the castle, surrounded by an ancient wall, was formerly the royal park and gardens; a series of concentric polygonal mounds indicates a spot in the garden where some game now out of use and forgotten was played; a hollow called the *valley* was appropriated for jousts and tournaments, which were witnessed by the ladies from a pyramidal mound called the *ladies' hill*. The castle crowns a rocky eminence, which rises 220 ft. above the level of the plain, and terminates precipitously on the north-west side of the town.

the industry and resources of the country, by treaties of alliance or commerce with France, Flanders, and other foreign powers. The only part of his dominions in which the authority of the laws continued for some time to be set at nought, or imperfectly obeyed, was the Northern Highlands. Determined that the chiefs of that region should bow under the same sceptre which had already repressed the turbulence of the southern nobles, in the spring of 1427 he assembled a parliament at Inverness, and there ventured again upon the same bold expedient which he had adopted two years before at Perth. About fifty heads of clans, who had been summoned to give their attendance, were seized; of whom some were instantly condemned and executed, others were not put to death till after a more deliberate investigation, and others were only imprisoned for a time. Of the last-mentioned class was Alexander, Lord of the Isles. This potent chieftain, upon being set at large after a confinement of about two years, collected his followers, and rose in open revolt against the royal authority; but James instantly marched against him in person, and coming up with him near Lochaber, defeated and dispersed the rebel force. Alexander soon after threw himself on the royal mercy. Another Highland rebellion, which broke out in 1431, headed by Donald Balloch, a near relation of the Lord of the Isles, was met by the Scottish king with the same promptitude and spirit, and as successfully repressed. Balloch himself lost his life. About the same time another truce for five years was concluded with England.

If James had stopped at this point he might, perhaps, have succeeded in maintaining and consolidating the reforms which he had commenced with so much courage and ability. But his scheme for breaking the strength of the nobility, and re-establishing the royal supremacy, was yet far from being completed. The blood that had been shed had, after all, destroyed but one of the great families; many others still remained sufficiently powerful to be dangerous, even singly, and nearly irresistible if they should combine. On the other hand, the crown had been greatly impoverished and weakened during the regency, by many lavish alienations of the royal domains, that had helped to build up the greatness of the aristocracy. These grants James now determined to resume. By acts which did not perhaps in any case go beyond the letter of the law, but which were at the least very rigorous and harsh applications of it, several of the most eminent among the nobility were suddenly stripped of estates of which they or their predecessors had held undisturbed possession for many years. Meanwhile, having formed an intimate alliance with France, and sent his infant daughter Mar-

garet, in 1435, to that country to be betrothed to the dauphin (afterwards Louis XI.), he became involved through this connection in a dispute with the English government, which led him, in the course of the following year, to break the truce, and, marching with an army to the Border, to lay siege to the castle of Roxburgh. While he lay before Roxburgh, however, the queen suddenly made her appearance in the camp, and, apparently in consequence of something she had communicated, the king immediately raised the siege, disbanded his army, and returned to the north. This was before the middle of August. The conspiracy against his life was probably already arranged; but it would appear that the king's suspicions, if they had really been awakened, were again lulled, and he resumed his usual mode of life. On the approach of Christmas he repaired to Perth, and there, taking up his lodging in the great monastery of the Black Friars, spent the holy season in the midst of a numerous and brilliant court. The gay succession of revels and festivities had been prolonged far into the new year before the conspirators determined to strike their blow. The chiefs of the plot were Sir Robert Graham, Walter Stewart, Earl of Athole, and his grandson Sir Robert Stewart, who held the office of chamberlain in the royal household, and whom, it appears, it was the intention to proclaim king, as being the descendant of Robert II., and, as was pretended, his rightful heir and representative—Robert III. having, it was affirmed, been born out of wedlock. Both Graham and the Stewarts had been adherents of Albany, and both had also more recent injuries of their own to avenge. Graham, a man of the darkest and most determined character, took the conduct of the bloody enterprise. On the night of the 20th of February he proceeded, with his armed accomplices, towards the royal bedchamber, where James, standing in his night-dress, was still conversing with the queen and her ladies before retiring to rest. The noise of their tumultuous approach instantly struck alarm to the hearts of the king and those with him. He flew to the windows, but found them secured by immoveable bars. When they rushed to fasten the door, it was found that the bolts had been removed; in his extremity of despair, James then tore up one of the planks of the floor; and in this way, after replacing the board, dropped into a dark vault below, while an heroic woman, Catherine Douglas, making her arm a bolt for the door, held it till the bone was snapped in two. At first, the mode of the king's escape was not detected; but, on hearing a noise, which was occasioned by his attempt to come up from the vault, the assassins returned again to the chamber, and soon dis-

covered where he was concealed. Naked and unarmed as he was, he made a desperate defence when they sprung down upon him to despatch him; but Graham himself at last succeeded in giving him his death-stroke. His body, when examined, was found to be pierced with sixteen wounds.¹

Thus perished James I., in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his actual reign. The conspirators gained none of their ulterior objects; on the contrary, although they escaped in the first instance, they were all eventually taken and put to death, every complicated refinement of torture being applied to deepen and prolong their dying agonies. The only son of their murdered king, an infant of six years old, was immediately crowned as James II. The early part of this reign is a scene of the most perplexed intestine confusion, of which the records are so imperfect as to make the whole nearly unintelligible. The principal personages that figure in the dark and troubled drama are Sir William Crichton, Sir Alexander Livingston, and the several mighty barons who successively became the heads of the house of Douglas. Both the royal infant and his mother were for some time constantly prisoners in the hands of one or other of the fierce and restless factions. As the boy grew up towards manhood, however, notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which his early years had been passed, he evinced his inheritance of no small share of the spirit and ability of his great father, and also of all the determination of the late king to be king in reality as well as in name. William, the fifth Earl of Douglas, and also Duke of Touraine in France, a youth of seventeen, had already been cut off, along with his younger brother, in 1440; the two were seduced by Crichton and Livingston, at that time in confederacy, to the castle of Edinburgh, where the king was, and then seized as they sat at dinner, and, after the briefest form of a trial, hurried to execution—a deed of perfidy which shocked even that unscrupulous age, and was long a theme of popular horror and execration. After a few years, however, nearly all the old power of that great baronial house was revived in the person of William, the eighth Earl of Douglas; he was the most formidable subject of the crown at the time when the king began to take the management of affairs into his own hands. James, though still very young, proceeded from the first with wonderful prudence and dissimulation. From among

the several competitors for the supreme power he selected Crichton, whom he made lord-chancellor, as his confidential adviser, along with the able and enlightened Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, a prelate whose high birth, for he was first cousin to the king, added additional influence to his eminent rank in the church. The first blow was struck at the Livingstons; the principal heads of that faction, being assembled in 1449, in a sort of family convocation at the bridge of Inchbelly, near Kirkintilloch, were suddenly surrounded by the king's forces, seized, and thrown into prison. A few of them were afterwards executed, the rest made their submission, and the power of the faction was completely destroyed. The more united strength of the Earl of Douglas, whose great territorial possessions in the most important district of the kingdom made him almost a rival potentate, was not so easily thrown down: policy and force were alternately resorted to: at last the mighty earl was induced to visit the king in Stirling Castle. In a conversation between him and James warm words were uttered on both sides, till the king at last, giving way to his passion, drew his dagger and plunged it into the earl's throat. Some of the courtiers, rushing in from the adjoining apartment, soon despatched the defenceless man. This atrocity happened in February, 1452, when James was yet only in his sixteenth year. The consequences did not cease to be felt to the close of his reign. The open rebellion of the adherents of the house of Douglas that immediately followed was indeed speedily suppressed; but the new earl, James, the brother of him who had been murdered, never relinquished his vengeance while the murderer lived. By his intrigues with the faction of the Yorkists in England, after he had been driven from his own country, he was instrumental in fomenting those differences which eventually led James, soon after Margaret of Anjou and her son had taken refuge in his dominions, to raise an army, and set out at its head for the invasion of England. Marching directly upon Roxburgh, he proceeded to lay siege to that castle, which had now for more than a century been in the hands of the English. The siege had not lasted many days, when one of the cannons that were pointed against the fortress burst on being fired off as the king stood beside it, and killed him on the spot. This event happened about the end of July, 1460.

The death of James II. again placed the crown of his unfortunate country on the head of a minor, James, the eldest of his sons by his wife Mary of Guelders, whom he had married in 1449. The new king was only in his eighth year. The history of his reign is in great part a repetition of the same scene of turbulence and intrigue which

¹ Pinkerton, (*Hist. Scot.*, app. to vol. i. pp. 462-475), has published a contemporary narrative of this barbarous murder, and also of the execution of the regicides, which professes to be translated from a Latin original—probably the account published by authority at the time. Few stories, either in history or in fiction, can compete with the horrors of this grim chronicle.

filled the commencing years of the last. The families of the Boyds and the Hamiltons now enact nearly the same parts which had been before sustained by the Livingstons and the Douglases. James III., however, as he outgrew his boyhood, showed himself to be, in various respects, of a very different character from his father and grandfather. Without any of their energy and resolute qualities, he seems to have had some degree of the love of art and literature which distinguished the first James; but an indolent and unwearlike disposition, after all, had probably more to do with his fondness for privacy, than any strong devotedness to intellectual occupations. What little we know of his tastes and studies betrays the weakest and most frivolous character of mind. He early, also, manifested a baneful passion for favourites, no trace of which is to be found in the history of either of the two preceding kings. The Boyds first obtained possession of his person and his affections, in consequence of one of them having been employed to assist in his education. For some years their ascendancy at court placed the whole government of the country in their hands. Means, however, having been found to alienate the versatile and suspicious mind of their royal protector, they were, in the year 1469, not only suddenly hurled from favour and power, but pursued with a rancour on the part of the king, which did not rest satisfied till it had slaked itself in their blood. After the Boyds were thus swept away, the most conspicuous figures that appear on the scene are James' two younger brothers, who bore the titles of the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar. These two princes were both of a character altogether the opposite of that of the king, and as much the favourites of the warlike nobility, whom they resembled in tastes and habits, as he was their aversion and scorn. It is not at all improbable that they had, one or both of them, early begun to cherish the design of getting the government into their own hands, and that their existence, therefore, was not without danger to the royal power. They were attacked, however, by the king before they appear to have committed themselves by any aggression against the throne. Mar was arrested in 1480, on the insane charge of seeking to destroy the king's life by witchcraft (in which James was a devout believer). According to one account, he was immediately put to death by the royal order; another version of the story is, that he was seized with fever, and occasioned his own death by tearing off, in his delirium, the bandages that had

been tied round his temples after having been let blood by his medical attendant. Albany's career was much more protracted. After escaping to France, he returned from that country in 1482, and entered into a treaty with the English king, Edward IV., in which he boldly assumed the title of Alexander, King of Scotland, consenting to receive the crown from the gift of Edward as his lord superior. It was in consequence of this agreement that the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., entered Scotland, as related in a preceding page, at the head of an army in the summer of the above-mentioned year. James also raised an army, and went forth to meet the invader. Meanwhile, however, the Boyds had been succeeded in the monopoly of the king's regards by a number of persons of the lowest rank, some of whom, indeed, are said to have been persons of talent and accomplishments, but whose ascendancy did not on that account the less disgust both the nobility and the whole nation. The most notorious of these favourites was a person of the name of Cochran, upon whom the infatuated king had lavished wealth and honours with the most profuse and senseless prodigality. We have already related how, when the army, on its march southwards, had reached the town of Lauder, this person, and about half a dozen more of the royal minions, were suddenly seized by a party of the nobility, headed by Archibald, Earl of Angus, and, without even the form of trial, hanged over the parapet of the bridge. The king himself was then shut up in the castle of Edinburgh, and the army was disbanded. After a short time a reconciliation was effected between the king and Albany, on which the former was released from imprisonment, and the latter appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom. But, before many months had passed, another revolution had taken place, and Albany, driven from office, was again in rebellion. His resistance, however, was speedily put down, on which he fled once more to England. By this time Edward IV. was dead; but Albany and Richard had hitherto been good friends, and the latter at first showed some inclination to aid the duke's pretensions. The necessities of his own position, however, soon made him anxious for a termination of the war with Scotland; and, negotiations having been opened, a peace between the two countries, to last for three years, was concluded at Nottingham in September, 1484. Thus stood Scottish affairs at the close of the present epoch; the short remainder of the reign of James III. belongs to the next period of our History.

CHAPTER VII.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

A.D. 1390—1485.

Decay of the influence of Rome—Its causes—Succession of the popes—Rivalry of popes and councils—Alliance of the crown and the church in England—Lollardism—Its origin and tenets—Its prevalence in England—Laws against it during the reign of Henry IV.—Martyrdom of Sawtre—William Thorpe arraigned for heresy—His examination and trial—Martyrdom of Badby—Persecution of Lollardism in the reign of Henry V.—Execution of Lollards—Persecution of them continued during the reign of Henry VI.—Charge of heresy against Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester—His recantation and severe treatment—Divisions of the nation in regard to ecclesiastical matters—Opposition of the church to reform or concession—Increased strictness of canonical rule—Profligate lives of the clergy—Statute against the proselytism of the mendicant friars—Mode of preaching at this period—Ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland—Culdees—Condition of the Scottish church in the fifteenth century—Entrance of the doctrines of Wyckliffe into Scotland—Martyrdom of John Resby—Of Paul Crawar—Increase of Lollardism in Scotland—St. Andrews erected into an archbishopric—Account of Patrick Graham and William Schevez, its first archbishops.



THE history of the Romish fabric of ecclesiastical polity during the fifteenth century exhibits the established authorities of the state still standing by the system as steadily as ever, but that hold on the affections and respect of the people, which was its real strength, manifestly loosened, and becoming weaker and weaker every day. The support it received from kings and their ministers was now, indeed, augmented in the direct ratio of the decline of that other and better strength, and of the growth of the popular alienation and hostility. Its pretensions as a rival power were no longer formidable, and at the same time its maintenance was felt to be the common cause of old establishments, all of which, whether of a spiritual or temporal character, seemed to be menaced by its danger.

One of the main causes which precipitated the decay of this once mighty dominion was undoubtedly the great schism which broke out on the death of Gregory XI., in 1378, and divided the Western church for half a century. The death of Gregory was followed in a few weeks by the election in the usual form, and by the unanimous votes of all the cardinals then in Rome, being sixteen of the twenty-two composing the sacred college, of the Archbishop of Bari, Bartholomew Pregnano, who took the name of Urban VI. It is alleged, however, and is probably true, that this choice was compelled by the threats of the populace. On this pretence, at least, the cardinals, five months after, stole away from Rome, and, assembling first at Anagni and then at Fundi, excommunicated Urban as an apostate and Antichrist, and announced as the pope of their free election Robert of Caneva, or Clement VII. The imperious and severe rule of Urban

probably drove them to a bold and rash act from which they would otherwise have shrunk: but the primary motive with the majority of the college of cardinals, as with the people of Rome, was to obtain a pope of their own nation. Only the preceding year, after his predecessors, from Clement V. inclusive, had resided for seventy years at Avignon in France, Gregory XI. had restored the Papacy to its ancient seat. A pope of ultramontane birth, it was apprehended by the Romans, would again remove his court from Italy. A majority of the cardinals, on the other hand, were Frenchmen, and, as such, opposed to an Italian pope. The different nations of Europe were influenced by feelings of the same kind. Most of the Italian states adhered to Urban, and on the same side, actuated chiefly by enmity to France, were ranged England, Portugal, the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; France, acknowledging the election of Clement, was supported by Scotland, Navarre, Castile, Aragon, Savoy, Sicily, and Cyprus.

The succession of the Roman (now generally held to be the true) popes was continued after Urban VI. by the elections in 1389, of Perrino Tomacella, or Boniface IX.; in 1404, of Cosmato Meliorato, or Innocent VII.; and in 1406, of Angelo Corrarior, or Gregory XII. On the death of Clement VII., in 1394, the cardinals at Avignon chose as his successor Peter de Luna, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII. After many attempts had been made to effect an accommodation, both Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. were deposed, in 1409, by the council of Pisa; and by an unanimous vote of the same assembly, Peter Philaret, a Greek, or Alexander V., was raised to the chair of St. Peter. On the death of Alexander, the following year, Balthazar Cossa, a Neapolitan, or John XXIII., was in the same man-

ner chosen to succeed him. Meanwhile, however, notwithstanding these interferences of the council, Germany, Hungary, and Naples still adhered to Gregory; and Benedict, himself a native of Spain, commanded the obedience of that important country. In this state affairs remained till the assembling of the council of Constance, in 1414. That assembly deposed the monster John: Gregory, deserted by the powers that had at first supported him, and left without dominion or authority beyond the walls of Rimini, resigned; and in 1417 the Cardinal Otho de Colonna, who took the name of Martin V., was declared the head of the Christian world. The election was made by the college of twenty-three cardinals, assisted by thirty deputies from the council, six from each of the five great nations into which Christendom was held to be divided—the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and the English. “I cannot,” observes Gibbon, “overlook this great national cause, which was vigorously maintained by the English ambassadors against those of France. The latter contended that Christendom was essentially distributed into the four great nations and votes of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; and that the lesser kingdoms (such as England, Denmark, Portugal, &c.) were comprehended under one or other of these great divisions. The English asserted that the British Islands, of which they were the head, should be considered as a fifth and co-ordinate nation, with an equal vote; and every argument of truth or fable was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their arguments.”

The election of Martin V., however, did not altogether put an end to the schism. Benedict XIII., who fixed his residence at Peniscola, in Valencia, continued to be acknowledged by the kingdom of Aragon till his death, in 1424. His cardinals then elected a successor, who took the name of Clement VIII. In 1429, however, this person made his submission to Martin V., who was thus at last acknowledged by the whole Latin church. But, as an eminent Catholic historian of our own day has remarked, “if the schism was thus terminated, it had previously given a shock to the temporal authority of the pontiffs, from which it never recovered.”¹

The absolute power of the popes also met with serious resistance during this period from the pretensions of the great body, or at least of the aristocracy of the clergy, as assembled or represented in general councils. The council of Constance, before its separation in 1418, enacted that such synods should henceforth be held regularly for the government and reformation of the church,

each, before dissolving, appointing the time and place for the meeting of its successor. But the council of Basel, which, reluctantly convoked by Martin V., assembled in 1431, immediately after the accession of his successor Eugenius IV., and continued to sit till 1443, went a great deal further, assuming and maintaining, indeed, an attitude of open revolt against the supremacy of the pontiff. It not only solemnly asserted the superiority of a general council over the occupant of the chair of St. Peter, but proceeded to divest the pope of some of his most valuable and hitherto universally recognized rights; prohibiting him from creating new cardinals, and suppressing the annates, or tax of the first year's income upon benefices, which constituted a large portion of the Papal revenue. At length, in 1437, Eugenius, who had taken up his residence at Bologna, dissolved the council, and called together another, which met at Ferrara in 1438. All Christendom was now divided between the two councils, as it had lately been in the case of the rival popes. Nor was it long before there was again a rivalry of popes as well as of councils. Having deposed Eugenius, the council of Basel, in 1439, called to the pontifical dignity, from the hermitage of Ripaille, the retired Duke of Savoy, Amadeus VIII., who thereupon exchanged his temporal style for the spiritual title of Felix V. Eugenius and his council at Ferrara were adhered to by the governments of Venice and of the southern and middle states of Italy; Germany, France, Lombardy, Spain, England, and the rest of Europe generally, supported Felix V. and the council of Basel. In point of fact, however, everywhere the bishops and the rest of the ecclesiastical aristocracy were with Eugenius: the supremacy of general councils, as asserted by that of Basel, was favoured by the great body of the clergy. A short time before the deposition of Eugenius, indeed, the lower house of convocation of the province of Canterbury had, in answer to questions proposed by the archbishop, resolved, after some days' deliberation, that the pope had the power of dissolving a general council—that the council of Basel had no power to depose Pope Eugenius—and that, if that council should depose him, they would still obey him as lawful pope. But some years afterwards the same body, to all the appeals both of pope and archbishop, firmly refused any contribution to the expense of sending representatives to the meeting at Ferrara. Meanwhile the two popes and councils continued an active and bitter warfare of decrees and denunciations, each party treating the other as rebels against the fundamental constitution of the church. In a bill of excommunication which he launched against all the members of the council of Basel, Eugenius designated that synod

¹ Dr. Lingard, *Hist. England*.

an assembly of demons; they retaliated by charging him with simony, perjury, tyranny, heresy, and schism, and by declaring him to be incorrigible in his vices, unworthy of any title of honour, and incapable of holding any ecclesiastical office. This unseemly condition of the Christian world lasted till after the death of Eugenius, in 1447. By this time all parties were become weary of the contest; and when the cardinals at Rome had elected Nicholas V., it was proposed by Felix himself that he should resign the tiara, and thus terminate the scandal of the church. The abdicator of two sovereignties returned to his hermitage on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, in 1449. But the habitual respect of the people for the whole system was rudely and powerfully shaken; the violent recriminations of the contending pontiffs could not fail lastingly to impair the authority over the minds of the multitude both of pope and council; the noise of such a contention must have awakened many feelings that would otherwise have slumbered; and the suppression of the process of reform from within the church would really only tend to prepare and hasten its much more tempestuous reform from without.

In England throughout this period the crown continued to make common cause with the clergy; every successive king began his reign by courting their favours, and ever after relied upon them as his chief supporters. The part which the clergy took in the deposition of Richard II. has been characterized as "the only instance in English history wherein their conduct as a body was disloyal."¹ Even here, however, they took no part against the crown. Of two competitors they only sided with the one against the other; they still stood by their natural ally, the king. They probably espoused the cause of Henry, simply as being that of the party most likely to prevail in the struggle—in other words, of the competitor who was properly to be considered as most truly king of the two—thus substantially adhering to their principles even in the seeming violation of them. At all events, their accustomed loyalty was suspended only for a moment; their attachment, withdrawn from Richard, was immediately transferred to the house of Lancaster, and was never found wanting by the princes of that house so long as they maintained themselves on the throne. One of the first acts of Henry IV. after his accession, was to despatch the Earl of Northumberland with a gracious message to a convocation of the province of Canterbury, which met on the 6th of October, 1399, in the chapter-house of St. Paul's at London. While he begged the prayers of the church for himself and the kingdom, he declared, first, that

he would never demand any money from the clergy except in cases of the most extreme necessity; secondly, that he would protect them in all their liberties and immunities; and, thirdly, that he would assist them with all his power in exterminating heretics. The first of these promises was but indifferently observed: Henry IV., indeed, throughout his reign, demanded subsidies from the clergy as regularly as from the laity; he even threatened on one or two occasions to take their money or goods from them by force; but still they acted as if they felt their interests to be bound up with his. Nay, not even his daring execution of Archbishop Scroop, after the insurrection of 1405,² made any permanent breach between him and the church: a vague and inoperative censure, retracted on the first explanation, was the only notice taken by Rome of an act that in other times would have shaken the strongest throne in Christendom. On the other hand, Henry gratified the clergy by steadily supporting them in the assertion of all such powers as could be conceded to them consistently with the maintenance of the integrity of the civil authority, and in particular of that upon which they set the highest value, the empire which they flattered themselves with exercising over opinion and belief. In the falling away of their old popular strength, they now had recourse to new expedients, in order to sustain this tyranny, exposed as it was, at the same time, to a more vigorous resistance than it had ever before encountered.

Till the present age, the offence of heresy had never greatly vexed the church in England. The old laws accordingly upon that subject were comparatively mild; a considerable degree of protection was thrown around the accused; and sanguinary punishments for the offence appear to have been nearly unknown. The zeal of the heads of the church, however, was not long satisfied with such moderate measures.

Among the small number of persons by whom Bolingbroke was accompanied on his return from exile, was Thomas Fitz-Alan, or Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been banished by Richard the year before. Arundel, who was the second son of Robert Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel and Warrenne, had, during the interval of his deprivation, been nominated by the pope, Boniface IX., to the see of St. Andrews, in Scotland. It appears that Richard assented to this nomination, though at first he objected that St. Andrews was too near England. Arundel, however, never took possession of his Scottish dignity, but remained on the Continent till his return home with Bolingbroke; when, on the

¹ Southey's *Book of the Church*, i. 349.

² See vol. i. p. 546.

latter obtaining the crown, he recovered his archbishopric—Roger Walden, dean of York, and treasurer of the royal household, who had been set by the deposed king in his place, being obliged to retire, after the example of his master. Arundel was a man of talent, as well as accomplished in the learning of the times. The latter circumstance probably did not tend to make him more indulgent to the innovators in religion, who, under the name of Lollards, now began to show themselves in great numbers.

The Lollards have been usually regarded as the disciples or followers of Wyckliffe; but they seem to have rather been a sect of foreign origin, whose opinions, in their general complexion, resembled those taught by the great English Reformer. It is said, indeed, that some of the writings of Wyckliffe had been carried into Bohemia, by one of the natives of that country, who had visited England, in consequence of the marriage of Richard II. with his first wife the Princess Anne, sister of the Emperor Wenceslaus, king of that country; and that from them the celebrated John Huss drew those opinions for which he was, in 1415, condemned to the stake by the council of Constance, and which were, through him, extensively propagated over Germany. One account of the name Lollards derives it from *lollium*, the Latin word for tares; as if it had been intended to designate the reformers as tares among the wheat—not without an allusion to the expediency of consigning them to the flames. Another notion is that they were so called from the old German word *lollen* or *lullen* (the same with our English *lull*), signifying to sing, as a mother when she lulls her babe, in reference to their practice of singing hymns. But the true origin of the term is probably from the German Reformer, Walter Lolhard, who was burned at Cologne in 1322, and was charged with holding opinions very similar, on the whole, to those that have been imputed to the English Lollards of the fifteenth century. Besides preaching against the mass, extreme unction, the efficacy of penances, and the authority assumed by the pope, he is alleged to have maintained that no obedience was due to magistrates—that there was no use either in baptism or repentance—with various other tenets of a similar character—all, however, most likely misrepresented in the accounts that have come down to us. It appears that the name of Lollards used to be given on the Continent to bodies of religionists marked by any peculiarity of creed or practice, long before it was known in England. The English Lollards were certainly declared opponents of the established church and of all the pretensions of the Romish hierarchy. They were as truly Reformers and Protestants as Luther and his followers

in the next century, though their doctrines may not have been in all respects the same. The most distinct and authentic account which we have of their creed is that given by themselves in a petition which they presented to the House of Commons in 1395, and which may be considered as a protest against the whole system, doctrinal and institutional, of the established religion. In this document they maintain, in substance, that the possession of temporalities by the clergy is contrary to the law of Christianity, and destructive of faith, hope, and charity—that the Romish priesthood is not that established by Christ—that outward rites of worship have no warrant in Scripture, and are of little or no importance—that the celibacy of the clergy is the occasion of scandalous irregularities in the whole church—that the pretended miracle of transubstantiation tends to make people idolaters—that exorcisms and benedictions pronounced over wine, bread, water, oil, salt, &c., have more in them of necromancy than of religion—that the clergy, by accepting secular places under the government, become hermaphrodites, attempting at the same time to serve both God and Mammon—that prayers made for the dead are more likely to be displeasing than otherwise to the Almighty, inasmuch as, for one among other reasons, they are probably in most cases offered for persons (more especially the founders of monasteries and other such pernicious endowments) who have already been consigned to punishment for their evil lives and are beyond the reach of mercy—that pilgrimages and prayers made to images are nearly akin to idolatry—that auricular confession is a highly objectionable practice—that priests have no power of absolution for sin—that to take away the life of a man, either in war or by sentence of a court of justice, is expressly contrary to the spirit and the precepts of Christianity—and, lastly, that certain trades ought to be put down as both unnecessary and the occasion of a great deal of sin, especially those of the goldsmith and the sword-cutler, both of which, though they might be tolerated under the Mosaic dispensation, were not lawful under that of the New Testament.¹ All these positions the petitioners attempted to support by reasoning and by the authority of Scripture, professing to deliver their testimony by virtue of a Divine commission, and under the character of ambassadors of Christ. It may be remarked that these Wyckliffites, as they have been often styled, and avowed adversaries of the pretensions of the see of Rome as they unquestionably were, nevertheless, in this solemn declaration of their opinions and articles of faith, make no mention either of Wyckliffe, on the one

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 221.

hand, or of the pope on the other. The denial, however, of the Papal infallibility is involved in the whole tenor of their statements and arguments.

In these new heretics, therefore (as they were deemed), the church saw a hostile force, formidable from numbers and enthusiasm, openly arrayed against it, and avowing the desire to pull it down. The measures which the clergy and other friends of the existing order of things took for their own protection in these circumstances were neither morally justifiable nor even politic in any enlarged view. Very soon after the accession of Henry IV. they availed themselves of the circumstances of the time to obtain a new law for the punishment of heresy. In January, 1401, the commons joined the clergy in a petition upon the subject to the king, and the result was, the passing of the famous statute known as the 2 Henry IV. c. 15. The preamble of this statute sets forth, among other things, that, whereas the Catholic faith and holy church had been hitherto maintained in England without being "perturbed by any perverse doctrine, or wicked, heretical, or erroneous opinions, yet, nevertheless, divers false and perverse people of a certain new sect, of the faith, of the sacraments of the church, and the authority of the same, damnably thinking, and against the law of God and of the church openly preaching, do perversely and maliciously, in divers places within the said realm, under the colour of dissembled holiness, preach and teach these days, openly and privily, divers new doctrines, and wicked, heretical, and erroneous opinions; and of such sect and wicked doctrine and opinions they make unlawful conventicles and confederacies, they hold and exercise schools, they make and write books, they do wickedly instruct and inform people, and, as much as they may, incite and stir them to sedition and insurrection, and make great strife and division among the people, and other enormities horrible to be heard daily do perpetrate and commit." The unspecified enormities may be passed over as merely a flourish of legislative rhetoric; but from the rest of the description, making the requisite allowance for the misrepresentations of an adverse party, we may gather some information as to the ways which the Lollards took to diffuse their tenets. The act goes on to complain that "the diocesans of the said realm cannot by their jurisdiction spiritual, without aid of the said royal majesty, sufficiently correct the said false and perverse people, nor refrain their malice, because the said false and perverse people do go from diocese to diocese, and will not appear before the said diocesans, but the same diocesans and their jurisdiction spiritual, and the keys of the church, with the censures of the same, do utterly condemn and despise, and so their wicked preachings and doctrines do from

day to day continue and exercise to the utter destruction of all order and rule of right and reason." In order that "this wicked sect, preachings, doctrines, and opinions, should from henceforth cease and be utterly destroyed," it is then ordained "by the assent of the great lords and noble persons of the said realm," that no person presume to preach anywhere, openly or privily, without the license of the diocesan of the place; that none shall "anything preach, hold, teach, or instruct, openly or privily, or make or write any book, contrary to the Catholic faith or determination of the holy church," or hold schools or conventicles for the dissemination of the new doctrines, or in anywise favour the preachers or teachers of them; and that all persons having any heretical books or writings shall deliver the same to the diocesan within forty days from the time of the proclamation of this ordinance and statute. The diocesan is empowered to cause the arrest of all persons failing to render due obedience to these requirements, and to detain them in his prison until they clear themselves of the articles laid to their charge, or else abjure the new opinions, the diocesan being bound to proceed in the case and determine it within three months after the arrest. On the conviction of any prisoner, he is further empowered to keep him in custody "as long as to his discretion shall seem expedient," and also to fine him in proportion to the manner and quality of his offence, the fine being paid to the king and levied by authority of the secular courts. And then follows the terrible enactment, to the effect that persons so convicted refusing to abjure, or relapsing after abjuration, shall be made over to the sheriff of the county, or mayor and bailiffs of the nearest town, "and they the same persons, and every of them, after such sentence promulgate, shall receive, and them before the people in an high place do to be burned, that such punishment may strike in fear to the minds of other, whereby no such wicked doctrine, and heretical and erroneous opinions, nor their authors and fautors in the said realm and dominions, against the Catholic faith, Christian law, and determination of the holy church, which God prohibit, be sustained, or in anywise suffered."

At this time the commons would seem to have been as zealously opposed to Lollardism as either the nobility or the clergy. At a date only a few years later, however, we find the sentiments of the lower house to have undergone a great change. In the famous lack-learning parliament which met at Coventry, in October, 1404, the commons, as we have seen, in answer to the king's demand of a grant to carry on the Welsh war, went the length of proposing that he should seize the revenues of the church and apply them to the

public service.¹ The clergy, they represented, while engrossing a great part of the wealth of the kingdom, lived in idleness, and contributed very little in any way to the public advantage—a complaint which, so far as it went, was the very language of the Lollards, and one, no doubt, of the most offensive of their heresies. Afterwards, also, in a parliament which met at Westminster in 1409, when the king demanded another large grant, the commons, according to the historian Walsingham (although there is no notice of the affair on the rolls), again strongly advised him to have recourse to the revenues of the church.

On this occasion the peers interfered, praying the king to protect the patrimony of the church, and to punish all such as taught the people that it was lawful to take it away; and Henry severely reprimanded the commons for their presumptuous proposition.

Meanwhile the statute against Lollardism had not been allowed to remain a dead letter. A case came before the same parliament in which it was passed, that put its sharpness of fang to the proof. William Sawtre had been rector of Lynn, in Norfolk, and had been deprived of that living on a charge of heresy in 1399. Having been prevailed upon, however, to abjure his alleged erroneous opinions, he had since been appointed priest of St. Osith's, London. Holding that situation, he now petitioned the parliament that he might be heard before them on the subject of religion—unhappy, apparently, under the feeling of having denied his convictions, and anxious to make up, by a public profession of what he deemed the truth, for the pusillanimity of his late recantation. "The enthusiast," says a reverend modern historian, who, in his contempt for the unfortunate man, has forgotten to characterize the conduct of any of the other parties in the affair—"the en-

thusiast aspired to the crown of martyrdom, and had the satisfaction to fall a victim to his own folly."² There are probably few persons at the present day capable of contemplating the transaction with the equanimity indicated by these remarkable words. Sawtre was, in fact, summoned to appear before the convocation to answer to various charges, of which the chief were his having affirmed that he would not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, and that the sacramental bread continued to be bread after it was consecrated. It is said that he admitted the truth of the charges, but denied that he had



OLD ST. PAUL'S, LONDON.³—From a print by Hollar.

already abjured the same opinions. The probability must be held to be, that he endeavoured to show, by argument, that the opinions he had abjured the preceding year were not identical with those he now admitted. On this point, however, the court decided against him; he was adjudged to be a relapsed heretic, and as such, sentenced to be degraded, deposed, and then delivered over to the secular power, according to the awful doom of the new law. The primate Arundel and six other bishops assembled in the cathedral of St. Paul's, arrayed in their ponti-

¹ See vol. i. p. 545.

² Lingard, *Hist. of England*, iv. 332.

³ By Wren's discovery of a presbytery, constructed in the Roman manner, on the site of St. Paul's, it is surmised that a Christian edifice had been erected there in the reign of Constantine. In 603, Sebert either built a church or repaired a former edifice. This church, which was ornamented by Erkenwald, the fourth in succession to Melitus, the first Bishop of London, was burned down in a fire which consumed the city in 1086.

Towards the close of the eleventh century, Bishop Maurilius laid the foundation of a new church, which took upwards of forty years in building, and the edifice is described by William of Malmesbury, as being "so stately and beautiful that it was worthily numbered among the most famous buildings." In 1221 a new steeple was added, and in 1240 a new choir. The crypt of

St. Faith underneath was begun in 1257. This was the parish church, and contained several chantries and monuments. Henry Leslie, Earl of Lincoln, who died in 1312, made what was called the new work, at the east end, in which was the chapel of our Lady and that of St. Dunstan. The chapter-house, adjoining the south transept, projected into a stately cloister two stories. The dimensions of this noble edifice, as taken in 1309, were as follows: the length 690 ft., the breadth 120 ft., the height of the roof of the west part from the floor, 102 ft., of the east part 188 ft., of the tower 260 ft., of the spire, which was constructed of wood and covered with lead, 274 ft. The whole space the church occupied was three acres and a half, one rood and a half, and six perches (Dugdale). This vast pile, with its shrines and monuments, the rich accumulation of six centuries, fell amid the havoc of the great fire of 1666.

fical robes, to perform the impressive preliminary ceremonial. Their victim was brought before them in his priestly attire, with the chalice for holding the host, and its paten or lid in his hands. The archbishop solemnly pronounced his degradation from the priestly order, and took from him all the sacred insignia. When he had been thus wholly divested of his clerical character, he was delivered over to the custody of the high constable and marshal of England, who were there present to receive him, the primate finishing his task by pronouncing the formal recommendation to mercy with which the church was accustomed to veil, but only with a deeper horror, its deeds of blood. Sawtre was burned in Smithfield in the beginning of March, 1401, a vast multitude of people crowding to witness, with various, doubtless, but all with strong emotions, a spectacle then new in England.

This terrifying example seems to have had the effect of putting down the open profession of Lollardism for some years. The new opinions, however, continued to spread in secret. The next recorded case in which we find the aid of the secular power called in by the church for their suppression is that of William Thorpe, a priest distinguished for his learning and ability, who was brought before Arundel, on a charge of heresy, on the 3d of July, 1407. We have his own account of the proceedings, drawn up at considerable length and with much particularity.¹ He was first called into the presence of the primate in his castle of Saltwood, after having lain for some time in prison in that stronghold. The archbishop told him that he knew well he had been for twenty winters and more travelling about busily in the north country teaching his false doctrines, but now at last he was taken, and should be suffered to spread his poison among the people no longer. Thorpe having obtained permission to declare what his opinions really were, recited them at great length; the archbishop seems to have heard him patiently, but at the end only replied, "I will shortly that now thou swear here to me that thou shalt forsake all the opinions which the sect of Lollards hold and is slandered with." He also required that Thorpe should not favour any man or woman holding the said opinions, but

do his utmost to withstand all such disturbers of the holy church; "and them," he added, "that will not leave their false and damnable opin-



SALTWOOD CASTLE, Kent.—From a view by Lambert.

ions, thou shalt put them up, publishing them and their names, and make them known to the bishop of the diocese." On the prisoner's refusal to assent to these conditions, "Thine heart," exclaimed the primate, "is full hard endured (indurated) as was the heart of Pharaoh, and the devil hath overcome thee and perverted thee. But I say to thee, lewd losel (low rascal), either thou quickly consent to mine ordinance, and submit thee to stand to my decrees, or by St. Thomas thou shalt be degraded, and follow thy fellow to Smithfield." To this Thorpe made no answer for some time; at last, after being repeatedly urged to speak, he addressed the primate in another long discourse, in which he related how his father and mother had "spent mickle money in divers places," in educating him for the priesthood—how, when he came to years of discretion, he had no will to be a priest—how he was at last persuaded to take holy orders by the vehement and incessant solicitations of his friends—and how he had then acquired his knowledge of the truth from the conversation and example of various pious and learned clergymen, of whom one of the chief, he declared, was Philip of Rampenton, since become Bishop of Lincoln, and now a zealous persecutor of the very opinions he had formerly held and taught. In the course of the conversation that ensued the archbishop said, "Thou

² This castle is situated near Hythe, on an eminence commanding a fine view of the sea. In the reign of John it became one of the palaces of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and was rebuilt by Archbishop Courtenay, in the reign of Richard II. It was exchanged by Crammer for Hythe VIII., who in turn gave it to the Clintons.

¹ In Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, and also in the *State Trials*.

and such other losels of thy sect would shave your heads full near to have a benefice. For, by Jesu, I know none more courteous shrews than ye are when ye have a benefice. For, lo! I gave to John Purvay a benefice but a mile out of this castle, and I heard more complaints about his covetousness for tithes, and other misdoings, than I did of all men that were advanced within my diocese." After this, Thorpe proceeds to give an interesting account of the teachers from whom he had obtained his knowledge of the Reformed doctrines. At the head of the list he places "Master John Wyckliffe," who, he observes, "was holden of full many men the greatest clerk that they knew then living;"—"great men," it is added, "communied oft with him, and they loved so his learning that they writ it, and busily enforced them to rule themself thereafter." The rest are spoken of as all of them the disciples and imitators of Wyckliffe. We may transcribe the now little remembered names of these first English Reformers; they were, Master John Aiston—Philip of Rampenton, while he was a canon of Leicester—Nicholas Herford—Davy Gotray of Pakering, monk of Byland, and a master of divinity—John Purvay (or Purnay, as he is elsewhere called)—"and many others which were holden right wise men and prudent;" notwithstanding that, now, "some of these men," adds the speaker, "be contrary to the learning that they taught; for they feign, and hide, and contrary (contradict) the truth which before they taught out penily (fully) and truly." "That learning," replied the archbishop, "that thou callest truth and soothfastness, is open slander to holy church, as it is proved of holy church. For albeit that Wyckliffe, your author, was a great clerk, and though that many men held him a perfect liver, yet his doctrine is not approved of holy church, but many sentences of his learning are damned, as they well worthy are." He soon, however, broke off the argument, recurring to his former demand—"Wherefore tarriest thou me thus here with such fables?—Wilt thou shortly, as I have said to thee, submit thee to me or no?" "I dare not, for the dread of God, submit me to thee," answered the prisoner; on which the archbishop, "as if he had been wroth," desired one of his clerks to fetch him quickly the certification that came from Shrewsbury, "witnessing the errors and heresies that this losel hath venomously sworn there."

The document, on being produced, was found to attest that Thorpe had asserted openly in a sermon preached shortly before in St. Chad's Church in Shrewsbury, that the sacrament of the altar, after consecration, still remained material bread—that images should in nowise be worshipped—that men should not go on pilgrimages—

that priests have no title to tithes—and that it is not lawful to swear in anywise. He now, however, emphatically denied that this was a true account of what he had said. "I am," he exclaimed, "both ashamed on their behalf, and right sorrowful for them, that have certified you these things thus untruly; for I preached never nor taught thus privily nor apertly." After much further wrangling, it is at last suggested by one of the clerks that the prisoner should be questioned on the points certified against him one by one, that they might learn what his real opinions were out of his own mouth. The long debate that followed is of much interest and value in reference to the history of the Reformed doctrines; but we shall only notice one or two passages that curiously illustrate the notions or customs of the times in the matter of religion. Touching the sacrament of the altar, Thorpe denied that he had said a word at Shrewsbury. Only, he said, as he stood in the pulpit preaching, there knelled a sacring bell, when many of the people turned away hastily, and began with great noise to run forth from the church; on which he turned to them, and remarked that they would do better to stand still and hear God's Word—the virtue of the holy sacrament of the altar standing much more in the belief thereof that they ought to have in their souls, than in the outward sight thereof. The discussion upon the second point—the worship of images—is very curious. Thorpe begins by stating his belief as follows: "Wood, tin, gold, silver, or any other matter that images are made of, all these creatures are worshipful in their kind, and to the end that God made them for; but the carving, casting, nor painting of any imagery made with man's hand, albeit that this doing be accept of men of high estate and dignity, and ordained of them to be a calendar to lewd people, yet this imagery ought not to be worshipped in the form nor in the likeness of man's craft; nevertheless, every matter that painters paint with, since it is God's creature, ought to be worshipped in the kind and to the end that God made and ordained it to serve man." An image, the archbishop admits in reply, ought not, indeed, to be worshipped for itself; but still, he contends, it ought to be worshipped for the sake of the religious doctrine that is depicted therein, and "so brought there-through to man's mind." "It is a great moving of devotion," he goes on to argue, "to men to have and to behold the Trinity and other images of saints carved, cast, and painted; for beyond the sea are the best painters that ever I saw. And, sirs, I tell you this is their manner, and it is a good manner, when that an image-maker shall carve, cast in mould, or paint any images, he shall go to a priest, and shrive him as clean as if he should then die, and take penance, and make

some certain vow of fasting or of praying, or of pilgrimages doing, praying the priest specially to pray for him that he may have grace to make a fair and devout image." Afterwards taking up another ground—"Ungracious losel!" he exclaimed, "thou favourest no more truth than an hound. Since, at the rood at the north door at London, at our Lady at Walsingham, and many other divers places in England, are many great and praisable miracles done, should not the images of such holy saints and places be more worshipped than other places and images where no such miracles are done?" The Virgin at Walsing-

ham and resplendent it was all over with jewels, gold, and silver. It is said that Henry VIII., when a child, walked barefoot to Walsingham from the neighbouring town of Basham, and made an offering of a necklace of great value to the Virgin. The same king afterwards stripped the magnificent shrine of all its treasures, and dissolved the religious house of which it was the pride and the support. In September, 1538, the image of Walsingham, with those of Ipswich, Worcester, Welsdon, and many others, were all taken away at the instance of the Lord Cromwell; those of Walsingham and Ipswich were brought up to London, "with all the jewels that hung about them," and along with the rest were burned at Chelsea by Cromwell's order.³

We return to the Archbishop of Canterbury's examination of Thorpe. The question of pilgrimages is next debated. Thorpe is accused by the archbishop of having asserted that "those men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canterbury, to Beverley, to Karlington, to Walsingham, and to any other such places, are accursed and made foolish, spending their goods in waste." Thorpe, in effect, admits such to be his opinion, and in justifying himself, is led into a lively description of what the fashionable pilgrimages of the time really were. "Examine," he says, "whosoever will, twenty of these pilgrims, and he shall not find the men or women that know surely a commandment of God, nor can say their Pater-Noster and Ave-Maria, nor their Credo, readily in any manner of language." "The cause," he affirms, "why that many men and women go hither and thither now on pilgrimages is more for the health of their bodies than of their souls; more to have riches and prosperity of this world than for to be enriched with virtues in their souls; more to have here worldly and fleshly friendship than to have friendship of God and of his saints in heaven." Such persons as thus spend much money in seeking out and visiting the bones or images of this or that saint, do that, he contends, which is in direct disobedience to the commands of God, inasmuch as they waste their goods partly upon hostellers (or innkeepers), many of whom are women of profligate conduct, partly upon rich priests that already have much more than they need. "Also, sir," he concludes,



REMAINS OF THE CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF WALSINGHAM.—From
Vetusta Monumenta.

ham, in Norfolk, was the most famous image in England. In that invaluable record and picture of the social customs of the fifteenth century, the *Paston Letters*, this renowned object of superstitious devotion is repeatedly noticed. Thus, in one letter, we find Sir William Yelverton, one of the judges of the King's Bench, ascribing all the good fortune he had met with in the world, and all his escapes from danger, and from the malice of his enemies, to our Lady of Walsingham.¹ Our Lady of Walsingham was particularly resorted to by women in anticipation of the perils of child-bed.² Erasmus, who visited Walsingham in the reign of Henry VIII., informs us, in one of his letters, that the place was almost entirely maintained by the great numbers of persons who came to make their offerings to the Virgin. In the church, he tells us, in which the image stood, was a little chapel of wood, into which the pilgrims were admitted from each side by a narrow door. There was but little light—almost none, indeed, except that of the gratefully odorous wax-tapers; but a person looking in would say that it was an abode of the gods, so bright

and resplendent it was all over with jewels, gold, and silver. It is said that Henry VIII., when a child, walked barefoot to Walsingham from the neighbouring town of Basham, and made an offering of a necklace of great value to the Virgin. The same king afterwards stripped the magnificent shrine of all its treasures, and dissolved the religious house of which it was the pride and the support. In September, 1538, the image of Walsingham, with those of Ipswich, Worcester, Welsdon, and many others, were all taken away at the instance of the Lord Cromwell; those of Walsingham and Ipswich were brought up to London, "with all the jewels that hung about them," and along with the rest were burned at Chelsea by Cromwell's order.³

¹ *Paston Letters*.

² *Ibid* ii. 96, and iv. 444.

³ *Holinshed*, p. 945.

"I know well that when divers men and women will go thus far after their own wills, and finding one pilgrimage, they will ordain with them (arrange with one another) before to have with them both men and women that can well sing wanton songs, and some other pilgrims will have with them bagpipes; so that every town they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the jangling of their Canterbury bells, and with the barking out of dogs after them, they make more noise than if the king came there away with all his clarions and many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a month in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be an half-year after great janglers, tale-tellers, and liars." The defence of all this merriment by the archbishop is too good to be omitted. "Lewd losel," he replies, "thou seest not far enough in this matter. I say to thee that it is right well done that pilgrims have with them both singers and also pipers, that when one of them that goeth barefoot striketh his toe upon a stone, and hurtheth him sore, and maketh him to bleed, it is well done that he or his fellow begin then a song, or else take out of his bosom a bagpipe, for to drive away with such mirth the hurt of his fellow. For with such solace the travel and weariness of pilgrims is lightly and merrily brought forth." Arundel is quite of the mind of the host in Chaucer:—

"Ye gon to Canterbury : God you speed
The blissful martyr quitted you your meed ;
And well I wot as ye gon by the way
Ye shapen you to talken and to play ;
For tru-e-ly comfort ne mirth is none
To riden by the way dumb as the stone."

There was no greater agreement between the two parties on the remaining points of tithes, oath-taking, confession, &c., than in regard to those previously discussed; but the rest of their debate contains nothing that is necessary to be adverted to for our present purpose. Neither persuasions nor threats would move the intrepid Lollard, though, in the end, some of the persons that were sent for to give their counsel advised the archbishop to burn him, and others proposed that he should be drowned in the sea, which was near at hand. He was at last led forth to what he calls "a foul, dishonest prison," where he had never been before. It is not certainly known what was the fate of Thorpe, but he was never again heard of, and most probably he died in his dungeon.

We can only notice very shortly the cases of the other Lollards that are recorded to have suffered in England during this period of persecution. The second victim known to have perished at the stake was John or Thomas Badby, called in some accounts a tailor, in others a smith, who, on the 1st of March, 1410, was, after an examina-

tion by Archbishop Arundel, conveyed to Smithfield, and there burned in a large tun surrounded with dry wood. "The king's eldest son, the Lord Henry, Prince of Wales (afterwards Henry V.), having been present," says the chronicler, "offered him his pardon, first before the fire was kindled, if he would have recanted his opinions; and after, when the fire was kindled, hearing him make a roaring noise very pitifully, the prince caused the fire to be plucked back, and exhorted him, being with pitiful pain almost dead, to remember himself, and renounce his opinions, promising him not only life, but also threepence a-day so long as he lived, to be paid out of the king's coffers; but he, having recovered his spirits again, refused the prince's offer, choosing eftsoons to taste the fire, and so to die, than to forsake his opinions; whereupon the prince commanded that he should be put into the tun again, from thenceforth not to have any favour or pardon at all; and so it was done, and the fire put to him again, and he consumed to ashes."¹

The accession of Henry V., in 1413, did not put a stop to these scenes of horror. With all his generosity of disposition, the new monarch had a soldier's sternness of feeling in regard to human suffering; and, besides that considerations of policy made it expedient for him, as it had been for his father, to conciliate the clergy, he took pride in showing himself a dutiful son of the church, and a zealous defender of the faith. The history and fate of Cobham have been already related.² His apprehension and condemnation were among the last acts of Archbishop Arundel, who died in February, 1414; the sentence by which Cobham was made over as a heretic to the secular judgment being dated the 10th of October preceding. Arundel was succeeded in the primacy by Henry Chicheley, translated from the see of St. David's—a change which brought no relief to the Lollards. Chicheley, indeed, seems to have proceeded against the new sect in a more sweeping fashion than his predecessor, not, perhaps, as being of a more sanguinary or unscrupulous temper, but rather, probably, from being driven to more desperate and wholesale methods for the suppression of the obnoxious opinions, by their increasing diffusion. The Lollards were now apprehended in great numbers, and crowded the prisons of the church. It was Chicheley who built the addition to Lambeth Palace, still known as the Lollards' Tower, from the small apartment at its summit in which the unhappy persons accused of heresy were confined, tied, as it would appear, to iron rings, which remain fixed in the walls, the thick wainscot of which also yet exhibits the names of some of the sufferers rudely scratched upon it. In August, 1415, John Clay-

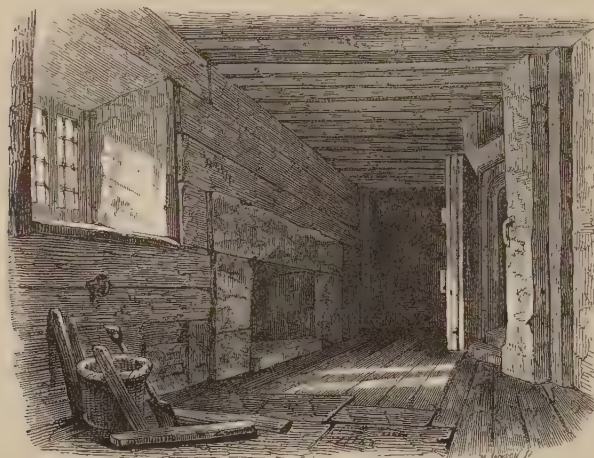
¹ Holinshed.

² See vol. i. pp. 554, 566.

don, a furrier in London, in consequence of certain English books of Lollardism which were found in his possession, was condemned by the archbishop as a relapsed heretic (he had formerly been imprisoned on a similar charge), and was burned in Smithfield. Richard Turmin, a baker

tioned bishops were all cardinals, and each of them for a time held the office of lord high chancellor.

The most remarkable charge of heresy which occurs in the latter years of the present period, and the last we shall here notice, was that brought against Reginald Peacock or Pocock, Bishop of Chichester, who was cited on the 22d of October, 1457, to appear to answer for various false opinions that were imputed to him before Archbishop Bourchier, at Lambeth. Peacock was one of the most learned men of his age, and was as much distinguished for his moderate and conciliatory spirit as for his high talents and extensive acquirements. He had been one of the eminent scholars patronized by the Duke of Gloucester—"the good Duke Humphrey"—and this connection may have had some share in exciting a party against him; but his published opinions were quite sufficient to call down upon him the hatred and vengeance of the church, notwithstanding that they did not go the length of absolute Lollardism. Peacock, indeed, was decidedly opposed to some of the tenets of the Lollards, and gave only a qualified assent to others; he wished the church to yield at least so far to the spirit of the times as to tolerate a latitude of opinion upon some points that, if not indifferent, were so obscure as scarcely to be comprehensible by the human judgment; in a few other things he may have been more inclined towards the new than the old doctrines; but it was at most the reform of the church that he sought, not its overthrow; nor did he either join its adversaries or withdraw himself from its communion. The very moderation and reasonableness, however, of his dissent from his brethren made it only the more irritating to a body inflamed with suspicion and fear, and apt to regard everything as lukewarmness or concealed hostility that was not indiscriminating and reckless partisanship. Peacock's fate was that which, in all ages, has usually attended moderators and mediators between extreme opinions in the height and fury of their mutual opposition and resentment. In one material point, at least, Peacock had distinctly laid himself open to a charge of heresy. In admitting



PRISON CHAMBER IN THE LOLLARDS' TOWER, LAMBETH. 1.—From a drawing by J. W. Archer.

of London, underwent the same fate the same year. Cobham was put to death in St. Giles' Fields on the 25th of December, 1417, being hung by the middle in iron chains, from a new pair of gallows, over the fire, till both his body and the gallows were consumed to ashes.²

The early part of the reign of Henry VI. also witnessed many similar executions. It was impossible, however, to burn or otherwise put to death all the parties whom the spiritual courts were constantly finding guilty of heresy; and Chicheley soon found it necessary to substitute, in the greater number of cases, prolonged imprisonment, whipping, and various other punishments. The utmost rigour of the law appears to have been, for the most part, reserved for such of the clergy as were convicted of preaching or holding the new opinions. In 1423 four ecclesiastics were committed to the flames in Smithfield for the crime of Lollardism. Archbishop Chicheley died in 1443, and was succeeded by John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Stafford was succeeded by John Kemp, Archbishop of York, in 1452; he lived only two years, and, on his death, Thomas Bourchier, Bishop of Ely, was promoted to the primacy. These three last-men-

withstanding that they did not go the length of absolute Lollardism. Peacock, indeed, was decidedly opposed to some of the tenets of the Lollards, and gave only a qualified assent to others; he wished the church to yield at least so far to the spirit of the times as to tolerate a latitude of opinion upon some points that, if not indifferent, were so obscure as scarcely to be comprehensible by the human judgment; in a few other things he may have been more inclined towards the new than the old doctrines; but it was at most the reform of the church that he sought, not its overthrow; nor did he either join its adversaries or withdraw himself from its communion. The very moderation and reasonableness, however, of his dissent from his brethren made it only the more irritating to a body inflamed with suspicion and fear, and apt to regard everything as lukewarmness or concealed hostility that was not indiscriminating and reckless partisanship. Peacock's fate was that which, in all ages, has usually attended moderators and mediators between extreme opinions in the height and fury of their mutual opposition and resentment. In one material point, at least, Peacock had distinctly laid himself open to a charge of heresy. In admitting

¹ The prison chamber is situated at the summit of the tower, and is entirely covered—walls, ceiling, and floor—with thick oak planks, in which many names and devices are carved, but few of them are now legible. It is guarded by an inner and an outer door, 34 inches thick, covered with bosses and plates of iron. The room is about 13 ft. by 12, and about 8 ft. high.

Eight large rings, to which unfortunate inmates have been chained, are rivetted in the wall. On the river side is a small deep splayed window, and near it a very massive stone fireplace, over which a rude representation of the crucifixion is carved.

² *Holinshed*. Account, by Bishop Bale, in *State Trials*.

that a particular belief upon certain mysterious questions was not necessary to salvation, he had unavoidably denied, by implication if not in terms, the assumed infallibility of the church, which had declared such belief to be indispensable. This accordingly appears to have been the chief accusation laid against him. The other heresies with which he was charged amounted to a denial of the necessity of a belief in certain doctrines, not to a denial of the doctrines themselves; the only doctrine he was charged with denying was this of the church's infallibility. He was convicted upon all the articles exhibited against him, and would have been put to death, if, in the spirit of conciliation and aversion to extreme courses by which his life had been distinguished, he had not consented to a recantation of his obnoxious opinions. He read his abjuration at St. Paul's Cross before the archbishop and three other bishops, delivering at the same time fourteen of his books with his own hand to an attendant, who threw them into a fire lighted for the purpose, while many thousands of spectators filled all the space around. Such other copies as had been collected, were afterwards, in like manner, delivered to the flames. Their author, however, although he thus saved his life, did not obtain his liberty. "He was sent to Thorney Abbey (in the Isle of Ely), there to be confined in a secret, closed chamber, out of which he was not to be allowed to go. The person who made his bed and his fire was the only one who might enter and speak to him without the abbot's leave and in his presence. He was to have neither pen, ink, nor paper, and to be allowed no books except a mass-book, a psalter, a legendary, and a Bible. For the first quarter he was to have no better fare than the common rations of the convent; afterwards the pittance of a sick or aged brother, with such further indulgence as his health might require; for which, and for fitting up his close apartment, the prior was allowed eleven pounds."¹ Peacock died in his prison after a confinement of about three years. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the church to destroy them, some of his works still remain, especially an answer to certain of the more extravagant opinions of the Lollards, which, it has been remarked, "contains passages well worthy of Hooker, both for weight of matter and dignity of style."²

One effect of the distracting wars of the Roses was to interrupt for a time the persecution of the Lollards. As Fuller has finely said, "the very storm was their shelter." That tempest of blood put out, while it lasted, the fires of Smithfield.

The convulsion, also, which shook and unsettled everything ancient, was probably favourable to the growth of the new opinions in another way as well as by affording a breathing time to the hunted converts.

The nation appears to have been divided during this period, in regard to ecclesiastical matters, into three parties—the avowed enemies of the established church—the members of the church who desired its reform, but not its abolition—and the unswerving and unyielding adherents to the existing establishment. The mere reformers were perhaps more numerous than has been generally supposed. It is likely that more of the clergy had imbibed the sentiments of Bishop Peacock than those of Thorpe and the thorough Lollards, which would have gone almost to the complete extinction of their order. That portion of the community of which the House of Commons, as then constituted, is to be taken as a fair representative, may also be regarded as having been inclined rather to the correction of the abuses of the church than to its entire overthrow, or even to any great change either of the basis on which it stood, or of the general form and character of the edifice. In general, the House of Commons went along with the lords and the clergy in calling for the execution of the laws against the followers of Wyckliffe as disturbers of the public peace, and in denouncing their doctrines with regard to the revenues of the church as destructive of all the rights of property. The old subject of Papal provisions repeatedly engaged the attention of the legislature during the reigns of the Lancastrian princes. The former statutes were renewed and extended immediately after the accession of Henry IV., and both then and at various other times great solicitude was evinced to prevent any unconstitutional interference of the Roman See in regard either to this or other matters. The contest here, however, was mainly one between the pope and the heads of the national church—whatever was taken from the former was acquired by the latter. Whether the kingdom was any gainer by the prohibition of Papal provisions came, after some time, to be doubted. Complaints were very soon heard that the patronage of benefices was not exercised by the bishops with so much advantage to the interests of religion and learning as it had formerly been when it was to a considerable extent in the hands of the pope. A representation to this effect had been presented to the convocation in 1399 by the two universities; they stated that the popes, in dispensing livings by the mode of provision, had always been wont to give the preference to the most distinguished graduates; but that since provisions had been put down, this encouragement to talent and in-

¹ Southey's *Book of the Church*, i. 392.

² Hallam, *Med. Ages*, iii. 476. *The Life of Bishop Peacock* has been written by the Rev. John Lewis. One of his works, entitled *A Treatise on Faith*, was printed, in 4to, in 1688.

dustury had been so entirely removed, that the schools were almost deserted. And at length the evil became so evident that, in 1416, we find the commons petitioning the king that, if no other adequate remedy could be provided, the statutes against provisors should be repealed. In consequence of this application the convocation passed a law the following year, that, for the next ten years, every spiritual patron should bestow the first vacant benefice of which he had the patronage, and after that term every second, on some member of either university, graduated in divinity, law, or physic. The parliament during this period steadily maintained the great principle which had been established by the act of *præmunire* and other statutes, of the supremacy of the civil over the ecclesiastical courts. In 1447 the bishops and clergy presented a petition, bitterly complaining of this encroachment, as they considered it, upon the rights of the church, and representing that the spiritual courts were much better qualified to be the interpreters of statutes and the tribunals of ultimate appeal, than the temporal; but to this remonstrance the parliament paid no respect.

The church (meaning by that term the body of the clergy) continued to set its face against all reform or concession to the spirit of the age. In a very few points of mere order and discipline some amendments of the ancient practice were attempted: on none of the doctrinal questions at issue between the adherents to the Papal system and their opponents was the slightest approximation made to the new opinions. The only deviations from the ancient standards of faith and worship were in the opposite direction. Archbishop Arundel endeavoured to put down the holding of fairs in church-yards on Sundays; and his successor, Chicheley, forbade the barber-surgeons to keep open their shops on that day, which, in the prohibition, still extant,¹ he somewhat strangely described as the *seventh* day of the week. On the other hand, the ritual observances were in various ways stretched to a greater height of rigour than ever. Arundel, in particular, affected a great zeal for the adoration of the Virgin. It is said that he was wont to ascribe to her intercession the fortunate revolution in the state which had restored him to his see; he accordingly amplified the ceremonial of her worship; he also made the day dedicated to the memory of her visitation, and other saints' days, double festivals. Several new saints were likewise added to the calendar during this period, for each of whom, of course, a festival day was set apart. The number of holidays thus received a considerable increase. The churches also be-

came much more crowded than they ever had been before with images of the Virgin and of other saints. All the ancient popular superstitions, indeed, were still sanctioned by the church as much as in the earliest and darkest ages. Among others, the veneration for holy wells was still a favourite species of devotion among the people. It was during this period that the cup in the sacrament of the eucharist was gradually taken from the laity. In one of the ecclesiastical ordinances of the time the clergy are directed to begin by withholding the cup in small, obscure churches.² The people were at the same time to be taught that both the body and blood of the Saviour were given at once in the bread—that the wine was mere wine, which had been given to enable them to swallow the bread the more easily, but that it was better swallowed without the wine, and also without chewing, that none of it might stick in their teeth. The efficacy of indulgences, and the importance of confession, of processions, and of pilgrimages, were now exalted more than ever. Great pains were taken to denounce heresy as the chief of all possible sins. In certain constitutions of the province of Canterbury, published in 1409, all persons in any manner calling in question the determination of the church were declared to be excommunicated for the first offence, and subject to the punishment of heresy for the second; and it was declared at the same time to be heresy to dispute either the utility of pilgrimages, or the lawfulness of the adoration of images and of the cross. Pilgrimages to Rome were still frequent; a few individuals even continued to find their way to Jerusalem, and were glad, at the cost of submitting to many exactions and insults, to be allowed to pay their devotions at the holy sepulchre. Nor was even the old crusading mania altogether unknown in the fifteenth century. When Pope Martin V., in 1428, proclaimed a crusade against the famous Zisca and his followers, the insurgent Hussites of Bohemia, the great Cardinal Beaufort was appointed captain-general of the crusaders, and immediately raised an army of 2000 English archers and 250 lancers to act against the heretics. It has been already related how this force was intercepted before it reached Germany, and employed in France in another sort of contest.³ These were the last soldiers ever raised in England for a war against either heretics or infidels. When Pope Pius II. (better known as *Æneas Sylvius*) proclaimed his crusade against the Turks, a few years after the fall of Constantinople, he found little inclination in England, among the clergy or laity, either to take the cross or to contribute their money to the expedition: it was with great

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 368.

² Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 662.

³ See vol. i. p. 595.

difficulty that the clergy were induced by the king, Edward IV., to tax themselves on the occasion to the extent of expence in the pound. The countenance of the pope and of the church was at this time of considerable importance to Edward, in the circumstances in which he had just mounted the throne. While he exerted himself, therefore, to gratify the former by endeavouring to procure this assessment, he sought to secure the favour of the national clergy by the grant of a charter endowing them with the most extravagant privileges. In this stretch of prerogative he boldly dispensed with the statute of *præmunire*, and deprived the temporal courts of all right of interfering in the case of offences, of whatever nature, committed either by ecclesiastical persons, or even by persons pretending to possess the clerical character—thus again elevating the spiritual courts to that entire independence of the state which they had enjoyed in the first years after the Conquest, and which it had cost so long a struggle on the part of the parliament and the judges to destroy. The charter was never confirmed by parliament; but at that era of confusion, and the temporary restoration of arbitrary power in the government, it was not to be wondered at that the clergy should, under such a sanction, again put forth some of the most objectionable of their old pretensions.

The general conduct and character of the clergy of this age are not presented in a favourable light by such notices as the documents of the time afford. In 1415 the university of Oxford, being commanded by Henry V. to furnish a statement of such things in the church as needed reformation, drew up a catalogue of abuses in forty-six articles, most of which are, in fact, charges of rapacity and various descriptions of profligacy against the general body of the clergy. It is asserted, among other things, that the debaucheries of churchmen, however notorious, were never punished except by a small fine privately exacted, no public notice being taken, by suspension or otherwise, even of the most heinous cases. About half a century later we find Archbishop Bourchier, in a commission empowering his commissary-general to take measures for the establishment of an improved discipline, describing many of the clergy, both secular and regular, as persons wholly destitute both of literature and capacity; and adding that they were as profligate as they were ignorant, neglecting their cures, spending their time in strolling about the country in the company of loose women, and their incomes in feasting, drinking, and other excesses.¹ These accounts, it is to be observed, are not the inflamed invectives of the enemies of the church, but the admissions of its friends.

We may here mention, though not strictly belonging to the period under review, a curious enactment of the reign of Richard II., touching the keeping of dogs by the clergy; from which we may gather that the custom was not confined to the opulent spiritual nobility, the bishops and abbots, but was followed, on such a scale as they could afford, by the humblest members of the ecclesiastical order. The act (the 13 Rich. II., st. 1, c. 13) sets forth that artificers, labourers, servants, and grooms kept greyhounds and other dogs, with which they were wont to go hunting on the holidays, when good Christian people were at church hearing Divine service. The clergy could hardly have been decently enumerated in this preamble; but the enacting part of the statute shows that some of their body were addicted to the same practices as the artificers and labourers. While it is ordained that no layman who is not possessed of lands or tenements of the yearly value of forty shillings shall in future keep any greyhound or other dog for hunting, the same prohibition is extended to all priests or clerks whose benefices are not of the yearly value of ten pounds; they shall not, it is added, use ferrets, hays, nets, hare-pipes, nor cords, nor other engines for taking or destroying deers, hares, coneyes, or other game, under pain of a year's imprisonment.

A statute respecting the mendicant friars was passed in 1402 (the 4 Hen. IV. c. 17), which deserves to be here noticed. It ordained that no friar of any of the four orders—the Minorites, Augustines, Preachers, and Carmelites, should take into their order any infant under the age of fourteen without the consent of his nearest relations or guardians, nor should remove such infant, during the first year after his reception, away from the place where he had been received. To the intent, it is added, that this statute and ordinance should hold place for ever, the principals of the four orders (who are mentioned by name) “being in their proper persons before the king, and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the realm, in the full parliament, laying their right hands on their breasts, made an oath, and promised in the same parliament, to hold, keep, observe, and perform the statute and ordinance aforesaid, for them and their successors for ever.” The unusual solemnity adopted on this occasion indicates how prevalent had been the evil which it was the object of the new law to put down. The friars, it was asserted, used especially to haunt the universities for the purpose of seducing into their ranks the most promising of the youthful members; and this practice had been carried so far that parents were thereby deterred from sending their sons to Oxford or Cambridge—a circumstance which was

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, lii. 573.

alleged as a principal cause of the decay of these national establishments. The universities accordingly had now come to look upon the friars with feelings of alienation and strong aversion. A keen jealousy also existed between the mendicants and the general body of the secular clergy, with whom they competed too successfully for the popular reverence and favour. In the reign of Edward IV., this antipathy broke out into a violent controversy, in which each party maintained its cause by the most unscrupulous abuse of its opponents. The great boast of the mendicants was, that Jesus Christ himself, while on earth, had belonged, as they said, to their class. This assertion the secular clergy, on the other hand, denounced as both false and daringly impious. At last Pope Calixtus II., by a bull published in 1475, declared the doctrine of the friars to be heretical.

Some notion of the mode of preaching commonly followed at this time may be gathered from the constitutions of a convocation of the province of York, held in 1466. These contain both directions as to the manner in which the clergy ought to conduct the religious instruction of the people, and a summary of the doctrines they were to inculcate. Every parish priest is commanded to preach, either by himself or by a substitute, to his flock four times in the year, and on these occasions to explain in English, with plainness of speech, and without any attempt at metaphysical refinements, the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the two precepts of the gospel, the seven works of mercy, the seven mortal sins, and the seven sacraments.

A few notices remain to be added respecting the history of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland. The clergy of that kingdom, or some of them, are spoken of under their ancient name of Culdees down to so late a period as the close of the thirteenth century. The Culdees, indeed, whatever may have been peculiar in their original constitution, appear to have gradually become converted into a body of the same character with the clergy of England and of the other countries of Christendom. Till about the commencement of the eleventh century, they seem to have been derived chiefly or exclusively from Ireland and from the Irish seminary of Iona; after that date learned churchmen were often brought from England to fill the principal stations in the Scottish establishment. The earliest historical record of any interference with Scotland on the part of the Romish pontiffs is that of the appearance in the country of John of Crema as Papal legate in 1126; but we are scarcely entitled thence to assume, as has sometimes been done, that the Papal supremacy over the Scottish church was then for the first time asserted or admitted. Little can be

inferred from the silence of history upon a particular point, in a period of which scarcely anything that can be properly called history has come down to us. Some other circumstances, however, make it appear probable that, if any dependence upon Rome was so much as formally acknowledged by the early Scottish church, it was practically all but or altogether unfelt. The mere remoteness and barbarous condition of the country would secure its being left very much to itself. The most ancient bishopric in Scotland north of the Forth, that is, in ancient and proper Scotland, was undoubtedly St. Andrews. It was most probably founded towards the close of the ninth century. From this time St. Andrews was considered as holding the primatial rank, which had been held by Iona till the destruction of its monastery by the Danes in the ninth century, and had been then transferred to Dunkeld. Long before the commencement of the present period, the ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland had become completely assimilated, in the general outline of its constitution, to the other churches of the Latin world.

The history of the Scottish church in the fifteenth century, so far as it can now be recovered, consists principally of the enumeration of a series of provincial councils, whose acts, reported as they are, contain little or nothing of much interest. The most accurate notice of them is that given by Hailes, in his *Historical Memorials concerning the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, from the Earliest Accounts to the era of the Reformation*.¹ They appear to have been usually held at Perth.

The following passage gives, in brief compass, a comprehensive view of the state of the Scottish church at this period:—"The privileges of the church seem to have been an exemption from tribute and war, and from the sentence of a temporal judge; a judicial authority in the spiritual causes of tithes, testaments, matrimonial and heretical affairs; freedom to let lands and tithes; submission to no foreign church, but to the pope alone; a power of holding provincial councils for the regulation of the national church. In benefices the pontiff had only the right of confirmation and deprivation, and the purchase of any benefice at Rome was strictly prohibited. (By an act of parliament passed in 1471, the procurement of any benefices from the court of Rome, other than those anciently at the disposal of the pope, was declared to be a crime punishable with the pains of treason.) The bishops were elected by the chapter, and the royal recommendation seems seldom to have intervened. Abbots were chosen by the monks alone; the secular clergy

¹ See also the fourth volume of Wilkins' *Concilia*.

were named by the proprietors of the lands. These clergy were either parsons (rectors) or vicars. Many were in the appointment of the bishops, and of collegiate bodies, whose chapters they formed. Hence the lay patronage was much confined. Many sees and abbeys were opulent; but James III. seems to have been the first monarch who seized and made a traffic of the nomination.¹

The religious zeal of the age expended itself upon the same objects in Scotland as in England. Whithern, in Galloway, appears to have been the most noted Scottish pilgrimage. St. Treignan, repeatedly mentioned by Rabelais as the name of a Scottish saint, is supposed to be a corruption of St. Ninian, the founder of the bishopric of Whithern.²

The new doctrines, however, penetrated to the northern part of the island very soon after they made their appearance in the south. The first propagators appear to have come from England—whether seeking a refuge from the active inquisition after heresy, which had begun in that kingdom, or, as is more likely, ambitious of exercising the apostleship of the truth in a new land. In the year 1408, John Resby, an English priest, was apprehended as a Wyckliffite, and brought before a council of the clergy, presided over by Laurence of Lindores, an eminent doctor of divinity—the same who, on the institution, a few years after, of the university of St. Andrews, was appointed reader of the canon law in the new seminary. Resby, it is said, was charged with maintaining no fewer than forty erroneous opinions, of which, however, only two are particularized—one, that the pope was not Christ's vicar; the other, that he was not to be esteemed pope if he was a man of wicked life. The unfortunate man was condemned on these and the other charges, and was burned at Perth along with his books and writings—being, as far as is known, the first person who thus suffered in Scotland. The example, like that of the similar execution of Sawtre in England a few years before, appears to have been considered sufficient to strike terror into the popular mind for some time. The second Scottish martyrdom did not take place till the year 1433, when Paul Crawler, a Bohemian physician, was burned at St. Andrews on the 23d of July. Crawler appears to have been sent by the Reformers of Bohemia to open a communication, partly, perhaps, of a political as well as of a religious nature, with those of the same creed in Scotland, and to propagate in that country the tenets of Wyckliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague. He is admitted by the ecclesiastical chroniclers

to have been a person of great learning and of singular acuteness and dexterity in argument. All his knowledge of the Scriptures and logical powers, however, availed him nothing in the contest with his hostile judges, and with the remorseless inquisitor, Laurence of Lindores, who was again the president of the court. It is lamentable to have to add that both these executions also took place during the primacy of Bishop Henry Wardlaw, the venerated founder of the first Scottish university—a prelate to whose enlightened munificence history and tradition bear the same testimony with this and other still enduring works of public usefulness.

Although no person is recorded to have been brought to the stake for heresy in the space of nearly thirty years that elapsed between the executions of Resby and Crawler, it is certain, nevertheless, that the new opinions obtained an extensive diffusion in Scotland during that interval. This is evident from the accounts of the trial of the Bohemian, who is spoken of as an emissary to a numerous body sharing the sentiments of himself and his countrymen. The growth of Lollardism may also be inferred from a statute that had been passed for its suppression by the parliament that assembled immediately after the return of James I. from England in 1421. This statute directed that every bishop should make inquisition within his diocese for all Lollards and other heretics, in order that they might be punished according to the laws of holy church, the civil power being called in for that purpose, when necessary, in aid of the ecclesiastical. It is stated that the little treatises which Resby and his disciples had dispersed had spread the obnoxious doctrines; Bower, the continuator of Fordun, who wrote some years after the second of the two executions that have been mentioned, tells us that there were still in his day some unhappy persons, instigated by the devil, by whom these writings were secretly preserved, and their pernicious heresies cherished, in accordance with the scriptural text, that "stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant."

The most important event that happened during the present period in the history of the Scottish ecclesiastical establishment was the erection of the see of St. Andrews into an archbishopric by Pope Sixtus IV., in 1471. This measure was resorted to in consequence of the renewal by Nevil, Archbishop of York, of the old claim of his see to supremacy over the kingdom of Scotland. The Papal bull declared it to be an unfitting thing that an English prelate should be Primate of Scotland, and ordained all the rest of the Scottish bishops, twelve in number, to be henceforth subject to St. Andrews. The occupant of the latter see at this time was Patrick Graham,

¹ Pinkerton, *Hist. of Scotland*, i. 174.

² See, among other passages, *Liv. i. ch. 33. and Liv. ii. ch. 93.* with the Notes of Le Duchat.

a nephew of the late King James I., but who had been driven by the ascendancy of the Boyds, in the reign of James III., from his native country to Rome. He was resident at the pontifical court when the bull was granted; but he now thought that, with his increase of dignity, he might venture to return home, the rather as he was at the same time appointed Papal legate for three years, with a commission to reform all abuses in the national church. He found, however, that his new rank and authority only made him new enemies. He was soon after arrested at the suit of some Roman bankers, who had advanced the money to pay the dues on his bull of privileges, and whose claims he was now unable to satisfy in consequence of the arbitrary seizure of part of his revenues by the king, and his expenses in bribing the persons possessing influence at court, that he might be allowed to retain the rest. He was first shut up in his own castle at St. Andrews,

and soon after committed to the custody of William Schevez, the archdeacon of his diocese, a young man who had insinuated himself into the favour of the court by his agreeable talents, and especially, it is affirmed, by his skill in astrology, a study which he had pursued under John Spornick at the university of Louvain. In no long time Schevez was appointed his coadjutor; and eventually a process was raised against the unfortunate archbishop, the result of which was, that he was found guilty of schism, simony, heresy, and other crimes, and sentenced to lose his dignity and to pass the rest of his life in confinement. This strange affair was terminated by Schevez being appointed archbishop. He held the primacy from 1478 till his death in 1494. Meanwhile his deposed predecessor had been transferred first to Inchcolm, thence to Dunfermline, and finally to the castle of Lochleven, where he died a few months after Schevez had obtained his place.

CHAPTER VIII.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. (A.D. 1399), TO THE DEATH OF RICHARD III. (A.D. 1485).

Progress of English liberty—The advantages it derived from Henry IV. and his successors—Classes who composed the parliament during this period—Emanicipation of the villains—Improved condition of the peasantry—State of the mercantile classes—Their commodities of traffic—Mercantile shipping—Hinderances to the mercantile enterprise of the period—High estimation in which the mercantile profession was already held—Manners and customs—Decay of chivalry—Causes of the decay—English archery—Its origin—Laws enacted for its general practice—The old English bow—The string—The arrow—Mode of handling the bow—Sports and competitions of archery—Rules by which proficiency in archery was acquired—Public sports—Dramatic representations—Miracle and mystery plays—Morality plays—Private theatricals—Royal pageant plays of this period—Amusements of the aristocracy—Inclosure hunting—Tennis—Card-playing—Costume of the higher classes—Female costume—Domestic life of the higher classes—Mansions of the nobility—Halls of the mansions—Banquets—Materials and accompaniments of the banquet—Ordinary meals—Retinues of the nobility—Domestic life of the commons—Glutton masses—Poverty of food in certain districts—Active sports of the commons—The play of quarter-staff—Wrestling matches, &c.—Bowling—Various games of ball—Prisoners' bars—Blindman's buff—Boating—Prohibited games—Condition of London—Metropolitan sight-seeing of the period—London riots—Literature and literary society of England—Falling off in the colleges—Futility as yet of learned pursuits—Depreciation of the study of medicine and theology—Preachers of the day—Specimens of their sermons—Higher estimation of the study of law—Causes of this preference—Education of students in law—Distinguished lawyers of the period—Decline in English poetry during this period—English poets of the day—John Lydgate. Architecture—Perpendicular style—Its peculiar distinctions—Buildings in which it is illustrated—Tudor style—Its characteristics. Condition of Scotland—State of government in Scotland—Restrictions upon the royal authority—Power of the Scottish nobles—Imperfections of Scottish agriculture—Moss-troopers of Scotland—Mendicants—Military customs and warlike sports of the Scots—Scottish weapons—Deficiency in the archery of Scotland—War laws of Scotland—Signal beacons—Modes of living in Scotland—Chiefs and their retainers—Insecure state of society—Rude condition of Scottish dwellings—Fruitless attempts of James I. and James III. to introduce civilization among the people—Learned Scotchmen of the period—Erection of the first Scottish universities—Scottish poets—James I.—Henry the Minstrel—Robert Henderson.



FEW subjects in history are more interesting or more important than the growth and progress of English liberty. It was by no sudden outburst of popular energy, or rapid development of the national character, that so great a blessing was achieved.

In this case, its existence would have been as precarious as its birth, and it might have been lost as rapidly as it had been won. On the contrary, whole centuries of struggle were necessary, and all the sufferings as well as changes of infancy, boyhood, and youth, had to be undergone before it could acquire a confirmed and perma-

nent manhood. Such is the chief lesson of the epoch at which we have now arrived. The combination of the English nobility at Runnymede laid bounds to the power of royalty, while the wars with Scotland and France which succeeded, made each sovereign more dependent upon popular favour and support than had been the case with his predecessors; and thus, energetic though they were, and capable under other circumstances of establishing a complete despotic rule, Edward I. and Edward III. were obliged not only to confirm, but also to enlarge the concessions of the imbecile John. The next era in the history of English liberty was still more favourable for its progress. This was the accession of the house of Lancaster, and the wars of the Roses, events, indeed, whose immediate fruits were apparently little else than suffering and calamity, but whose substantial benefits were realized by the nation at large, long after the York and Lancaster contention had passed away.

No event could have been more seasonable to the liberties of England at this period than the accession of Henry IV. His predecessor having crushed both lords and commons, had created for himself a new parliament that was subservient to his wishes; he had placed the administration of the kingdom in the hands of his creatures; and being thus completely absolute, everything was to be apprehended from his weakness and extravagance. Had this state of things continued, the people, oppressed by tyranny and taxation, would probably have betaken themselves for remedy either to a new Wat Tyler insurrection, or even a French *jacquerie*, and only confirmed their bondage by a failure. It was then that Henry ascended the throne, and ascended it, not by legitimate right, but by usurpation. In this case, one such act of tyranny as those which Richard II. had perpetrated would have overthrown him; and of this he showed that he was conscious by the cautiousness with which he approached the royal seat, as well as the moderation with which he occupied it. The same rule was continued by his two successors under the same urgency; for still they were usurpers, and the elder line of the house of York might at any time reassert their claims to the throne. Under these circumstances, the parliament of England was now of higher account than hitherto, while the people were more fully and equitably represented. This last fact may be understood from the character of the classes of which the parliament was composed. It now consisted of the three estates—the nobility, the clergy, and the *commons*, while the last of these classes consisted of between two and three hundred members composed of knights, citizens, and burgesses. In this way, every grade of rank in the commonalty, and every trade and

profession, could find its representative and advocate in the assembled parliament of England. These knights alone constituted a very important element in the popular representation. They were seventy-four in number, and from their birth, habits, and occupations, they were sufficiently conversant with public affairs to make their suggestions respected, as well as sufficiently high-spirited and formidable to check the aggressions of despotism. In this way, every great change during the reigns of the three Lancastrian Henries, advanced the cause of English liberty, by reducing the monarchical power to fixed and constitutional limits. Another formidable despotism, however, remained, that threatened to rise by the limitation of monarchy, and become the worse oppression of the two. This was feudalism, whose strength mainly lay in civil commotion, and which, on the removal of one sole tyrant, could at any time have produced a hundred in his room. But this portentous danger was removed by the wars of the Roses, in which the nobility, as the party most interested in the strife, perished by proscription and mutual extermination. The field and the scaffold did their utmost, and the high seigniorial rights of the proud king-makers passed away with those who had held them. The battle of Bosworth was the last gleanings of that terrible harvest in which the feudalism of England was irrecoverably destroyed.

This progress of liberty is especially illustrated in the history of English villanage. During the preceding period, the better class of villains had been rising into copy-holders of land, while the inferior were becoming free labourers and artisans; and in either case they were freed from that degrading bondage by which they had hitherto been the absolute property of their masters, and even of the locality in which they were born. So great a change, however, could not be effected without a struggle on the part of the villains themselves; and the character of this struggle is fully explained by a statute enacted upon the subject in 1377. From this it appears, that landholders and masters had made grievous complaints of the losses they had sustained through the villains who "have now late withdrawn, and do daily withdraw their services and customs due to their said lords, by comfort and procurement of other their counsellors, maintainers, and abettors in the country." These counsellors, it is added, "by colour of certain exemptions made out of the *Book of Doom-day*, and by their evil interpretations of the same, they affirm them to be quite and utterly discharged of all manner of servage due, as well of their bodies as of their said tenure, and will not suffer any distress or other justice to be made

upon them; but do menace the ministers of their lords of life and member, and, which more is, gather themselves together in great routs, and agree by such confederacy that every one shall aid other to resist their lords with strong hand." Here we have the act of self-emancipation conducted according to form of law, and afterwards followed by combination to make it good by force, if need should be. In this way, the conflict so important, although unnoticed in history, seems to have gone on until the rebellion of Wat Tyler in 1381, when one of the demands of the insurgents was the complete abolition of villanage. The suppression of this rebellion was followed by severe enactments, through which the old state of serfage was attempted to be restored; but the opportunity had gone by, and a spirit of independence had been awakened that went onward in spite of statutes. The result of this was evident in the next rebellion of the people conducted by Jack Cade in 1450. Here, nothing was spoken about villanage, for the legality of villanage was no longer absolute. The demands of the people had assumed a higher tone, and were directed against the wasteful expenditure of the crown and the abuses of the government, of which immediate redress was required. And besides this, they demanded the full exercise of their right to elect their own representatives in parliament without the interference of the nobility. This insurrection, too, was not so easily quelled as the first had been, when the boy Richard II. rode up to the angry mutineers, and appeased them with a few empty words. Instead of this, they repeatedly defeated the king's troops that were sent against them, and were only quelled at last from want of sufficient leaders. Their principles, also, instead of being permanently arrested, sustained nothing worse than a temporary check, under which they gained additional vigour for a more successful renewal of the contest.

During the present period of our history, the peasantry of England, who were now becoming free to serve whom and where they pleased, must, with their liberty, have been acquiring a correspondent increase in the means and comforts of domestic life. This is evident from the rise in the wages of rural labourers between 1388 and 1444, and the sumptuary laws that were afterwards enacted to repress extravagance of dress among the working-classes. It was found necessary to decree, that no labourer should be dressed in broad-cloth costing more than two shillings a yard; that his neither habiliments, called hosen, consisting of breeches and stockings composed of one piece, should not cost more than fourteen-pence, and that his wife shall no longer wear a girdle garnished with silver, or a kerchief of

cloth costing more than twelve-pence per plight—that is, a yard and a quarter. Only nineteen years afterwards, the rise in the condition of the



HUSBANDMAN AND COUNTRY WOMAN OF 15TH CENTURY.
From Royal MSS. 18 D. VII. and 20 C. VII.

working-classes is curiously indicated by a fresh sumptuary law, in which this twelve-penny kerchief is superseded by one of twenty-pence, beyond which, for the present at least, the head attire of the labourer's wife was not allowed to trespass. From the same source we learn, that domestic servants, whether of lords, tradesmen, or artificers, were well and comfortably fed, having at least one substantial meal a-day of flesh or fish, while the other meals chiefly consisted of "milk, butter, cheese, and other such victuals."

In turning from the agricultural to the mercantile progress of England during this period, it is necessary in the first case to take into account the population of the towns by which the commerce of the country was represented. We find, then, that as yet, the increase in the number of the people had been small, compared with the time that had elapsed and the opportunities that had apparently been enjoyed; for while the whole population at the time of the Norman conquest appears to have been about 2,000,000, at the close of the reign of Edward III., after a lapse of 300 years, it only amounted to about 2,500,000. The visitation of dearth to which England had been frequently subject, the wars with Scotland and France, and above all, the destructive pestilence of 1349 by which Europe at large was almost half depopulated, are the only causes to which we can trace this slowness of increase. Of this population, the town part of it is reckoned at not more than 170,000, or little more than a fifteenth. In these statistics, many of the chief cities of England present an astounding contrast to the greatness into which they afterwards expanded. Thus, the population of London is rated at

about 35,000, that of Bristol 9500, that of Newcastle-upon-Tyne 4000, that of Yarmouth 3000, that of Hull 2300. Scarcely, indeed, were there thirty towns in England containing a population of more than 2000 souls, according to the roll of the capitation tax in 1377. And yet, all this was much, according to the estimate of the day; and the Greek historian Laonicus Chalcondyles, in his description of the principal kingdoms of Europe in 1400, gives the following account of England:—"It is full of towns and villages. It has no vines, and but little fruit, but it abounds in corn, honey, and wool, from which the natives make great quantities of cloth. London, the capital, may be preferred to every city of the West for population, opulence, and luxury. It is seated on the river Thames, which, by the advantage of the tide, daily receives and despatches trading vessels from and to various countries."

In the above extract, the Byzantine mentions the principal article of English commerce, which still consisted of wool. This staple, by the fifteenth century, had become so excellent, that it was reckoned superior to the wool of Spain, and was used therefore even by the Spaniards themselves in the manufacture of their finest cloths. The Flemings also, who were still the principal manufacturers of Europe, found that they could not make such good cloth of the Spanish wool by itself, as when it was mixed with English. Besides wool, the trade of England with foreign countries at this time consisted of gunpowder and guns, and of tin; while the imports received in return, were articles of mercery and haberdashery, and wines, spices, and groceries. The chief countries with which the English traded were Flanders, Spain and Portugal, Venice, Genoa, and Florence, and the Hanseatic towns. With this increase of traffic, the tonnage of merchant ships and improvement in the art of ship-building had been making commensurate progress. Thus, Henry V. built several dromons or ships of war at Southampton, so large, we are told, that the world had never seen the like; and one of them, called the *King's Chamber*, of extraordinary splendour, carried a sail of purple silk, with the arms of England and France embroidered on it. With regard to the merchant vessels, an estimate may be formed of their size, when we are told that the largest carried 400, 500, and even 900 tons. As ship-building was now of such importance to the nation, it appears to have had a due share of royal encouragement, independently of the stimulus of mercantile gain. A proof of this we have in the history of John Taverner, the rich merchant of Hull. During the reign of Henry IV., he built "by the help of God and some of the king's subjects," as it is expressed in the royal license, a ship as large or even

larger than a great Venetian carrack. In recompense of such a patriotic deed, the king directed that the ship should be called the *Carrack Grace Dieu*, and its owner permitted to take on board "wool, tin, lamb-skins, wool-fels, passelarges, and other hides, raw or tanned, and any other merchandise, in the ports of London, Hull, or Sandwich, and, on paying aliens' duty, to carry them direct to Italy, from which he might bring back bow-staves, wax, and other foreign produce necessary for the country, to the great benefit of the revenue and of the nation."

The development of mercantile enterprise during this period was impeded by many serious obstacles. Of these, the most obvious was the military spirit fostered by the war with France. The recent successes of Edward III. and the Black Prince, and the renewal of these under Henry V., gave such a bias to the spirit of the nation, that the peaceful occupations of merchandise were despised, and even wealth itself was cheaply estimated except as the prize of valour and conquest. It was no wonder, therefore, if the active adventurous spirits of the country were more eager to cut out for themselves a fair lordship in France, than to attain the envied rank of wealthy aldermen and worshipful sheriffs at home, by a dull unchivalrous life of buying and selling. Then came the cost of these worthless victories, and the loss occasioned by their abandonment, which acted as successive drains upon the profits of the mercantile community. All this was nothing more than natural to a people who, in adopting commercial pursuits, had abated nothing of their high military character, and were ready to alternate the chances of traffic with those of war and invasion. But even worse than the obstacles which arose from this source, and which were only of a temporary character, were those that accrued from legislative enactments devised with the view of furthering the mercantile interests of the nation. These consisted of such restrictions as, for the price of a present benefit, which after all was more apparent than real, destroyed that reciprocity of one nation with another in buying and selling, which forms the true basis of mercantile confidence and prosperity. A few specimens of these laws will suffice. No merchant was allowed to trade to Iceland and Finland, where the only commodity of traffic was salted fish, without a license both from the King of England and the King of Denmark. No Englishman was to sell goods to any foreign merchant except for ready money, or goods immediately delivered. No foreign merchant was to sell any goods in England to another foreigner without forfeiting the goods thus sold—and why?—that the king should sustain no loss, and the national merchandise no

damage, by under-selling. Another mischief arose from the privileged classes themselves entering into the gainful occupations of traffic, which they were enabled to pursue at greater



WILLIAM CANNING.—From his monument in St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol.

advantage from their superior power and immunities, than could the commons. Thus, the kings and nobles were traders, so that Edward III. was nicknamed the wool-merchant by the sovereign of France. Even bishops, abbots, and other church dignitaries, were also traders, and fitted out ships under the protection of the church, which exempted the property of ecclesiastics from the usual custom-house duties. In all these obstacles we distinctly perceive that English commerce, like English liberty, had a long period of experiment and trial to undergo before it attained its complete maturity. But in either case, was it not a maturity worth whole centuries of waiting for? In the meantime, notwithstanding these difficulties, the mercantile enterprise of the country was indicating its future grandeur, in the merchant-princes with which the present period of the history of England was adorned. Of these, we can only allude to some of the principal names. Among them, the Poles stand conspicuous. The first of the race, William de la Pole, was nothing more than a merchant of Hull in the time of Edward III., who by his success in traffic became the chief moneyed man of the country, and, as such, was made a knight-banneret, and chief baron of the exchequer. His son Michael, who trod in the footsteps of his father, was made Earl of Suffolk; and his descendant, after many family mutations, was Duke of Suffolk in the reign of Henry VI., and first peer of the realm, whose son married the sister of Edward IV., on which account John, the eldest son of this union was, declared by Richard III. his presumptive heir.

In this way the descendants of a Hull merchant would have occupied the throne of England, and perpetuated a royal dynasty, but for the transitions in which the Plantagenets were exchanged for the Tudors, and afterwards for the Stuarts. Another distinguished English merchant was William Canning. He founded St. Mary Church in Bristol, and was so eminent as a merchant, that the largest ships of England, and the farthest extent of its commerce, owned him for their enterpriser and master. Another was John Taverner of Hull, already mentioned as one of the chief merchant-favourites of Henry IV. But the most renowned, if not the richest, of all, was Sir Richard Whytington; for what man, woman, or child over England or even Scotland is ignorant of the history of Whytington and his cat? Independently of the tale of his feline friend, which is a ridiculous blunder founded in after ages upon the figure of a cat, or panther, or tiger, stretched at the feet of his effigy on his tomb, he was famous as thrice lord-mayor of London, as a princely lender to Henry IV. and his son in their pecuniary difficulties, and as a founder of benevolent institutions, in one of which he is characterized as "that worthy and notable merchant, the which while he lived had right liberal and large hands

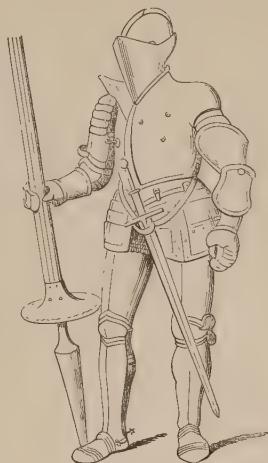


SIR RICHARD WHYTINGTON.—From the portrait engraved by R. Elstracke.

to the poor people." The munificence of these early merchant-princes of England was still more remarkable than the large fortunes that rewarded their labours, and was nobly attested by the colleges, schools, hospitals, and alms-houses which they erected and endowed. In this gene-

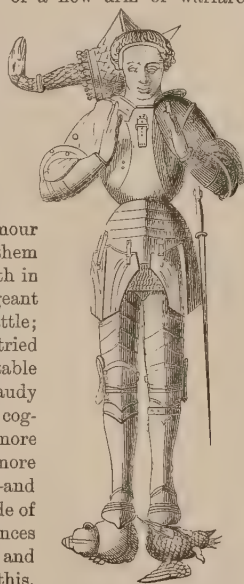
rous public-spirited fashion they expended their wealth, and secured for themselves a grateful remembrance, long after the names of their high-born chivalrous contemporaries had utterly passed away.

In turning our attention to the manners and customs that were prevalent during this period in England, we cannot fail to observe that the iron age of chivalry was rapidly passing away, and even its most solemn forms de-



ARMOUR FOR THE TOURNAMENT (1468).¹

generating into idle pageantry. The first cannon sounded its death-knell. This was the inevitable consequence of the introduction of a new arm of warfare, against which the best tempered mail, as well as the most practised skill of the tourney, were to be equally unavailing. Knights and steel-clad nobles, indeed, were reluctant to doff the rich armour which had given them such superiority both in the display of a pageant and the shock of battle; and therefore they tried to arrest the inevitable departure by more gaudy crests and armorial cognizances — by a more complete as well as more cumbrous panoply — and by extending the code of rules and observances peculiar to combats and tournaments. To this,



ARMOUR OF 15TH CENTURY.²

among other causes, may be attributed the slow progress that was made

in the use of gunpowder, compared with its destructive powers, and its suitableness for every kind of warfare. The hand that had wielded a lance would have made a sorry figure in using a linstock. It was not, therefore, among the aristocracy of Europe that gunnery was first studied as a science; and artillery, which was originally used in the form of cannon, and that, too, of huge calibre and most unwieldy structure, was rather planted in battery against the walls of a town, than wheeled into the field of battle. Therefore it is that in the pictures and descriptions of the sieges of the period, we find such a curious blending of the new with the old mode of warfare — the cannon with the breaching-tower and battering-ram, and troops of long and cross-bowmen intermingled with small parties who used hand-guns and arquebuses. But even nobility and royalty itself were at last obliged to acknowledge the superior powers of a cannonade; and Henry V., who took every town to which he laid siege, was perhaps the best artillery officer of his day.

Abandoning, therefore, any further mention of the chivalrous exercises and usages of this period, we pass onward to a consideration of the archery of England, and the arts by which it was improved and perfected. This is the more necessary, as it formed so essential a part in the occupations of the commons, was so distinguished in the military history of the nation, and was so soon to pass away among the things that had been. To its archery, even more than to its gallant knighthood, England was indebted for its most distinguished victories; and the history of the country itself would be imperfect, without a full understanding of the means by which such important advantages were gained.

The history of English archery dates in a great measure from the Norman conquest. Long before this period, the marauding Danes and Saxons were acquainted with the use of the longbow; but after their settlement in England they seem to have laid it aside for weapons adapted to a close standing fight — the sword and spear, but chiefly the heavy two-handed battle-axe which they wielded so gallantly at Hastings. On the other hand, the victory of William was chiefly owing to his archers, and the manner in which he ordered them to discharge their arrows upwards so that they should fall upon the defenceless heads of the English. It has been generally supposed that it was the crossbow which was solely used on this occasion; but that this is a mistake, and that the longbow must also have been employed by the Norman archery, is evident

¹ This specimen is from Meyrick. A man in this armour could not raise, lower, or turn his head, nor stir his left shoulder; he had only the movement of his bridle arm from the elbow, to enable him to stop his horse, but the lance arm was quite free, for obvious reasons. — *Meyrick*.

² This figure represents Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, from his monumental effigy in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick.

from the Bayeux Tapestry, where Harold is represented as falling dead with several shafts of the latter weapon sticking in his body, and one in his forehead. The general disarming of the English that followed, and the miseries that drove them into the forests, naturally made them archers. The materials for weapons were at hand; a longbow and sheaf of arrows could be constructed without the aid of the armourer; and with these they could bring down the game that formed their precarious subsistence, or the enemies that were sent to apprehend them. In this way, a stern necessity converted them by thousands into admirable bowmen; and when better days arrived, the instrument that had so befriended them, became their favourite and national weapon. They had thus acquired such means of independence as made them formidable to their Norman rulers; and perhaps it was this circumstance, and the clearance of Sherwood and other such forests of their numerous bands of outlaws, more than military considerations, that induced Richard I. to enact such laws as tended to banish the longbow out of England, and introduce the crossbow, which was of more difficult fabrication, in its stead. But his own death, which occurred at the siege of Chaluz from a crossbow bolt, was regarded as a righteous retribution, and the English soon made his successors aware how necessary their favourite weapon and matchless skill in using it were for the national defence. Hence the high encouragement that was given to the practice of archery, and the prominent figure it assumed among the rural sports and competitions of the yeomanry; and hence also the high wages that were given to the archers of an English army during the period of military service. To the same effect were the numerous laws enacted during different successive reigns, by which good bows and dexterous bowmen were to be abundant over the whole realm. A few specimens of these laws will suffice to show the importance of the subject. By two statutes, Edward III. encouraged and enjoined the use of the longbow among his English subjects. In the reign of Richard II., an act was passed to compel all servants to practise with it on Sundays and holidays. By the 7th of Henry IV., the heads of arrows were to be well boiled or brazed, and hardened at the points with steel, on pain of forfeiture of the arrows, and imprisonment of the maker, whose name was also to be stamped on every arrow head. Henry V. ordered the sheriffs of the several counties to procure feathers from geese to the number of six from each goose, for the purpose of winging the missiles—often poetically called the “gallant gray-goose shaft.” And to close these examples, it was decreed in the reign of Richard III., that

ten bow-staves were to be imported from abroad with every butt of Malmsey or Tyre wine, under a penalty of thirteen shillings and four pence for each butt that was not thus accompanied. This act was framed by parliament in consequence of the rise that had taken place in the price of bow-staves, so that those which had formerly cost only 40s. or 46s. 8d. a hundred at the utmost, had now, as the act declared, risen to the “outrageous price” of £8 the hundred, and all through the “seditious confederacy of the Lombards trading to this country.” During the same reign it was also enacted in 1482, that “from the feast of Easter next coming, no bowman should take from any of the king’s liege people for a longbow of yew more than 3s. 4d.” The fact that this reduction of the usual price was still equal to that of a good musket in the present day, the different value of money being considered, shows the difficulty that now existed of procuring good wood for the manufacture of a bow, as well as the labour with which it was prepared and fashioned.

This brings us to the consideration of the weapon itself, so terrible in the hands of an English archer, and so available in national conquest and defence. The stave was six feet in length, and of such proportionable strength, weight, and thickness, that only to bend it would have been beyond the archery of any other country. The wood itself was generally yew, as being the strongest and most elastic; but sometimes elm, ash, or Brazil wood was substituted, although not frequently. In selecting the stave, the nicest scrutiny was necessary to see that the wood was free from knot, warp, and every kind of blemish; and on being chosen, the utmost care was used in cutting and smoothing it, so that it should taper by just degrees from its centre to the extremities, and be thus fit to endure every strain that might be laid upon it. Being thus fashioned, the weapon was to be strung, and then came the question of cordage, upon which the efficiency of the bow so much depended. Too soft a cord would snap, and leave the archer defenceless; too hard or too fine a one, however strong, would cut the wood, and soon make the bow useless. The medium adopted was a string of silk, which was twisted with the utmost care, so that it might be sound and equal throughout. To save also both wood and string, and have them always ready for action, the weapon was usually carried in a sheath or case made of woollen or canvas. The importance of this precaution was well shown at Azincourt, where the Genoese archers armed with crossbows were rendered utterly useless by a shower of rain that relaxed their bow-strings, which were composed of gut and unprotected, while the English had only to un-

case their bows that were as efficient as ever. Even when not engaged in active service, the English archer was obliged to tend his weapon with the care of a nurse; too damp or too dry a place was certain to injure it, and from want of rubbing, oiling, and polishing, it would become brittle, or lose its elasticity. Even the place, therefore, in which it was laid up within his cottage, as well as the regularity with which it was tended, were matters of vital consideration.

The manufacture of arrows, which comes next to be considered, was fully as important and difficult as that of bows. So various was the choice of material for this purpose, that Ascham, in his *Toxophilus*, has enumerated fifteen different kinds of wood with which arrows were made; but the asp and the ash were generally preferred, the first for target-shooting and archery competitions, and the second for warfare. On this account, asp-wood was of such importance as in 1416 to claim the attention of parliament; and a decree was passed by which patten-makers were forbid to use this material for making clogs or pattens, as such wood was necessary for the making of arrows. It was not till nearly fifty years after that the unfortunate patten-makers, in consequence of their remonstrance, obtained permission to use such asp-wood in their craft as was unfitted for the purposes of the archer. In making an arrow, the utmost attention had to be bestowed

upon the different parts of which it was composed, that all might duly correspond, and be fitted for their respective uses. The stele or shaft must be so straight and smooth as to pass correctly from the bow, and the feathered extremity be exactly proportioned in its buoyancy to the weight of the steel head. The head itself was made of fine steel, critically edged and pointed; the feather was generally from the goose, and gray in colour, so that its flight might give as little warning as possible, and sometimes from the second feather of the wing, which was esteemed the best by the most skilful connoisseurs in archery. These arrows were of various kinds: thus, we read of forked arrows, where the sharp steel barbs pointed towards the feathers; and broad arrows, of which the barbs pointed forwards; and sometimes, though not so frequently, they had sharp heads not barbed but rounded like a bodkin. Arrows, too, were of different weight and thickness, to suit the distance of the mark and the changes of the wind. Besides these missiles which were fashioned for deadly purposes, whistling arrows were sometimes used in war for giving signals in the night.

It is now full time, however, to see how these weapons were handled; but for this purpose, we would rather repair to the village green than to the field of battle. There, at set times, the whole

village and its neighbourhood were assembled, and those who were to compete in archery were not only the succinct picturesque dress which old tradition has so indelibly associated with the gay greenwood, but also a bracer laced on the left arm, and a shooting-glove on the right hand. The bracer was made of hardened leather, and so stiff that the motion of the arm did not wrinkle it, and so smooth that it did not arrest the free motion of the string; while the glove, which protected the fingers from being chafed in drawing the cord, had the leather upon the forefinger thicker than the rest, as it was there that the pull of the string was most felt. The marks



ARROW HEADS, one-half the actual size.¹

to be shot at in such trials were of three kinds—butts, pricks, and rovers. The first was a level mark, and required a strong arrow with a broad feather; the second was a mark of compass, but at a fixed distance, for which a shaft of middling-sized feather was necessary; and the third was a roving or shifting mark, carried to different places of the field, and requiring arrows of various kinds suited to the distances. The general range of distance for marks in the practice of archery was from eleven to twelve score yards; but some of the old English ballads describe tremendous shots, where the distance was 400 yards, and the mark nothing more than a slender white wand, that was to be clef in two with a broad arrow.

Having now taken his stand and bent his bow, the archer selected from his quiver, or the sheaf in his belt, the arrow best suited for the mark. Having surveyed place and distance, he also calculated the force of whatever current of air might be in motion, and the precise bearing it would have upon his arrow in full flight. All

¹ From specimens in the British Museum, &c.—(1, 2), Found at New Farm, Blenheim Park, Oxon; (3, 4), Found on the field of the battle of Barnet; (5), A quarrel with the shaft attached, found packed with others in a barrel in the arsenal of Mont Ferrand (Clermont-le-Ferrand); (6, 7), Found in Friday Street, London; (8), Cloth-yard arrow head, found near Salisbury.

being in readiness, he took his station fairly and uprightly, his left foot at a convenient distance in advance of his right, holding the bow by the middle, with his left arm stretched out, and with



ARCHER OF 15TH CENTURY.—From Royal MSS. 14. E. IV.

the three first fingers and the thumb of the right hand upon the lower part of the arrow affixed to the bow-string. If the mark was a distant one, the arrow had to be drawn to the head; but the pull required to be steady and uniform, otherwise the string might snap, or the bow itself be broken. The arrow had then to be delivered smartly and at once, as further delay might have disturbed the hand or injured the aim. Thus the archers shot, and thus the mark was hit, while the on-lookers let loose their suspended breath in an applauding huzza. In reading the exploits of English archery, we are not so much struck with its accuracy as its force, for seldom could plate



ARCHER OF 15TH CENTURY.—From Cotton MSS. Julius E. IV.

and mail resist the terrible dint of the cloth-yard shaft. But independently of the strength of the bow and the weight of the arrow, the string was pulled not to the breast, as among

other nations, but to the right ear, while the shooter, instead of depending upon mere strength of arm, threw the whole weight of his body forward upon the bow while in the act of drawing the string, so that every muscle was brought into full play. As no other toxophilites had either strength to bend or skill to handle such a weapon, England remained unrivalled in the use of the bow, and hence the anxiety of parliament to enforce the practice and encourage the competitions of archery, as well as the care with which it legislated for the due manufacture of the weapons. But this was not all; for by other enactments, the male children of the yeomanry were to be furnished with bows proportioned to their size, and exercised in shooting until they had reached full-grown manhood. Acts of parliament, however, powerful though they may be in creating festivals, cannot furnish the joviality that is necessary to gladden them; and these oft-repeated laws that commanded people to assemble and be merry, only produced such a deadening effect as at last made the village meetings anything than grateful to the commons of England. This, too, was especially the case, when it was found that hagbut and arquebuse could disable an enemy as effectually as the longbow, without demanding the training of a lifetime to use them. Archery, therefore, declined with chivalry, and from the same cause; so that we hear little of it after the battle of Flodden, where the quiver of England was well nigh expended.

Among the public sports of the English of this period, dramatic representations held a distinguished place. These, which were at first of a religious character, commenced not in England but France, which took the lead of the former country not only in civilization, but in that inventiveness and love of excitement upon which the drama so essentially depends. As they were at first of a religious character, they naturally originated in those who were properly the office-bearers of religion—palmer and pilgrims to the Holy Land and other consecrated places, who, on their return, recited "harsh-sounding rhymes" and ballads at the corners of streets, about the deeds of Christ, and the miracles of the apostles and saints. The crowds, who perhaps had no other means of acquiring such instruction, flocked as eagerly round these sacred troubadours, as Asiatics round a story-teller; and thus buildings were soon erected for the accommodation of the audience, and stages for the singers. At last, action was added to recitation, and the simple ballad was expanded into the miracle play, by the same natural transition that the cart of Thespis became a theatre. It was not long before the miracle play, which was rude and inartificial in its structure, assumed the more complex

form of the mystery. In this kind of play, the stage, which was now a huge structure, was composed of several scaffoldings or stories, the highest of which represented heaven, the second earth, the third Pilate's house or Herod's palace, and the fourth hell, which was upon the forefront of the stage, and exhibited as the gaping mouth of a huge dragon, that opened and shut as the devils made their exits and entrances. From the mixture of so many characters, celestial, terrestrial, and infernal, and from the multitude of events, a single play often required several hundreds of actors; but these could be easily found for audiences that were not disposed to be over-critical.

These religious dramas appear to have been exhibited in London so early as A.D. 1180. This we ascertain from Fitz-Stephen, in his introduction to the life of Becket, where he commends them as a greatly superior kind of plays to those acted in ancient Rome, as they represented the miracles of holy confessors, or the sufferings in which the martyrs had displayed their constancy. Even playhouses also appear to have existed at this time in London; but in the want of such accommodation, the miracles and mysteries were often performed in churches. When they were exhibited in the open air, temporary scaffolds or stages were erected for the purpose, that sometimes moved upon wheels, so that each part of the town, in turn, might enjoy the benefit of the representation. These plays appear to have had neither regular dialogue nor plot, but were generally a collection of episodes, which were sometimes so numerous, that a single piece occupied several days in the performance. Thus, one acted in 1391 by the parish clerks, at the Skinner's Well, beside Smithfield, at which the king, queen, and nobility were present, lasted three days; while another in 1409, which commenced with the creation of the world and went onward through the whole gospel history, lasted eight days. In England, as in France, the actors were not far to seek; and sometimes they were the scholars of a particular school, at other times the craftsmen of a guild, who provided the play at their own proper expense. Even the clergy also, who soon esteemed these plays as cheap and popular gospels by which the people might be enlightened, and the cause of religion advanced, became not only the composers of miracles and mysteries, but also actors in their representation, while the sacred vestments and ornaments of their churches were freely lent to further the exhibition. It is not strange, however, that these dramas, in course of time, degenerated from the sacred character in which they had commenced, and that the full scope which they allowed to the fancy descended into buffoonery and profanity. Thus,

in St. Paul's Church, where mysteries were frequently exhibited, the third Person of the Trinity was represented by a white pigeon let down through a hole in the roof, succeeded by a censer smoking with perfume. In the exhibitions of hell, also, in the lowest compartment of the stage, instead of the tragic warnings which the mouth of the dragon should have breathed forth, all was farce and merriment; and the harlequin devils who issued from it, kept the audience in a roar of laughter by their coarse jokes, and the ludicrous punishments which they inflicted upon condemned sinners. The earliest miracle play that exists in English, was written in the time of Edward III., and is to be found in the Harleian MSS.; and the subject is the descent of Christ into hell for the liberation of Adam and Eve, the prophets, and John the Baptist.

As these plays were little better than gaudy pageantries and a mere bustle of action, a more simple species of the drama succeeded in the form of morality plays, by which the miracle and mystery were superseded. By this plan, the unwieldy tiers of scaffolding were reduced to a single stage, that could not only be set up at the corners of streets, but moved into court-yards and halls; while the subject of the play was simplified, and the number of the actors diminished. The personages were now the representatives of good and evil qualities, while the moral consisted in the triumph of the former, and the discomfiture and punishment of the latter. It was not long, however, that this poetical, even-handed justice was strictly adhered to, or even thought of; and the taste of the many, as in every such attempt, at last predominated over that of the judicious few. The chief characters in the morality were the Devil and the Vice. The first of these was generally a hideous monster, invested with all the popular attributes of horns, hoofs, tail, and shaggy hide, and who usually made his entrance upon the scene with the startling cry of "Ho! ho! ho!" Sometimes, however, when he had a more seductive part to perform, his costume was that of a trim gallant according to the court fashion of the day, as the following inventory of a dress for Satan in one of the Coventry Plays will fully attest:—

"Of fine cordevan, a goodly pair of peaked shoon. Hosen enclosed of the most costious (costly) cloth of crimson, . . . with two dozen points of cheverelle, the aglets of silver fine.

A shirt of fine Holland.

A stomacher of clear Raynes, the best that may be bought.

Cadice wool or flock, to stuff withal the doublet.

A gown of three yards.

A dagger for devotion

With side-locks to the collar hanging down.

A high small bonnet."

As for the Vice of the play, he was a merry but most iniquitous buffoon, similar to the harle-

quin of a modern pantomime, who encountered Satan with a sword or dagger of lath, and usually had the best of it through the performance, until the close, when he was worsted, and carried off to hell on the devil's back. We have already adverted to the deterioration of these moralities, which at length became anything but moral; while the religion they inculcated was often in full keeping with their practice. Sometimes this had to be apologized for; and in the Chester Plays, a proclamation was usually made, that though some things therein were introduced "not warranted by any writ," they were brought in "to make sport," and "to glad the hearers." Of those productions in writing that gradually were matured into the English drama, we have, 1st, the Townley Collection, supposed to have been written about the time of Henry VI.; 2d, the Coventry Plays, which are as old as the reign of Henry VII.; and 3d, the Chester Plays, that were the immediate precursors of Shakspeare and the Elizabethan period. The usual seasons for acting them were Christmas and the Whitsun holidays. As from the extensive properties, and great number of actors which they required, they could only be exhibited in London and the largest cities, the smaller towns and villages were contented with occasional bands of strolling players, who already were reckoned vile in the eye of the law, and whose migrations were, like those of gipsies or outlaws, closely watched by the country justices. What might be called puppet plays were also exhibited, in which the most sacred events in the history of our Saviour and his apostles were acted by little wooden puppets.

It was not, however, within these limits that the struggling spirit of the English drama could now be confined; and private theatricals were in abundance at the festivals of the wealthy, usually in that allegorical form which so much pervaded the public theatrical representations. Besides these, there were mummings performed

several fancies. It was through a fearful court mumming of this kind that Charles VI. of France lost his reason, by which such miseries were entailed upon his kingdom. Of a higher description still were those national pageants by which a public event was commemorated, and in which all the powers of the miracle, mystery, and morality plays were exhausted to the uttermost, as well as commingled in most admired disorder. Such was that with which Henry V. was welcomed on his arrival in London, after the victory of Azincourt, that had made the whole nation wild with triumph. On reaching Eltham, he was met by the mayor and aldermen of London dressed all in red, with white hoods; and on passing forward to Blackheath, he was received by 20,000 citizens who rode out to welcome him. On crossing London bridge at the head of this mighty cavalcade, he found at the drawbridge two temporary pageant turrets that had been set up for the occasion, and in front of them a large giant, who hailed him in well-conned verse. On the top of one turret was a lion and an antelope, and on the other, a host of angels, that saluted him with the anthem, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." He rode through the city, the streets in his route being canopied with rich cloths, and the windows hung with pieces of tapestry and silk; and at Cornhill there was a tower occupied by the patriarchs, who broke forth at his coming with, "Sing unto the Lord a new song; praise his name in the holy church;" and having ended, they let loose a shower of live birds that flew and fluttered round his victorious head. On reaching Cheapside, where the conduits ran wine, the chief conduit was surmounted by the twelve apostles, and their song was, "Have mercy on my soul, O Lord;" and when they finished it, twelve kings who accompanied them knelt and presented offerings to the victor of France, and welcomed his return. This part of the pageant was also rivalled by another that was near it; this was the cross of Cheapside, which was now turreted

and bannered, and a host of angels upon it singing, "Nobel, nobel," and presenting basons, no doubt filled with costly offerings, to the hero. All this mummary, as modern taste would account it, but which is described both in poetry and prose with enthusiastic uncton by Lydgate, Fabyan, and the old historians, was closed at St. Paul's Church, where Henry was received by fourteen bishops, richly attired and mitred, and with censers in their hands, who performed a triumphant *Te Deum*;

after which he retired, no doubt right weary, to his palace at Westminster. How strangely do our thoughts pass from the hero of such a pageant, to the same hero impersonated by the glo-



A MUMMING.—Strutt's Sports and Pastimes.

at court, and by persons of the highest rank, at Christmas, wherein the performers dressed and masked themselves to represent birds, beasts, mythic personages, and angels, according to their

rious genius of Shakspeare! What was all this compared with a single scene in the Boar tavern at Eastcheap?

In turning to the more common sports and amusements of this period, we begin, as we have done hitherto, with the aristocracy. In addition to the rough exercises and training of chivalry, now become more laborious than ever from the greater weight of armour which the changes of warfare had made necessary, they still continued the sports of hawking and hunting. In the latter, however, an innovation was introduced by inclosures being paled, into which the beasts of game were driven, while from sheds and sylvan booths erected at the entrance of these inclosures, the hunters coolly selected the animals, and brought them down with their arrows. In this way, kings, lords, and reverend bishops and abbots endeavoured to enjoy the sport of hunting, without the toil and risk that usually attended it. Was this significant of the fact that the commons were better protected in their property, and their grounds better cultivated than hitherto? A growing disinclination

to rough exercises may also have had its weight in promoting this inclosure hunting, as the sports of running, wrestling, pitching the bar, and spear-throwing were going out of fashion among the higher classes and descending to the lower. The game of tennis, afterwards so fashionable, appears by this time to have been introduced into England, as we may judge from the insolent message of the French dauphin to Henry V., who, according to our early historians, sent the English king by way of present a set of tennis balls. The game at first was played in the open air; but when it grew into favour, tennis-courts were erected in great inns and the mansions of the chief nobility. In sedentary games dicing still kept its place; but already a game had been introduced into England before whose seductions all the others were to yield. This was card-playing, which, as is well-known, was invented to amuse the melancholy hours of the insane Charles VI. From France the amusement quickly extended not only to Italy, Spain, and Germany, but also to England, where it became so prevalent, that in the reign of Edward IV. a law was passed in favour of the English card-makers, prohibiting the importation of cards from abroad. At first, the cards were rich paintings executed with artistic skill, in the highest departments of colouring and gilding, so that a single pack was a very

costly purchase; but when the passion for this amusement increased, the wits of men were set to work in inventing cards of inferior price, and better fitted for daily handling. The result was, the application of the newly-invented art of printing; and accordingly cards were made in the first instance by stamping them with wooden blocks, and afterwards filling the outline with colouring, which was done by hand. In this way card-making soon became a regular craft. The games first used were Trump and Primero, but soon others of a more complex character were invented, by which money was more cleverly lost and won than ever it had been by dice,



MEN'S HEAD-DRESSES OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

1. King Henry IV.—National Portrait Gallery.
2. 3. From *Traité de Tournois* of King René.
4. From brass in Rodmarton Church, Gloucester.
5. From block book *Apocalypsis S. Johannis*.
6. Knight of the Garter.—Shew's *Dresses of the Middle Ages*.

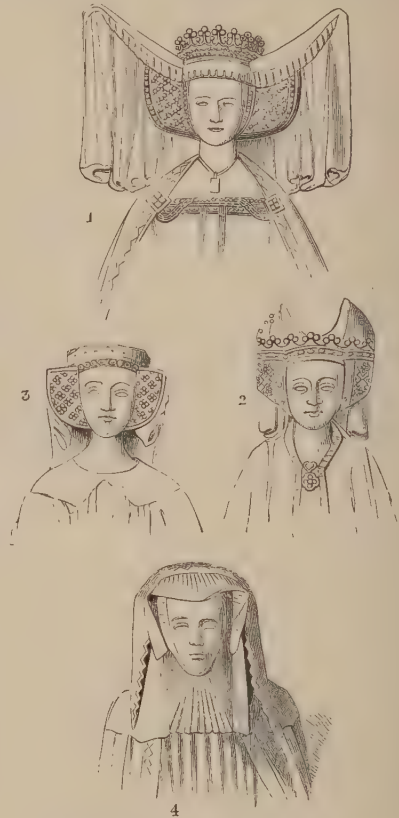
chess, and tables. The history of card-playing in England after this date is too well known to require further comment.

The fashionable costume of this period underwent few alterations; it had attained its climax of foppery during the reign of Richard II., and there it was suffered to remain. Accordingly, in the dresses of gentlemen during the reigns of Henry IV. and his son we have the same flowing attire as formerly, and the same preposterous wideness and length of sleeves, that must have cost the wearer no little trouble to keep from trailing on the ground. Happily, however, we miss the high muff-like bonnet which makes such a grotesque figure during the period of Richard II.; but instead of this, we have hats of every shape, and hoods twisted into every variety. Of course, we find in these every change from the graceful to the ridiculous—from the elegant and regal-looking turban of the East, to the wide-brimmed uncouth hat of the modern coal-heaver. But the most becoming of these, as well as the best known of them all, was the roundlet, a light turban surrounding a skull-cap, from which a graceful drapery descended on either side, as in the pictures of Henry IV. From the same pictures we find the hair closely cropped and the faces shaven, with the exception of old men and grave government functionaries, who appear to have

worn their beards either peaked or forked; and martialists, who retained their mustachios. During the earlier part of this period, the long pike disappeared from the shoe, but in the later part it returned in greater longitude than ever. So highly valued indeed was this singular piece of extravagance, and in consequence, even already "the toe of the peasant came so near the heel of the courtier," that by a sumptuary statute of 1463, none but lords were allowed to wear shoes or boots having pikes more than two inches long. Toward the close of the reign of Edward IV. the love of rich clothing had become so great, and the distinctions of rank so confounded, in consequence of inferiors vying in dress and ornament with those above them; that parliament again interfered; and in 1482 the following restrictions were enacted, from which the spirit of the age, as manifested in its costume, will be best understood. None were to use cloth of gold and silk of purple, except the king and the royal family. No one under the rank of a duke was to wear cloth of gold of tissue. No one under the rank of lord was to wear plain cloth of gold. No one under the rank of knight might presume to wear any velvet in his doublet or gown, or any damask or satin in his gown; and no one under the rank of esquire or gentleman might have a doublet of damask or satin, or a gown of chamlet. No one, also, who was not of noble rank was to wear either foreign woollen or fur of sables; and (strangest of all!) no one was to wear garments which were characterized as being of indecent brevity, unless he had the high privilege of belonging to the peerage.

With regard to female costume, the greatest variations which it underwent were chiefly in regard to head attire. These variations, too, were by no means for the better; so that instead of the gold net-work, or flower-chaplets with which they had been so gracefully adorned, the heads of ladies were now attired in a fashion of which even the paintings of the day have failed to give a sufficiently intelligible idea. In the reign of Henry V. these head-dresses were forked or horned in such a preposterous fashion, and rose to such a height, as to outdo all former extravagances, and as such were vehemently denounced by the preachers, and ridiculed by the poets of the day. But besides these, there were the reticulated and the heart-shaped head-dresses, as they have been termed by modern antiquaries; and steeple head-dresses, similar in form to those still worn by the female peasantry in Normandy. But over all these the horned fashion bore the pre-eminence, and in some of the pictures of the Cotton and Harleian MSS. they appear with such an enormous altitude, as makes us wonder how female taste could at any period have

become so depraved. At last, towards the close of the reign of Edward IV., these absurdities disappeared, and were succeeded by a more ra-



LADIES' HEAD-DRESSES. 1.—From Monuments.

tional adornment. This was a velvet cap or cowl turned back upon the brow, and hanging down to the shoulders behind in plaits; but such a simple fashion was not enough without wing; made of some light gossamer stuff, and standing out, as if the wearer was prepared for instant flight. In other respects, the female costume consisted of the long gown, or the *cote hardie* of the period of Richard II., remarkable chiefly for the long trailing sleeves, and upon which all that superfluity of cloth was wasted that was soon

1 (1), Beatrice, Countess of Arundel, died 1432; from her monument in the church at Arundel. (2), Joan, wife of William Philip, Lord Bardolph; from her effigy in Hoveringham Church, Nottingham; died early in fifteenth century. (3), Catherine, Countess of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; from their monument in Wingfield Church, Suffolk. (The earl died at the siege of Hexham, A.D. 1432). (4), Philippa, Duchess of York, died 1433; from the monumental effigy in the chapel of St. Nicholas, Westminster Abbey.

after transferred to the sweeping train. This last change occurred in the reign of Henry VI., when, in addition to the contraction of sleeves, the waist of the gown was reduced to extreme brevity, the gown seeming to consist of nothing but shoulders and train, with a high-girdled zone to mark their respective limits. Such is the general outline of the females as they are robed in the illuminated MSS. of this era; but the filling up of the picture we cannot otherwise describe, than that it presents the usual amount of fur, embroidery, and jewellery.

In proceeding to the domestic life and habits of the nobility and gentry of England, our first business is to inquire into the state of the dwellings which they now inhabited. And here we find that the strong, tyrannous-looking castle with which the noble had overawed his own district was already becoming a mere relic of departed feudalism, and giving place to mansions of a less warlike, but more comfortable character. The towers and turrets of the new habitations were not so much the defences as the ornaments of the building, while what might be called the home part of it, instead of being a *keep* in the centre, extended over nearly the whole range; the moat, too, was either contracted or dispensed with, while the windows were greatly enlarged and multiplied. Like the state of the age itself, they were transitions from the feudal to the civilized life—the combination of castle and manor, in which the latter characteristic was fast predominating. While such were the homes of the nobility, those of the gentry of England were still more modernized and peaceful in their character, having now an amount of gracefulness, ornament, and comfort that were the best indications of peaceful security and advancing civilization. As yet, however, the walls of the apartments, whether of castle or manor, had frequently neither wainscoting on the walls, nor plaster on the ceiling; and this cold, discomfort, and nakedness were but clumsily concealed by the dust-laden and time-soiled arras and tapestry

that still kept their wonted places. The great hall, too, was still the principal apartment in the building, and to its amplitude every other room in the mansion, whether for domestic privacy,



COSTUMES OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.—Royal MSS. 15. D. III.

convenience, or comfort, was more or less obliged to give way.¹

This, however, mattered little with a people whose lives as yet were spent for the most part in the open air, in hunting and other pursuits, and who required the shelter of a roof for



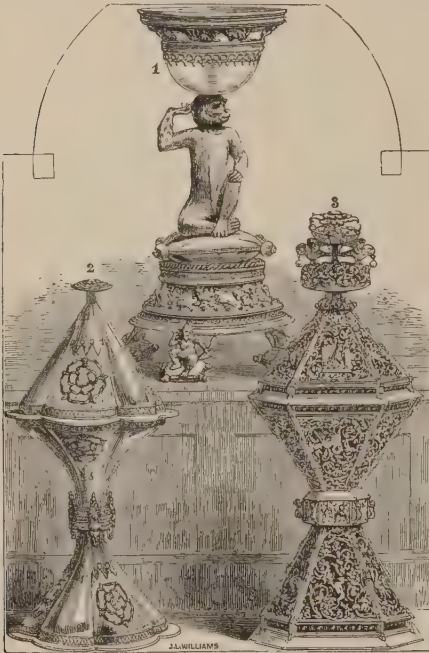
A CASTELLATED MANSION OF 15TH CENTURY, HADDON HALL.—From Lysons' Derbyshire.

little else than eating and sleeping. A hundred guests, and as many attendants, could find accommodation, and comfort to boot, within a compass in which a tithe of that number would in modern times be scarcely able to enjoy a sufficiently ample lodgment.

As this hall was so important a place, comprising, as it did, the chief amount of domestic life among the aristocracy of England, we shall do well to pause for a few minutes on its threshold,

¹ The hall of Crosby Place, London, is a good example of a hall of this period. See cut, vol. i. p. 642.

and mark the doings of its inmates. At the lower end of it was a passage concealed by a screen, which led into the kitchen; and by this vital communication, the smoking dishes were conveniently transferred from broach and caldron in hasty or in solemn procession, as its nature might require. At the upper part of the hall, which



1. Salt Cellar of Archbishop Warham, New College, Oxford.
2. Salt Cellar of Bishop Fox, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
3. Salt Cellar of Margaret Beaufort, Mother of Henry VII.

was lighted by a large bay window, was the raised place called the *dais*, on which stood a huge table, and near it an open cup-board, that gave to the guests a full view of the grandeur and glitter of the family plate. This raised place, however, was only for the privileged; and below the dais, a still larger table stood, extending nearly the whole length of the hall, for the crowds of humbler guests and retainers who also had a full share in the hospitality of their noble landlord. The dinner hour was ten o'clock; and the nobleman, if he was one of the highest rank, appeared in his place on the dais like a king, with his splendid retinue of secretary, privy councillors, marshal, stewards, and master of the horse—his chaplain and choristers, who officiated in cathedral state in the chapel of the castle, and chanted grace at the table—his constables, heralds, guards, pursuivants, pages, and trumpeters—and though last, not least, his jester. At the signal, which was given by the master-

steward knocking loudly on the huge oaken board, the blessing was said or sung, and the guests seated themselves upon or beneath the dais according to their rank and holding, while even at the lower table, the upper and lower classes were distinguished by a ponderous silver salt-cellar, above which no one beneath a certain rank might presume to take his seat. In this way, though all were assembled at one entertainment, and in the same apartment, lines of demarcation were drawn, and three grades distinctly specified. And now came the feast itself, borne in by trains of servants, and, for the most part, presenting courses distinguished more by their bulk and substantiality than by their elegance; for they consisted of platters of beef and mutton salted and fresh, of mountains of fowl and fish, of pasties and loaves of wastel and simnel bread, of dishes into which every variety of animal and vegetable food were curiously disguised, and compounded according to the freaks of a most artificial style of cookery. The dessert we shall not pretend to describe, as its strange names and stranger compounds are utterly beyond a modern understanding. As for the liquors, which consisted of wine, ale, beer, and hippocras, they circulated in plentiful abundance, being handed in silver cups to the higher guests by troops of servants, and at the lower table in flagons of pewtar, horn, and wood. But still, discomfort and



A JESTER, 15TH CENTURY.—Harleian MSS. 2897.

grossness continue to look forth amidst all this plenty, and the dishes of the entertainment are in contrast to the splendid retinue of the entertainer: even when we look curiously into the bill of fare, we find that salt junk forms the chief

part of it. And yet, such was the appetite, and more especially the thirst of the guests, that the dinner generally occupied three hours. The era of conversation, indeed, had not yet commenced, either to enliven the circulation or fill up the pauses of a feast; but this important office was supplied by the jester of the household, who, pranked in his cap, bells, and motley, and brandishing his bauble garnished with a pair of asses' ears, exercised his unlimited privilege by cracking jokes on all and sundry, and keeping the whole hall in a roar of merriment. There were also never-failing bands of minstrels, tumblers, jug-



A TUMBLER, FIFTEENTH CENTURY.—Strutt's Sports and Pastimes.

glers, and buffoons, whom the savour of a flesh-feast was certain to allure, and who were ready to appear and exercise their office at a moment's warning. In this way, the banquet-hall was graced with harping, juggling, rope-dancing, posturing, and harlequinading, and the feasters had both conversation and merriment brought to their hand without the trouble of creating it.

Such was the usual routine of a dinner in the princely halls of the nobility of England during the present period; and it will be seen from these statements, gathered as they have been from various accredited sources, that notwithstanding the pompous ceremonial with which it was invested, and the abundance of which it consisted, the most important part of the concern—the art of cooking and preparing it aright—was still very defective. Show, indeed, was not neglected,

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and many dishes upon the table glittered with gold leaf, as well as every variety of colouring, by which the eye might be feasted to the full; but still, that delicacy, neatness, artistic skill, and substantial comfort were wanting, with which modern cookery can invest the poor man's banquet, and give it a relish unknown in the feasts of the Plantagenets. No man in the present day, except under the urgency of a wager, would venture, for instance, upon fried porpoise or stewed seal; but these sometimes figure as choice dishes at the stately banquets of this period—showing what iron stomachs and matchless digestion our ancestors must have possessed. One really elegant preparation, however, which generally figured in the regal banquets of the day, must not be omitted. This was called a *soteltie* (subtlety), and was generally served up at the end of each course, when it was brought in with solemn procession and amidst the blare of trumpets. This *soteltie* appears to have been composed in a great measure of jellies, preserved fruits, and confectionaries, moulded into the figures of men, animals, buildings, and rural scenery, which were so grouped, as to embody some allegory, or represent an historical event. In this way, it was often a pleasing riddle, calculated to exercise the curiosity as well as regale the palates of the guests; and while it thus comprised the resources of the painter and statuary in its formation, poetry expended upon its moral her choicest verses, which were attached to it in a beautifully written and illuminated scroll. On the return of Henry V. from France, these dishes formed the most important part of the banquets with which he was welcomed, and as such, are commemorated at great length in the chronicles of the period. We have only room, however, to allude briefly to three subtleties served up at a banquet given by the hero of Azincourt to the Emperor of Germany on his visit to London. The first was "Our Lady arming St. George, and an angel doing on his spurs;" the second *soteltie*, was St. George riding in full career against the dragon with his lance couched; and the third, was a castle, into the gates of which the victorious saint was entering, accompanied by the king's daughter leading her snow-white lamb.

The other details of noble domestic life in England at this period may be briefly summed up. The two original Norman meals were now increased to four. Of these, the first was breakfast, which was taken at the hour of seven in the morning; but as four o'clock was the usual hour of rising, and as morning exercise generally consisted of hunting, hawking, and other such active sports, the appetites of the family were well prepared for a substantial meal, which, for the most part, consisted of bread, boiled chimes of

beef and mutton, and a large allowance of wine and beer. Then followed dinner, which, as we have already mentioned, was usually at ten o'clock. The third meal was supper, which was taken at four o'clock in the afternoon, and was similar to the breakfast. The fourth, called *liveries*, was taken between eight and nine in the evening, and in bed; but instead of being a light refectory and preparative for sleep, according to the most approved modern rule, it was a substantial night-mare feast, as appears by the *Northumberland Family Book*, where we find Earl Percy and his countess having for their livery two manchetts (or loaves of the finest flour, each weighing six ounces), a loaf of household bread, a gallon of beer, and a quart of warmed and spiced wine. The retinues with which the mansions and castles of the chief nobility were filled, must have crowded every nook and corner of the building however large, and impeded rather than furthered every kind of work, if we may estimate them by the large trains with which the "brave peers of England" were accompanied upon important public occasions. Thus, when the chief nobility were called up to London in 1458, just previous to the outbreak of the wars of the Roses, the Earl of Salisbury came with 500 attendants on horseback, Richard, Duke of York, with 400, the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset with 800, and the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Egremont, and Lord Clifford with 1500. Pre-eminent among these, too, was Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, soon to become the "king-maker," who had for his retinue 600 riders, all clad in red jackets, embroidered before and behind with the cognizance of his family—the ragged staff. In those days, each nobleman, when he repaired to the metropolis, took up his temporary abode in an inn, which thus served him for a town-house, and was frequently called by his name.¹ This was sufficient for one whose usual residence all the year round was in the country, where he could enjoy an undivided pre-eminence among his thousands of tenants and retainers.

Of the in-door life of the common people we still know comparatively little. As we have seen, however, their condition was so materially improved, that the means of comfortable living were more completely within their reach than at any former period; and we may suppose, they were not slow in using the opportunity. The style of cookery probably continued the same as it had been in the days of Chaucer, with plenty of materials on which to exercise it; and

the eminent lawyer Fortescue informs us, that while the commons of England in his day fared abundantly, they seldom drank water except for penance. It was no wonder, therefore, that in such a state of things, "glutton masses" were so easily established among them, and observed with such riotous devotion. These were the inventions of the clergy, who, to the full, were as inordinate lovers of good cheer as the laity, and who resolved to turn the well-filled larders of the people to their own account. It was easy, therefore, to persuade the parishioners to repair at set times to the village church laden with provisions, and there hold a feast in honour of the Virgin, preceded and consecrated by a mass. Tremendous gluttony and intemperance were the consequences of these meetings, where every excess was converted into a religious merit, and each village contended with its neighbour in the costliness and amount of eating and swilling in honour of the "Queen of Heaven." Five times a-year these glutton masses were usually held, during which the parish churches were converted into the most uproarious of taverns. But, as a contrast to this, we must take into account certain places in England where no such abundance prevailed. Such was the case of Northumberland, which Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., visited in 1437, where at a populous village he astonished the natives with his wheaten bread and wine, of which they had never seen the like before. This was probably upon that part of the Border most exposed to the visits of the Scottish moss-troopers. But a similar destitution was too often general throughout the kingdom under those famine-visits, against which, as yet, the improvident habits of the people had not learned to make due provision. One of these many visitations occurred in 1438, and is thus described in the *Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483*:—"Also this year was so great dearth of corn, that men were fain to eat rye bread and barley, the which *never ate none before*; and rather than fail, bread made of beans, pease, and vetches, and well were him that might have enough thereof; for a bushel of wheat was worth 3s. at London, and in some counties dearer; and that made bakers lords; but I pray God never let us see that day no more if his will be." In such famines, however, as may easily be imagined, there were many who could not procure even the beans, pease, and vetches, so that they were obliged to burrow for roots, and convert them into the likeness of bread, while many died of utter destitution.

In coming to the active sports in usual practice among the commons of England at this period, the first place is due to the truly national game of quarter-staff. This weapon was a strong heavy

¹ One of the finest existing examples of an inn of this period is the George, at Glastonbury, still used for the same purpose. It is of stone, and its details are remarkably good. The Blue Boar inn, at Leicester, was of timber and plaster, but it is now entirely destroyed. See cut, vol. i. p. 650.

staff or pole about five or six feet in length, which was held firmly in the centre with one hand, while the other shifted its place from one side to the other, according to the necessity either for striking or guarding. In this way, the weapon was made to clear a wide circle round him who knew how to wield it, while either end could deal a stroke that was both heavy and unexpected. It was thus both sword and shield, and that, too, in such perfection, that a dexterous quarter-staff player could guard himself against very trying odds. Of this, a curious proof is given in a pamphlet written in the seventeenth century, under the title of *Three to One*, by a gentleman who records his exploit of having defeated three Spaniards armed with rapier and poniard, while his own weapon was nothing but a quarter-staff. Next to this was the game of wrestling, in which the people in general, but especially the Cornish and Devonshire peasantry, were distinguished for their strength and skill. Competitions in this athletic sport were frequent, in which not only a champion would challenge his own village, but one village defy another; and at these Olympic trials on a small scale, where the victor was rewarded with a ram or a cock, the greatest glory was for a man to hold possession of the public wrestling ring for years, against every competitor. In this manner, the practice itself, like fencing, was raised into a science, demanding the utmost skill as well as mere rude strength; and among the many dexterous sleights that were practised, by which the heels of Hercules himself might have been tripped up, what was called the "Cornish hug," was a favourite one that continued in use for centuries. Broken ribs and dislocated joints were of course not unusual in such trials, but they kindled less personal animosity, and do not seem to have produced the same brutality, which boxing matches afterwards occasioned, when wrestling was superseded by the more artistic science of bruising. Besides these competitions of a warlike and chivalrous character, bull-baiting and cock-fighting often drew the whole inhabitants of a village into the public green. A more gentle amusement, and one peculiar to England, was bowling, which seems to have been in use from a very early date. The game, however, as performed during this period, was with one ball for each player, instead of three, which are used in modern bowling. So high in favour did this sport become, not only among the commons but the upper classes, that bowling greens, fairly laid out, and sheltered from the weather, were attached to noblemen's houses and the principal inns of the metropolis. Ingenuity was also set to work to devise various modifications of bowling; and of these, clog was one. which was nothing more

than our modern skittles, where pins are thrown down by a wooden ball: another was the game of half-bowl, where, as the name intimates, a wooden hemisphere was used, requiring more dexterity in its handling than a completely rounded ball.

From bowls, the transition is easy to the various games that were played at ball both with hand and foot. Of the former kind, the chief was the balloon-ball, a large leather skin inflated with air, and struck with all the strength of the arm, which was braced and bandaged to give vigour to the blow. Another game, called club-ball, consisted in striking a similar ball not with the hand, but a large club, which was wielded, it is probable, with both hands, and required the utmost both of dexterity and strength. These were games for men, and were pursued with such zeal, that towns and villages often turned out to practise them by mutual challenge, while the aristocracy of the district attended as spectators and judges. Other games, which were more appropriate for children, were trap-ball, where the trap itself, unlike the modern one, was nearly half the height of the striker; and shuttlecock, which was played in the same manner as it is at present. Another active sport, that could only be practised by children, was for two boys to hold up a hoop, and a third to pass through it with a flying leap, where he alighted upon his cloak that was spread out to receive him. A game frequently mentioned at this period under the names of bays, base, bars, and prisoner's bars, consisted, like many similar games, in a person overtaking and capturing as many of the players as he could, and who, unless he was swift of foot and strong of gripe, could be kept at arm's-length through a whole hour of fruitless exertion. Among these sports, too, that of hoodman-blind must not be omitted. This was nothing else than our modern game of blindman's buff, which was played by old and young, as appears from a picture in the Bodleian MSS., where, as in Wilkie's picture on the same subject, men, women, and children are mixed together. In playing this game, the person who was hood-winked, was done so literally, as he had his hood reversed and drawn down over his eyes, while those whom he was vainly endeavouring to catch thumped him well with their own hoods, which they pulled off for the occasion. Besides these games, there were several peculiar to London, the chief of which was boating, that at this period acquired additional *éclat* from the lord-mayor's annual water procession, which was first commenced in 1453. Another amusement was skating on the Thames, where the sheep-shanks formerly used for the purpose had now given place to regular skates.

As the English have ever been jealous of their

liberty, it was with no little suspicion as well as resentment, that they viewed the interference of government with those games which they most especially cherished. But the country needed good archers, which could not be obtained as long as the village archery trials were abandoned for more alluring amusements; and therefore, in the reign of Edward III., the games of quoits, nand-ball, foot-ball, stick-ball, canibuca, and cock-fighting were prohibited by name to the people on holidays, while they were commanded instead to repair to the archery ground, and practise with the longbow. The same prohibition was repeated in the reign of Edward IV., where, besides the games above-mentioned, kayles, clossh, half-bowl, hand-in and hand-out were also specified, and magistrates were commissioned to seize and destroy whatever tennis-balls, clothes, tables, dice, cards, and bowls might fall in their way. This was hard measure—so hard, indeed, that it defeated its own purpose; and the prohibited games were practised with greater zest, and the archery trials more completely neglected than ever.

London being a city of such world-wide celebrity, and so influential upon the character and fortunes of the people at large, a few notices of its condition during the present period will assist us more fully in understanding the manners and customs by which the age was distinguished. In this, we are much aided by the short, humorous, sketchy poem called the *London Lyckpeny*, by John Lydgate, in which the poet, under the character of an unlucky visitor from the wolds of Kent, describes the streets of the principal districts of the metropolis, and the crowds that filled them. He has come to London in the prosecution of a law-suit, but having neglected "to put money in his purse," his applications at the Inns of Court and Westminster Hall, to which he repaired in the first instance, were useless, and nothing is left for him but a short trip of sight-seeing before he returns to the country. Even within the sacred court of Westminster, he found that there were thieves, as well as sordid lawyers and bribe-loving justices, for his hood was stolen in the crowd. He hurries to the door—

"Where Flemynge began on me for to cry,
 'Master, what will you open or by,
 Fyne felt hatts, or spectacles to reede?
 Lay down your sylver, and here you may spede.'"

He has no money, however, and leaving the Flemish pedlar-merchants and their commodities of hats, spectacles, and other wares, he proceeds to Westminster gate, at mid-day, the hour of dinner among the commons of London; but there, still more tempting materials solicited his notice: these were cooks' shops, or perhaps stalls, where

tables spread with a fair cloth were covered with ribs of beef "both fat and full fine," and abundance of bread, wine, and ale. We can easily imagine how the approaches to the courts of justice were favourable to such a traffic, and what crowds of hungry litigants must have repaired to such places of refreshment during the intervals of a long-protracted law-suit. Clearing Westminster, which was still a town by itself, the interval between it and London being ornamented by rural villas, the Lyckpeny enters the capital, where every street was alive and swarming with traffickers, each endeavouring to out-bawl his neighbour, by proclaiming his article of sale and recommending its excellence, while spice, cherries, strawberries, and hot pease-cods made a Babel that must have been stunning to the unsophisticated ears of every newly-arrived visitor from the country. He proceeds to "the Chepe," and here the Lyckpeny finds that he has only entered into a new element of traffic, where shops have taken the place of wandering huxtery, and costly articles of dress that of perishable fruits and vegetables. There, each dealer, standing at his own door, proclaims with untiring voice what articles he has within for sale—velvets, silks, lawns, fine Paris threads—and even takes the stranger by the hand, that he may tempt him to inspect the wares, and become a purchaser. But still, our poor friend of Kent is moneyless; and rebuffing these invitations as well as he can, he presses right onward, and enters Canwyke Street, afterwards called Candlewick, and sometimes Candlewright Street, in consequence of the number of wax and tallow chandlers who followed their craft in that quarter. Now, however, it was a street of miscellaneous commodities, where shops of cheap cloth and second-hand clothing were alternated with those that dealt in mackerel, hot sheep's feet, and green rushes for the fresh carpeting of rooms. As this street was crossed on the west by Eastcheap, here our pilgrim soon found himself, he, or rather the poet whom he impersonates, little guessing with what an imperishable name this locality would afterwards be invested. But even already, Eastcheap was a place of merriment and good cheer; for savoury pies and ribs of beef were lustily shouted by their venders, mixed with the clattering of pewter pots, the twanging of harps and pipes, the old songs of "Julian and Jenkin"—at that time the favourite ditties of street minstrelsy and oaths of street controversy and contention. Here, indeed, the spirit of good eating seemed to have taken up its permanent abode; for Stow, in his *Survey of London*, written in 1598, thus speaks of it:—"This Eastcheap is now a flesh-market of butchers, there dwelling on both sides of the street; it had sometime also cooks mixed amongst

the butchers, and such other as sold victuals ready dressed of all sorts. For of old time, when friends did meet, and were disposed to be merry, they went not to dine and sup in taverns, but to the cooks, where they called for meat, what they liked, which they always found ready dressed at a reasonable rate, as I have before showed." Eastcheap was also famed in ancient times for a riot, the chief actors in which were very near relations of "mad Hal" himself, and had probably used the Boar tavern as their favourite resort. It is thus related by Stow:—"In the year 1410, the 11th of Henry IV., upon the even of St. John Baptist, the king's sons, Thomas and John, being in Eastcheap at supper (or rather at breakfast, for it was after the watch was broken up, betwixt two and three of the clock after midnight), a great debate happened between their men and other of the court, which lasted one hour, till the mayor and sheriffs, with other citizens, appeased the same; for the which afterwards the said mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs were called to answer before the king, his sons and divers lords being highly moved against the city. At which time William Gascoyne, chief-justice, required the mayor and aldermen, for the citizens, to put them in the king's grace; whereunto they answered, that they had not offended, but (according to the law) had done their best in stinting debate and maintaining of the peace; upon which answer the king remitted all his ire, and dismissed them."

It will be seen from this account of the civic tour of Lydgate's hero, that the streets were well filled with pedlars who sold goods and edibles of every description; that the medley of sounds, called "London cries," were as loud, and almost as multifarious, as they were in after periods; and that the different trades had already chosen their favourite localities. But the Lyckpeny's ramble had not yet ended. He went into Cornhill; and that quarter, now so famed for its banks and rich merchandise, was then, it would appear, nothing better than a mart for stolen goods; and there, among other things, he saw his own hood, so lately stolen, hung out for sale, but had not wherewithal to buy it back. As he plodded along, a tavern-keeper took him by the sleeve, and courteously invited him to turn in and assay his wines, upon which our traveller, weary enough by this time, and having as yet a penny in his purse, spent it in purchasing a pint of wine, being unable to add to it the important concomitant of a dinner. He went to Billingsgate, at that time a place of wherries and barges, with watermen plying for customers to the cry of "Ho! we are a-going hence!" but to his piteous entreaty of being wafted across to the Southwark "for the love of God," he was told that he

could not be carried thither without paying a fare of two-pence. At last he got safely back into Kent, leaving behind his parting benediction upon London, and praying that its lawyers might obtain their due reward.

In a city so rich and so full of merchandise, robberies and thefts appear to have been of frequent occurrence; but justice almost kept pace with crime, so that public executions of hanging, burning, and pressing to death, occur in the memorabilia of the period with alarming rapidity. In such a state of society, also, riots were of frequent occurrence, and these, too, not merely among the commons, but persons of high rank and grave occupation. We have noticed already the Eastcheap riot, in which princes and their retainers were actors, upon the eve of a public religious festival. The following summary of the "occurrences" of a twelvemonth during the reign of Henry VI., throws further light upon the subject of London rioting in general:—"It was a custom that upon St. Bartholomew's Day, the lord-mayor and sheriffs of London should go to the wrestling-place near Moorfields, where at this time the prior of St. John's likewise was to see the sport; and a servant of his being ashamed to be foiled before his master, desired to wrestle again, contrary to custom, which the lord-mayor denied; whereupon the prior fetched bowmen from Clerkenwell against the mayor, and some slaughter was made; the mayor's cap was shot through with an arrow, yet he would have the sport go on, but no wrestlers came, whereupon he said 'he would stay a while to make trial of the citizens' respect to him;' and presently after a great party of them came with banners displayed, and fetched him home in triumph. Soon after, another quarrel happened in Holborn between the gentlemen of the Inns of Chancery, and some citizens, in appeasing whereof, the queen's attorney and three more were slain. The year after, the apprentices of London, upon a very slight occasion, fell upon the foreign merchants, rifling and robbing their houses, but the lord-mayor, by his discretion, appeased the tumult, punishing some of the offenders with death, and others by fine, and all things are quieted and appeased."

When we direct our attention to the condition of learning and literary society in general, as they existed in England at this period, we cannot fail to be struck with the small progress that had been made, contrasted with the ample means of improvement that were now in operation. Caxton, so early as 1477, had set up his printing-press in the Almonry, near Westminster Abbey, and soon had such active imitators that, before the close of this period, English books were printed, not only for home use, but foreign exportation.

The erection and endowment of colleges were still going on both at Cambridge and Oxford, and public libraries were founded or enlarged. But in contrast to all this, there is scarcely a literary name or a scientific discovery to be found worth mentioning. Even the universities seem in a great measure to have lost their charm, and the crowds that had formerly resorted to them by the thousand, were now reduced to as many hundreds—and these, too, little better than paupers upon a public charity, and generally treated as such. But when we turn to the causes of this general depreciation of literature, we can easily discover them in those which had also a paralyzing effect, although in a far less degree, upon the gainful pursuits of merchandise. During nearly the whole of this season war was in its highest ascendancy, and every active aspiring spirit found more congenial occupation in French conquests, and the civil commotions that followed, than could be obtained in the peaceful cloisters of a college. The facilities for study, therefore, which were now so abundantly multiplied, were still like seed cast into the earth: a long interval had to occur, and a better season to return, before the harvest shot up and ripened. And that harvest, too, was to be of a different character from those that had preceded, and demanded a long preparation. The taking of Constantinople, and the diffusion of ancient learning that followed—the means of that diffusion by the recent invention of printing—and the new impulse that was to be given to intellect at large by the Reformation—were now silently at work, and awaiting their enfranchisement. Another century was to show that this long interval of repose had not occurred in vain.

In taking into account the state of the different learned professions during this period, we find ample proof that the halls of Oxford and Cambridge, and the schools of learning which were still continuing to be multiplied, were as yet of little account, and no apparent efficacy. To read futurity in the stars, to discover the philosopher's stone, which, by a touch, could transmute all metals into gold, and to compound the *elixir vitæ* that could cure or prevent all diseases, was still the favourite pursuit of the scholar, but without the intellect or the learning which men like Roger Bacon, Michael Scott, or Raymond Lully had brought to such investigations. It was no wonder, therefore, if the knowledge of surgery and medicine was still neglected, and the art of healing in its infancy. It is a curious fact, that among all that army of heroes by which wounds and death were so plentifully inflicted at the battle of Azincourt, there was only *one* English surgeon; and that, although fifteen assistants were allowed him these had to be seized by the

"king's press," while their pay was nothing more than that of a common archer. We may guess what summary cures were attempted in the battle field, and what wild work was made in the hospital. In passing from the medical to the clerical profession, we expect, that among the priesthood, whatever learning exists in a country will be improved or at least preserved; but here we find, that while the clergy of England were not a whit behind their predecessors in the love of ease, field sports, wealth, and good living, they had even fallen behind their predecessors in literary acquirements and studious habits, and were neither able teachers, nor yet sound moral exemplars to the flocks who looked up to them for guidance. Such was generally the condition of the clergy of England, both lay and secular, at this period, and the bitter oburgations which Wyckliffe heaped upon them were but too well justified by the notices of contemporary chronicles. "It is a marvel," said Latimer somewhat later, "when mischief is in the land, if a priest be not at one end of it." As for preaching, this was a duty almost wholly dispensed with, or left in a great measure to the begging friars, whose discourses chiefly illustrated the necessity of purchasing heaven by liberal donations to the church, or the miracles wrought by the patron saints of the order to which they belonged. The preaching places, too, were various, being sometimes in the open air, in which case the town cross was a consecrated station; sometimes in a moveable pulpit, that might be set up in the corner of a street, or within the shelter of a building; and sometimes in the crowded cathedral, where the dignified ecclesiastic, in addition to enforcing some fresh impost, or reading a Papal bull, would vouchsafe a sermon under the shrine of a saint, the picture of a martyrdom, or some such painting as the "*duos cherubinos cum hilari vultu et jocosco*," given in the directions of the day for church pictures and ornaments.

Of the kind of sermons preached at this period, we give the following extracts by way of specimen. They are from a sermon apparently of no mean pretensions, and written with much care, among the MSS. of the Harleian collection, upon the subject of the three days called *Tenebræ*, immediately preceding Easter. We have only taken the liberty of modernizing the spelling, to make it intelligible to the generality of our readers:—

"Worshipful friends, ye shall come to holy church on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, at even, for to hear Divine service, as commendable custom of holy church hath ordained. And holy church useth the three days, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the service to be said in the even-tide in darkness. And it is called, with diverse

INTRODUCTION OF THE ART OF PRINTING.

The invention of printing and the gradual circulation of books opened a new era in the history of the world. Yet the name of the actual inventor of printing from wooden blocks upon sheets of paper, is somewhat doubtful. Four men were associated with the introduction of printing, viz.: Lawrence Coster of Haarlem, John Gutenberg of Strasburg, John Fust of Mainz, and Peter Schœffer of Gernsheim. Knowledge of the new art was brought to England about 1476, by William Caxton, who was a successful merchant in the Low Countries, and had acquired his practical skill, it is supposed, from Colard Mansion, a printer in Bruges. He set up his wooden printing-press at the sign of the Red Pale in the Almonry at Westminster, and among the first books which he published were *The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*, *The Game and Playe of the Chesse*, and *Chronicles of England*. Some of Caxton's biographers have stated that his printing-press was situated in the Scriptorium of Westminster Abbey, lent to him by the Abbot, but this is a somewhat doubtful fact. The printer himself in his advertisements invited his customers to "Come to Westminster in to the almonesrye at the reed pale". At his death in 1491 Caxton had printed nearly eighty separate books.



INTRODUCTION OF THE ART OF PRINTING

men, Tenables, but holy church calleth it Tenebras, as *Rationale Divinorum* saith; that is to say, thirns, or darkness, for then is the service said in darkness, for three causes; one is, for Christ that night before he was taken, he went thrice to the mount of Olivet, praying his Father in bliss for to take away his hard painful passion that he felt in his spirit; he sweat water and blood for anguish of his death. The second cause is this—for after midnight gathered fifty knights with great company of armed men, with swords, clubs, bats, weapons, and lanterns before them, for to take Christ, but it was that they could not know Christ from St. James the Minor, for they were like in person and stature. That false traitor Judas gave the Jews and men of arms a token, saying *Quicumque osculatus fuero, &c.*—Take him that I shall kiss, for he it is; hold him, and lead him slyly and warily. And so they took Christ and put him on the cross. The third cause why the service chose three nights beside in darkness—for when our sovereign Saviour Christ Jesus was nailed unto the cross, foot and hand, hanging three hours of the day, from under unto noon the sun withdrew his light, and it was dark throughout all the world, tokening and showing that the matter of light, of sun and moon, was that time pained unto the death. For these three causes the service of these three nights is done in darkness. But unto the service of Thursday at eve and Friday is no bell rung, but a clapper the sound of a tree, tokening that every man and woman should come devoutly to the church without noise-making. And all that they should speak in going and coming should sound of the tree of Christ; that is to say, of the holy cross that Christ died upon for man's redemption, and of his precious passion; and remember how merciable Christ was when he granted the thief paradise that hung on his right side, when he axed mercy. So every man, and woman, and child should dispose them virtuously coming and going to this holy place, and leave talking of vanities, and speak God's worship of his holy passion and of his mercy. Also, in this service called Tenebras, before the altar is set a hearse, with twenty-four candles burning, for twelve apostles and twelve prophets, which candles be quenched one after another, in tokening that Christ's disciples went from him every one after another. But when all be quenched, yet one is kept light, which light is secretly, whiles the clerks sing the *kyries* and the verses, and that signifieth the holy woman that made lamentation at Christ's sepulture. Then afterwards that candle is brought again, which betokeneth Christ in his manhood dead and laid in sepulture. But soon after he rose from death to life, and gave light of mercy and grace to all

that were quenched by despair. The strokes that the priest giveth upon the book betoken the thunder-claps when Christ brake hell-gates and destroyed the power of the devil in his resurrection."

This strange medley will give us a distinct idea, not only of the manner in which the puerilities of superstition were blended with the highest truths and most sacred mysteries of religion, but of the character of those auditories who listened and were edified by such instruction. And now comes the practical application of the discourse:—

"Now ye have heard what this service betokeneth, be not unkind to that merciful Lord that suffered his painful passion for you: for unkindness is a sin that stinketh in the sight of God. Wherefore, saith St. Ambrose, there may no man find a pain sufficient to punish an unkind man. Example I find of Alexander Nexam, as he writeth, how there was sometime a knight came from far countries would seek adventures. So it fortune to a forest where he heard a great noise of a beast crying. So this knight drew nigh, and there he saw how an adder had accumbered and all to [altogether] clipped [folded] a lion, and venomd him, and bound the lion to a tree while he lay and slept. When the lion waked of his sleep, and perceived himself bound, and might not help himself, he made an horrible cry. Then the knight had compassion on the lion, and saw that the king of beasts was in distress: he drew out his sword, and slew the adder and loosed the lion. And when the lion found himself unbound he fell down to the knight's feet, and ever after he served the knight, and every night lay at his bed's feet; in tournaments and battles ever helped the knight, insomuch that all men spake of the knight and the lion. By this knight is understood Christ Jesus, second person in Trinity, that came from far country—that is to say, from heaven, into the vale of this wretched world, to unbind mankind that was bound with the old adder, the devil, that had bound mankind to the tree of inobedience. And so Christ loosed mankind out of the bond of the devil with the sword of his precious passion, and made him free. Wherefore must every man and woman show kindness to that good Lord, as the lion did unto the knight, to be obedient to him and thank him of his goodness, and of his unbinding from the bonds of the devil, and pursue and follow the true teaching of God, that so, when we shall pass the pain of bodily death, that we may have the perpetual joy of bliss bought by Christ's blessed blood. Amen."

After this specimen of the preaching of the age, need we wonder that mystery and miracle plays were in such high account, or that the clergy were so ready to give them their countenance and aid? While the plays were sermons,

the sermons themselves appear to have been mere plays, and these, too, of an inferior and less attractive stamp. It was a natural consequence that the theatre at last should empty the church, and the priesthood perceive their error when it was too late to amend it.

While the study of theology and medicine was thus in abeyance, that of law was in higher favour than ever. This, indeed, was absolutely necessary, when we recollect the change which society was undergoing, and the multiplication of statutes which was taking place to meet the new emergencies of that change. Rights and privileges were now possessed not by the powerful alone, but the people at large, and these were no longer to be maintained by an appeal to arms, but legislation. The law-court was the *champ d'os* in which the questions of right and possession had to be maintained; and the appellant, instead of girding on his armour for the combat as in times past, had only to draw his purse-strings and fee his advocate. As was to be expected, a profession so profitable and so much in request, multiplied the practitioners to an undue amount, and attorneys became so numerous that it was thought necessary to diminish them by act of parliament. Accordingly, the king's courts in the city of Norwich, and the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, where the attorneys had increased nearly tenfold, were selected for the prohibition; and in the reign of Henry VI., and A.D. 1455, an act was passed in which the eighty attorneys who practised in these counties were reduced to fourteen. The causes for this restriction, as they are stated in the preamble, show that the evils of litigation had fairly entered into England in the train of law and order. It was alleged that these attorneys, besides having nothing to live upon but the gains of their profession, were but little acquainted with law—that they had originated much trouble in the aforesaid city and counties, and that they were wont to “come to every market, fair, and other places where there is an assembly of people, exhorting, procuring, moving, and inciting the people to attempt untrue and foreign suits for small trespasses, little offences, and small sums of debt.” These, however, appear to have been nothing better than mere pettifoggers, who either had undergone no training for the profession, or had broken down in the midst of it. This is evident from Sir John Fortescue's account of the education of lawyers, which he gives in his work *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*. Speaking of the hostels or inns of court, he says: “In these great hostels no student can be maintained at less charge yearly than 80 scates (£28), and if he has a servant with him, as many of them have, then is his charge the greater; so that

by reason of this great expense, the sons of gentlemen do only study the law in these hostels, the vulgar sort of people not being able to undergo so great a charge; and merchants are seldom willing to lessen their traffic by undergoing such burdens.” In this way the respectability of the legal profession was secured at the outset in England, by such an expensive probation that none but families of rank were willing or able to encounter it. The education itself was fully correspondent to such a demand; for he tells us further, that these residents of the hostels “did not only study the laws to serve the courts of justice and profit their country, but did further learn to dance, to sing, to play on instruments on the ferial days, and to study divinity on the festivals; using such exercises as they did who were brought up in the king's court.”

As the practice of the legal profession was at this time in such high demand, and the study of law so diligently prosecuted in preference to other literary occupations, it would have been strange if this age had not at least produced some distinguished lawyer during the absence of every other kind of scholarship. Accordingly, two eminent names stand out at this period, in those of Sir John Fortescue and Sir Thomas Littleton. Fortescue, who was appointed chancellor by Henry VI., soon afterwards shared in the fate of the Lancastrian party by being driven into exile, whither he accompanied young Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards assassinated at Tewkesbury. His chief productions were a work entitled *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, written in exile, in which he indoctrinates the prince upon the superiority of English law to that of other countries; and an English treatise, entitled *Of the Difference between an Absolute and Limited Monarchy*, in which he advocates the latter form of government as the best. Littleton, who was judge of Common Pleas in the reign of Edward IV., was author of the work on “Tenures,” in three books written in Norman French, and addressed to his son, for whose use, in the first instance, it was composed. As he was one of the earliest, so he was also one of the best authors and authorities on English law; and the commentary upon his work has made his name at least familiar to general knowledge in the present day, under the title of “Coke upon Littleton.”

The splendid dawn of English poetry which had commenced so auspiciously with Chaucer, was not followed by a correspondent sequel, so that after he and his follower Gower had passed away, nothing better was produced in the list of English poets than the very inferior names of Occleve and Lydgate. Of Thomas Occleve, we only know that he lived somewhere about the earlier part of the fifteenth century, and was

the author of a considerable number of poems, most of which still remain in manuscript, while those that have been published make us scarcely regret that the rest have been consigned to obscurity. He appears, indeed, to have been a rhymers and nothing more. Considerably his superior, however, was John Lydgate, the monk of Bury, who after a course of education at the university of Oxford, travelled in France and Italy, and on returning to England, opened a school in the monastery to which he belonged, and instructed the sons of noble families in poetry and belles-lettres. He was so voluminous a writer, that Warton tells us, "to enumerate his pieces would be to write the catalogue of a little library." His chief poems, however, are three, under the titles of the "Fall of Princes," the "Siege of Troy," and the "Siege of Thebes." These were written by commission from his titled and courtly patrons; but he seems to have made verse-making a regular trade, and to have written upon any subject with equal facility. For nearly two centuries his works retained a popularity considerably beyond their merits; but afterwards, the reaction of modern taste was so much in the opposite direction, that it became a fashion with critical antiquaries to ridicule and decry them. Still, it must be confessed, that he was an accomplished scholar for the age; and that to his learning he added the experience of travel, as well as much natural shrewdness of observation, while his writings tended to amplify and refine his native tongue. Such is the testimony of Warton, who declares that he was the first of our writers whose style was clothed with that perspicuity in which the English phraseology appears at this day to an English reader.

Leaving the Literature, we now pass onward to the Architecture of England. During the present period, the Perpendicular style not only attained its highest state of perfection, but commenced its decay. In tracing the progress of this phase of Gothic architecture, it will be necessary to revert to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., at which period, as has been mentioned already (p. 524), Gothic architecture underwent its last great change. The tracery had then reached, apparently, its utmost limit, and nothing can be conceived more beautiful than some of the magnificent windows of that time. But the difficulty and costliness of executing, in the Decorated style, the large windows required for the exhibition of stained glass, occasioned a change, and led to the introduction of the Perpendicular style, which, from the predominance of straight lines, was much more easy of execution, and by this means brought about a great alteration in the appearance of churches. This change seems to have been originated by Edington, Bishop of

Winchester, who rebuilt the church of his native village, Edington, in Wiltshire, between 1352 and 1361. In this church, though much of the Decorated is retained, there is an evident addition at something different. Many of the curves are converted into straight lines, but the vertical principle is not fully carried out. This prelate shortly afterwards commenced some additions and alterations in his cathedral of Winchester in the same style, but dying before they were completed, the work was continued by his successor, William of Wykeham, who fully carried out the principles of the new style, and to whom its invention is usually attributed; although it appears to be rather due to his predecessor, for the west window of that cathedral, erected by Edington, is as decidedly Perpendicular as anything we possess. William of Wykeham proceeded with the work, and converted the Norman nave of Winchester into one of Perpendicular character, by incasing the Norman piers with Perpendicular shafts. He afterwards, in the reign of Richard II., between 1380 and 1386, built New College at Oxford, the first complete building in the style, and which, though of that early date, exhibits all its characteristics as clearly as any subsequent erection. But, though the style was thus fully developed in these instances, it did not for some time obtain a firm footing, for during the reign of Richard II., we find numerous examples of buildings which display a thorough mixture of the characters of the old and new styles, and it was not till the succeeding reign that it was fully established. It continued in use, without any material alteration, until the death of Henry VII., though in this reign a slight mixture of Italian detail may be perceived.

The broad distinction between this and the preceding styles, lies in the preponderance of upright lines, particularly observable in the tracery of windows, the panelling of flat surfaces within and without, and the multiplicity of small shafts with which the piers, &c., are overlaid. The vertical line everywhere predominates, catching the eye at first sight, so that when once this characteristic has been pointed out, it is impossible to mistake a building in this style. Another peculiarity is the increased width of the windows and the lowness of the roofs, which are frequently so low as not to rise above the parapet. This is owing to the use of the four-centred depressed arch, which gave an opportunity of employing greater width, without increasing the height of the windows. To such an extent is this peculiarity carried, that the chancel of a church of this period is almost as light as a conservatory, the whole space between the buttresses being occupied with the windows: and these, when filled

with stained glass, for which they were designed, must have had a gorgeous effect, very different from their present cold appearance.

The upper tier of windows or clear-story, offers another peculiarity. In the preceding styles, these windows were generally small; but in the Perpendicular, when that style became fully developed, they are often so large and placed so closely together, that the whole clear-story almost becomes one large window, merely divided by the mullions; an arrangement which, though it adds light to the interior, detracts greatly from the appearance of the exterior of the edifice. In the earlier part of this period, the new principle was carried out, but with the feeling of the old; and the buildings exhibit the best features of the new style, without the flat, bald, and meaningless effect observable in later examples. The ante-chapel of Merton College, Oxford, is one of the best examples of this early date.

The distinctive characters of Perpendicular windows will be best understood by reference to



PERPENDICULAR WINDOW,
St. Mary's, Taunton.



EAST END OF THE BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK.

the accompanying specimens, and comparison of them with the examples given of the preceding style (see p. 522). It will be seen that the prin-

cipal mullions, instead of running into flowing tracery, are here carried straight through to the head of the window, and that the subordinate tracery is likewise converted into straight lines. In this consists the essential difference of the two styles. Beauchamp Chapel, one of the accompanying examples, exhibits not only the peculiarity in the windows just adverted to, but likewise characteristic panelling, parapets, buttresses, and turrets. The depressed arch was likewise



PERPENDICULAR DOOR-HEAD.
Westminster Abbey.

used, particularly in the later period, for the pier arches, and thus by lowering them, gave greater space to the clear-story. It is in general used, also, for doors, but is then almost always included in a square mould-

ing or label, the *spandrel* being filled with quatrefoils or other ornament.

Its magnificent church towers form a leading beauty of this style. These towers are seen in the greatest perfection in Somersetshire, and the neighbouring counties, where they form a remarkable feature in the appearance of the country.



TOWER OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

They are usually divided into stages by bands of quatrefoils, each stage being filled with large windows, frequently double. The angles have

large buttresses, ornamented with shafts and niches. The parapet is panelled and pierced, having lofty panelled and crocketed pinnacles at the angles, and lesser ones in the intermediate spaces. The towers of St. Mary's, Taunton, St. John's, Glastonbury, and St. Stephen's, Bristol, may be taken as the best types of this kind of tower. The effect of the Taunton tower is rich and magnificent, but it is overloaded with ornament, and cannot, for quiet grace and dignity, be compared to one of the same date, but of far less pretensions—that of Magdalen College, Oxford. In this tower the decoration is reserved entirely for the upper story, which, as it rises above the surrounding buildings, first catches the eye, the lower stages being only sufficiently relieved by windows to take away the appearance of flatness, and are thus with the truest taste subordinated to the upper. Many towers are finished with lofty spires, usually crocketed; and sometimes by an octagonal stage called a *lantern*, as at Boston, Fotheringay, and the celebrated example at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.



LANTERN, Boston Church, Lincolnshire.

In the interior of the buildings, the predominance of the perpendicular line is even more striking than on the exterior. The small shafts and mouldings with which the piers are covered, the vaulting shafts, the panelling of the walls, and the mullions of the large clear-story windows give it the appearance of one mass of upright lines, while the vaulting ribs, which are now become very elaborate and intricate, form a complete network over the ceiling. That beautiful kind of vaulting called *fan-vaulting*, or *fan-tracery*, which belongs exclusively to this style, is much used in the later buildings of this period. It is peculiarly English, no examples of it being met with in foreign erections, and receives its distinctive appellation from the ribs, which rise from the shaft in the manner of a fan, curving equally in every direction, the spaces between the fans being filled with circles, quatrefoils, or frequently with pendants. Its peculiarities will be best understood by the specimen here given. The roofs of Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster, and King's College Chapel, Cambridge, are also of this kind; and it is much used on monuments and other minor constructions.

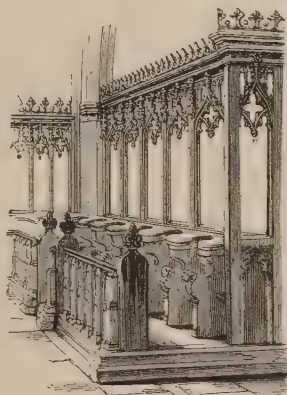
Many buildings of this period, instead of stone groined roofs, have open-work roofs of timber, of various design, but all having a rich and fine

effect. Of these, Westminster Hall, Crosby Hall, and some of the churches in Norfolk, are choice examples.¹ A flat panelled ceiling, painted blue, with gold stars, is also frequently



FAN-TRACERY, North Aisle, St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

used. Great labour and cost were likewise bestowed on the roodlofts, stalls, screens, font-covers, and tabernacle work in churches, which were elaborately carved and richly painted and gilt. The panels were usually filled with



STALLS, WITH TUDOR FLOWER, Higham-Ferrers Church, Northamptonshire.

figures of saints, and the cornices with foliage, and surmounted with a crest of flowers or *fleur-de-lis*, known as the Tudor flower, from its being

¹ See cut of Crosby Hall, vol. i. p. 642.

so much used in the Tudor period. The foliage, however, in this carving, and throughout the style, has in general a stiff and artificial appearance, and wants the freshness and reference to natural forms, which are found in the Decorated. The leaf chiefly imitated is the vine, but though very beautifully and delicately executed, it is converted into a quadrangular figure, and this form runs through every part of the style. The intersections of the mullions and transoms of the windows form squares, the door with its exterior label is a square, the panelling which everywhere prevails is nothing but a series of squares, and the foliage, whether it be used in cornices, on capitals, or in door-jambs, is little more than a repetition of square forms; but all this is relieved by such minute and delicate



CORNICE MOULDING, Perpendicular style.

execution, that we overlook both the air of formality which pervades it, and the continual repetition and subdivision of the parts. For shrines and monumental chapels, this style is particularly adapted; and the multiplicity of small canopies and pinnacles, armorial and symbolical devices, of angle-brackets, and of saints in canopies, give an appearance of richness which we do not find elsewhere. Some fine specimen of this kind occur at St. Alban's.

It is in the later examples of the style, or that period which is usually designated as the *Tudor*, that we chiefly find this elaborate detail. The term *Tudor style*, though frequently used, has no very definite meaning, it being impossible to draw a line of demarcation between it and the Perpendicular style generally. A more correct term for it would be *late Perpendicular*. It differs chiefly in the more constant use of the depressed, four-centred arch, and the profuse use of panelling, of the fan-tracery vaulting, and of a peculiar dome-shaped turret instead of pinnacles. These characteristics are seen to advantage in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster, St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and King's College Chapel, Cambridge; which may be taken as the true types of this variety of the Perpendicular style. In the first of these buildings the panelling is carried to such an excess that the exterior looks more like carving in wood than a stone building; and the interior is so delicately finished with its fan-vaulting and graceful pendants, and its lines of lace-like cusping, that one can scarcely reconcile its appearance to the fact of its being wrought in so brittle a material. The term *Tudor*, as

applied to domestic architecture, has more meaning, since it describes a distinct class of buildings, which will be more fully treated of under the next period.

The Perpendicular style is much used for domestic buildings; and during the period when it prevailed, many of the colleges in Oxford and Cambridge were built. Some of the gateways,



GATEWAY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.—From Le Keux's Memorials of Cambridge.

in both universities, display great architectural beauty, as the one to the cloisters at Magdalen College, and that of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge. Beautiful ex-



ORIEL WINDOW,
Balliol College, Oxford.

amples of the graceful form of window know as the *oriel*, occur in domestic buildings of the period. The one here given displays many of the peculiar characters of the style.

There seems to have been a tendency, all through this style, to exaggerate its defects and to lose sight of its beauties. In the earlier exam-

ples, though the principal mullions are carried through to the head of the window, the eye is not offended, as by a judicious subdividing of

the space, the straight lines are not perceived; but afterwards this was not attended to—in many cases all the nullions were carried through, and large spaces left in the window-head. Everything seems to have given way to the desire to provide openings for stained glass. This is painfully apparent in the Abbey Church at Bath, where the effect in the interior is flat

regal superiority by availing himself of the mutual jealousies of his nobles, and arming the one half against the other; but if, on the other hand, he was weak or facile, he generally sank into their tool, and reigned by their sufferance. All this is evident in the history of Robert Bruce, as contrasted with that of Robert III.; or of James I. and James II. with that of James III. In either case, it was a continual struggle for superiority between king and nobles, where the latter claimed an independence almost equal to his own. In the case of these sovereigns, also, we find nothing of that divinity that hedges a king, by which his person is invested with such sacredness as to exempt it from violence, and his authority with such abstract right that to resist it is sinful, as well as unconstitutional. On the contrary, when a vassal rebelled, he had only to send letters to his sovereign, renouncing all further allegiance, and bidding him defiance, in which case he was no longer a traitor but an open enemy, and



THE ABBEY CHURCH, BATH.—Perpendicular style.

and poor in the extreme. Here strength and solidity are sacrificed to the craving for glass; and the clear-story, which, in the former styles, was merely intended for lighting the centre of the nave, and was consequently subordinate to the windows of the aisles, is made a principal feature, its windows much exceeding in size those of the lower tier, and giving the building a false and unnatural appearance. This edifice, which was erected immediately anterior to the Reformation, and was scarcely finished when that event took place, may be considered as almost the last example of Gothic. Italian features had already begun to be mixed with it, and these increased so much in the next reign that it ceased to be a distinctive style. Under the next period we shall endeavour to trace this mixture of ideas until at last it merged into the Renaissance, and the revival of classic architecture.

In turning our inquiries to the progress and improvement of the Scots during this period, we still find our materials both scanty and obscure. The Scottish kings were not absolute sovereigns, as in other countries of Europe, but of limited power and authority; and it depended upon their own individual energies whether that little might not be reduced to an absolute nonentity. Hence the difficulty of understanding the form of government that prevailed in Scotland, as compared with that of England. If the Scottish king was brave and active, he could only maintain his

might even slay the king should the opportunity be within his reach. Such was the argument of Sir Robert Graham, a man well versed in the laws of Scotland, when he was placed upon his trial for the assassination of James I. By letters under his hand he had disclaimed the king's authority and proclaimed himself the mortal enemy of James, upon whom he would inflict his worst; and after this, he thought himself justified in striking down the king, even within the sacred precincts of a monastery. His judges might therefore slay him in return, now that the opportunity was theirs; but to torture him as well as put him to death, was a stretch of tyranny which the law of Scotland could not justify.

These restrictions upon the regal authority, lead us to a consideration of that feudalism by which they were imposed. In England, the nobility established over the country by William, were Norman conquerors, whose lands and privileges were the rewards of violence and oppression; and the people, who continued to regard them as strangers and as enemies, thought themselves entitled to recover their own lost rights, as soon as they were strong enough for the purpose. Hence the jealousy with which the English nobility were watched by the commons, and the facility with which an English sovereign could pull these temporary tyrants down, when he adopted the wise policy of making himself strong in the affections of the people. But the character,

as well as the origin of Scottish feudalism, was different. The founders of its noble families, although for the most part Normans also, had entered the country not as conquerors, but refugees or malcontents, and were received with that distinction which was due to their bravery, military skill, and superior civilization. They thus became Scotland's best counsellors in peace and leaders in war, and the lands and honours which they won in the new home of their adoption, were the willing awards of a grateful king and people. In this way, they became not the lordly oppressors, but the fathers and protectors of their Scottish vassals, and the feeling of devotedness towards their feudal superiors became in the hearts of the latter a downright national characteristic. Possessed of such power, and surrounded by such adherents, it was no wonder if, in process of time, these nobles became envious of the regal authority, and sought to repress it. This was all the more natural, as the Scottish kings, whether of the Bruce or Stuart line, had originally been nothing more than Norman nobles like themselves, and had been elevated to the throne by a lucky combination of chances. Hence the power of the Scottish nobility, and their readiness to turn it against the sovereign; so that while England had only one Leicester, and one Hotspur, and one Warwick, Scotland had a hundred.

In a country by nature so sterile, and among a people so incessantly occupied either with intestine wars or English invasions, the arts of agriculture were not likely to be well understood, or even greatly cared for. A feudal lord, who wished to increase his followers, had only to subdivide his barren acres into roods, and the families so located had neither the means nor the stimulus to turn such miserable strips into regular, well-cultivated farms. Besides, with even more ample means, the Scottish agriculturist had little inducement to plough or sow when he knew not by what hand the harvest might be gathered. When an English army crossed the Border it generally drove into the heart of the kingdom, eating whatever produce it could find, and destroying what it could not use; and when the peasants returned after the invasion was over, they found nothing but wasted fields and empty larders. Their only hope of present subsistence in this case arose from a counter-foray into England, with which they generally requited every inroad of the enemy, and thus they contrived to indemnify themselves for their losses among the rich corn-fields and fat pastures of Cumberland and Northumberland. Added to these evils by which agricultural industry was checked, may be mentioned the tenures upon which farms were generally held, where the leases only lasted from year to year, so that the occupant might be displaced

upon a very short notice. The rent, too, was commonly paid by military service; and thus, while the farmer was almost continually in harness under the banner of his lord, his fields were left to the cultivation of women, children, and villains, as villanage was still continued in Scotland after it had ceased in England. All these causes not only serve to explain the very defective state of Scottish agriculture, but might make us wonder how such a numerous population could have been supported, did we not call to mind how heavily the whole English border was taxed by the hungry stomachs of their northern antagonists. Pasturage, rather than tillage, indeed, formed the main dependence of the Scots, as this required little labour, while the cattle, in the event of an inroad, could be driven to the hills and fastnesses. But if the miseries of famine were so destructive in England, with all its industry and abundance, we may conceive what such visitations were in Scotland, whose inhabitants, even at the best, were generally confined to scanty rations. Conscious of the prevalent national defect, and anxious to assimilate his native country to the improved state of England, James I. endeavoured to amend its agriculture, but this, too, was by act of parliament, for which his subjects little cared. By this act every farmer having a plough and eight oxen was required to sow annually a firloft of wheat, half a firloft of pease, and forty beans, under a penalty of ten shillings; and every baron to sow a like quantity upon his own ground, under a forfeiture of four times the sum.

Besides destroying peaceful industry by converting the peasantry into soldiers, the wars with England created more than one class of society, by which the progress of Scottish civilization was heavily retarded. And first of these, we should mention the moss-troopers, men who lived upon the Border, and were therefore exposed to the first brunt of every onset. As they were thus the outposts of a hostile encampment, they were, by birth, necessity, habit, and inclination, soldiers, and nothing else; men who lived by English plunder, and generally died upon an English gallows, if they were not so fortunate as to die in harness, and upon the battle-field. Sometimes, also, when English plunder was not so abundant, or so easily reached, they betook themselves to what they modestly called "a little shifting for their living," and robbed the pasturages or granaries of their own inland countrymen as readily as those of the Southrons, of whom they were the born and sworn enemies. Such men, notwithstanding their gallant services in a national campaign, were the very scourges of their country, not only by their dishonest modes of living, but their restless belligerent propensities, so that no peace could be formed with England which they were

not ready to break, or internal feud commenced into which they were unwilling to throw themselves. But besides these moss-troopers, who were amenable to the Border laws and subject to the rule of the Border wardens, there were the broken clans, composed of communities settled upon those portions of the Border usually called Debateable land. These men, who had lost their feudal lords, as well as their native homes, and been driven hither and thither by the continual shifting of the boundary line between the two kingdoms, at length came to regard both as their natural enemies, and robbed either indiscriminately, while it was difficult to follow them into their fastnesses, or drive them from their strongholds. A less formidable, but equally pernicious class, whom the wars with England tended to create, were the sturdy beggars, otherwise called *sorners* or *gaberlunzies*, who multiplied in Scotland to an incredible extent. These, too, were not exclusively composed of the lowest of society; on the contrary, many of them either were, or pretended to be, men of gentle birth, although impoverished in their circumstances; and, upon the strength of their honourable descent, they pursued their humble vocation, not in rags, and with a piteous whine, but with horses, hawks, and attendants, so that where they could not obtain admission in virtue of their high-sounding names, they were able to enforce it by storm or onslaught. These jackdaws, however, were often detected, stripped of their borrowed plumes, and driven forth to herd with their own kind. But still, beggary continued to thrive, on account of that mistaken hospitality which would allow no one to pass the door, as well as that craving for news which is always strongest in a divided and thinly-peopled country, so that Scotland remained pre-eminently a land of sturdy beggars, until they dwindled into the Bluegowns and Edie Ochiltrees of the close of the eighteenth century.

While such were the consequences which the wars of the two rival countries entailed upon Scotland, on account of its being by far the weaker and the poorer, the war usages and customs of the Scots demand our consideration, as these constituted a large portion of the every-day life of the people. This subject, however, is so fully explained in the history of their military achievements, that it may be dismissed with a brief notice. The training and customs of chivalry among them, were of the same kind that prevailed not only in England, but over Europe; and the country produced such stalwart knights as England or Europe could seldom have over-matched. There was little, however, of tournament practice in Scotland, owing to the poverty of the people, and their constant occupation in the realities of war, although its knights, when sum-

moned to the trial, could back a war-horse and couch a lance as skilfully as the best. One favourite weapon of these champions was the axe, which, notwithstanding its unwieldiness, they could handle, according to Froissart, with wonderful dexterity, and deal with it such strokes that, according to the great chronicler's favourite phrase, "it was a pleasure to behold them." Of this, indeed, the encounter of Bruce at Bannockburn with De Bohun was a sufficient testimony. While tournaments were seldom held in Scotland, single combats, either judicial or from private feud, were of almost constant occurrence, and were fought out on horseback with the lance, or on foot with the two-handed sword, or axe and dagger. A terrible display of this kind, happily unique in the history of chivalry, was given at Perth in the reign of Robert III., between the chosen champions of two rival Highland clans, thirty on each side, from which only one man escaped unwounded. As in the wars between the English and Scots the former were generally the assailants, their favourite weapon, the long-bow, was well fitted for such a purpose; while the Scots, who stood on the defensive, and generally fought on foot, preferred the spear eighteen feet in length, with which they stood shoulder to shoulder, presenting such a bristly array that neither cavalry could easily break through their ranks, nor infantry reach them. This was well when matters came to a close hand-to-hand engagement, in which the Scots were generally the victors; but when the English, on the other hand, depended upon their archery, and contented themselves with a distant fight, it was then

"Alas, alas for Scotland
When England's arrows fly!"

It was singular that the Scots profited so little by the lesson which Bruce gave them at Bannockburn, when he let loose among the English archers a small body of mounted men-at-arms, who quickly cut them down, or drove them back upon the main army; and thus their defeats were generally caused by those fatal shafts to which their serried ranks offered an easy and unresisting mark. But after the reign of Henry V., the lesson of Bruce would have come too late on account of the sharp-pointed stakes which the former caused his bowmen to carry, and with which they could effectually stockade their position on every part of the field. The Scots, indeed, were not wholly without archers; but these were generally Highlanders or Islesmen, whom the Lowlanders heartily hated; and their bows of four feet long, where the string was only drawn to the breast, could not send an arrow with the same distant range and deadly force that were given to the "cloth-yard shaft." The Scottish

kings, especially James I. and James II., anxious to make their subjects a full match in every kind of conflict to their enemies, endeavoured to introduce among them the longbow, and the careful apprenticeship which it required; and accordingly the popular out-door sports were prohibited. Every male above the age of twelve was to practice archery, and butts were to be erected at every village church, at which every man was to shoot at least six arrows each holiday, while the default was to forfeit twopence as drink-money to those who gave regular attendance. But the Scots, still more impatient of such coercion than their rivals had ever been, chose rather to be shot with English arrows than learn to requite them, and accordingly the spear of six ells long, which needed little beyond a stout heart and steady hand, continued to be the favourite and national weapon, until, like the English bow, it was superseded by hagbut, arquebuse, and matchlock, and, better still, by the bayonet.

As war was of necessity so much the occupation of the Scots, the war-laws were sufficiently numerous. These chiefly regarded Border inroads and the division of plunder—matters, as we have seen, of paramount importance in the military operations of the country. As invasions also from England were so frequent and sudden, the system of war-signals in Scotland was brought even at an early period to a considerable state of improvement. The laws of James II. in this respect were well suited to the requirement. All the fords and passages of the Tweed by which the English could cross, were to be carefully watched, and bale-fires or beacons to be established at each, to give notice of the coming enemy. The nature of the invasion was distinctly announced by the number of fires that were lighted. Thus, one beacon kindled, gave warning that an inroad from England was apprehended; two such signals announced that it was certain; and when four were lighted, it was a token that the invaders were coming in great numbers. From Hume Castle, the nearest point, these signals were taken up and transmitted to Edgerton; from Edgerton they passed to Soutra Edge, and thence to Dunbar, Haddington, Dalkeith, Edinburgh, and the Lothians, so that in a few hours the most populous districts could be warned and in readiness over the whole kingdom. The military muster, from a band to a numerous army, according to the nature of the warning, could be effected with almost equal promptitude, as every peasant was a trained soldier, bound to repair to the banner of his feudal landlord, and more or less completely armed, according to the amount of land he held in fee. All these points were minutely specified by laws,

which were as familiar as household words, and every man knew his place and duty, however sudden might be the summons. The campaign, however, was necessarily a short one, as each soldier carried his own provisions, and these only for forty days at the utmost; and hence the impatience of the Scottish armies to decide the contest at once, and by a pitched battle, although against more numerous and better armed antagonists. The case, however, was different when the war was carried into England; for there, the Scottish soldier's little bag of oatmeal could be replaced from the well-stored girnels and abundant stalls of the south with richer fare, in which he revelled with a zest for which his previous short commons had fully prepared him. When the English viands were thus found, the ingenuity of military Scottish cookery was by no means wanting; for the bullock's hide supplied not only a regimental caldron for boiling the carcass, but shoes for the march, while the animal's horns sufficed for trumpets to cheer the invaders on the way, or sound to the onset.

In a society so diversified as that of Scotland, and amidst such a constant whirl of events and changes, it is difficult to describe within a narrow compass the every-day life of the people, and the manners and customs that prevailed among them. Not only every district, but every village had its palatial edifice, from the castle of the great noble, to the peel or single square tower of the baron; and in each of these was generally contained the right of pit and gallows, so that its master, however limited his territory, was absolute sovereign over it, and might hang or imprison his offending vassals according to his own good pleasure. To these strongholds also, on the approach of the enemy, the women and children repaired for shelter, while the chiefs retainers from the age of sixteen to sixty manned the walls, or marched out to the open field. At the best, however, these castles were but sorry buildings when compared with the stately residences of the English nobility, and even the palaces of the Scottish kings, up to the close of this period, were roofed with thatch. The style of living within these castles was often as coarse as it was precarious, more especially when their victualling depended upon a successful inroad into England, or a foray in which cattle was to be lifted from friend and enemy indifferently—as was, for the most part, the case over the Border counties. As far, however, as attendants went, there was no lack of grandeur, for every tower was a crowded hive of jackmen, grooms, and gillies, while every chief when he rode forth had generally a whole regiment of retainers at his heels. A Douglas was usually accompanied by 1200 followers, practised in battle and armed to

the teeth, while the trains of the chief nobility were scarcely inferior. This was all the more necessary, when each had a score of feuds on his hands, and might have as many encounters in a journey from Jedburgh to Holyrood. While the habitations and style of living among the noblest was so rude and uncomfortable, notwithstanding the external pomp and glitter of feudal authority with which they were surrounded, the condition of the commons corresponded with that of their lords. Such was the case especially in the reign of James I., when Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pius II., made an adventurous visit into Scotland. Upon the Borders he found that most of the houses were not even huts, as they were generally a small breast-work composed of mud, or such materials as were at hand, and raised to a sufficient height by three or four poles meeting a-top, and covered with straw or turf; while those of the villages were little better, and had no door but a cow's hide suspended at the entrance. As for the towns, the houses were generally built of wood, but if of stone, then lime was omitted. This will sufficiently explain the cause of so little domestic architecture being indicated in Scotland previous to the sixteenth century, except in the ruins of strong castles that either defied every attack, or were thought not worth the trouble of demolition. From the Border to the metropolis, no one thought of building a costly edifice, which a single hour of foreign invasion or domestic feud might level to the ground. That neither the will nor the ability, however, was wanting, was sufficiently attested by the stately cathedrals and monasteries that towered above the huts of their builders, and upon which all the resources of architecture were expended, in the hope that their sacredness would be respected by a Christian foe. But the feeling of the Macedonian conqueror was wanting, and therefore, while temple and tower went to the ground, the "house of Pindarus" would not have been spared. The noble ruins of Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, and Dryburgh Abbeys, are melancholy monuments of what Scotland might have achieved in architecture, had not the battle for national independence occurred, to task all her energies, as well as exhaust all her resources.

While comfortable homes and the details of domestic life were thus so materially affected by these wars, the graces that impart a charm to them were not only unknown, but even their very entrance into Scotland was obstinately resisted. This, too, originated, in a great measure, in that intense national hatred which made them regard every refinement as English, and therefore hostile and abominable. Such was especially the case on the return of James I., to Scotland, when

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he attempted to cure the barbarism of his subjects by those new arts of life which he had learned in his captivity, and the benefits of which none was better able to appreciate. But although comforts were multiplied by the change to a degree hitherto unknown in the country, the worst evils followed in their train—ease, luxury, and licentiousness—by which public tranquillity was destroyed, and individual sobriety corrupted. Hence arose sumptuous entertainments by day, and revellings by night, a love of attire of the most costly foreign materials, houses built not for use but for show, and a perversion of manners under the name of elegance, so that native customs came to be despised, and nothing was esteemed graceful or becoming that was not new. So says Buchanan, in the full rhetorical style of the ancients whom he loved to imitate; and unfortunately he was not alone in his judgment, for the grim nobles of the court of James were equally hostile to these innovations, so that while they denounced them as the fopperies of the queen and the English courtiers who had accompanied her to Scotland, they condemned them as subversive of that manly courage, hardihood, and simplicity which hitherto had formed the best distinctions of their countrymen. The king was compelled to yield to the storm, and the consequence was a sumptuary law enacted by the parliament at Perth in 1430. By this it was decreed, that none should wear pearls but ladies, and that, too, only in a small collar around the neck, while the use of furs and ermines, and gold and silver lace, was prohibited, as also banquetings, riotous feastings, and all such foreign luxuries. In this way the storm was quieted for the present, but only to break out in a new form, and with greater violence, under his grandson James III. This unfortunate king, imbued with a taste for the fine arts that was considerably in advance of his age, delighted chiefly in the society of architects, musicians, and connoisseurs in graceful attire and ornament. But here again the nobility interposed. Their self-love was wounded, and their ignorance and grossness rebuked, by his attachment to such favourites, whom they stigmatized as masons, fiddlers, and tailors; and their hostility never rested until these unfortunate men were hanged over Lauder bridge, and the king himself despatched by the dagger of an assassin.

Hitherto, the few learned men that Scotland produced, had been indebted for their acquirements to the universities of England or France, but at last, in the fifteenth century, the country was provided with colleges of its own. The first of these was the university of St. Andrews, erected by its bishop, Henry Wardlaw. This eminent individual, who was appointed to the

Scottish primacy in 1404, while he was residing in the Papal court at Avignon, found, on his return to his native country, everything in a confusion that was soon after deepened by the death of Robert III., the capture and imprisonment of the young prince, afterwards James I., and the usurpation of the Duke of Albany. Wardlaw, who was an accomplished scholar as well as able statesman and true-hearted patriot, was keenly alive to the chief source of this disorder and misrule, and addressed himself to cure it by the benefits of education, which the priesthood and nobility needed almost as much as the people at large. This was a formidable as well as hostile aggression, and needed to be cautiously commenced. He first formed an association at St. Andrews of such scholars as the country then possessed, who gave lectures upon the subjects that were usually taught at colleges—divinity, logic, physics, and the canon and civil laws. In this way, having established the reality of a university without the name, his next step was to invest it with a charter or grant of privileges, which he did in 1411; and two years afterwards, these privileges were confirmed by six Papal bulls sent by Benedict XIII., which were received in St. Andrews with the ringing of bells, the lighting of bonfires, and every demonstration of popular triumph. James I., on his return from captivity, fostered the rising institution, which at length comprised thirteen doctors of divinity, and eight doctors of laws, as its teachers, while the students amounted to several thousands. At first, the professors had no fixed salaries, and the students paid no fees, while the only building for the delivery of lectures was a large wooden edifice called the pedagogy. But in 1455, James Kennedy, the successor of Wardlaw, built and endowed the college of St. Salvador. The chief reason assigned for the founding of the university was, the consideration “of the many dangers and inconveniences to which the clergy of Scotland who desired to be instructed in theology, the canon and civil laws, medicine, and the liberal arts, were exposed, from wars and other impediments, in their journeys to foreign *studia generalia*, in consequence of there being no such institution to which they might repair in their own country.” The injunctions laid upon these ecclesiastics while they attended college, give us a strange idea of the morals of the Scottish clergy of this period. They were to live decently according to their sacred calling, “so as not to keep concubines *publicly*, nor to be common night-walkers or robbers, or habitually guilty of other notorious crimes.” Was it in consequence of these restrictions that so few of the clergy availed themselves of a university so expressly founded for their benefit? At all

events, nothing is more certain than that, while the laity were eager to improve themselves by its instructions, the priesthood stood aloof, or opposed it. But Divine as well as poetical justice requited them in the following century for their criminal remissness, for it was chiefly from this university that the Reformation issued, before which they were swept away.

The next Scottish establishment of the kind was the university of Glasgow, founded by William Turnbull. This ecclesiastic having been appointed bishop of that see in 1448, addressed himself to the erection of a college in that city, and obtained a bull to that effect from Nicholas V. at the beginning of 1450. The grant was for the establishment of a university there in all time; and the reason given for the preference of that locality was, on account of its “being an notable place, with gude air, and plenty of provisions for human life,” while all the privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions were conferred upon it, that had been bestowed upon the university of Bononia. In order still further to aggrandize the institution, which commenced its labours in 1451, the bull granted a universal indulgence to all faithful Christians who should visit the cathedral of Glasgow during that year. At first the building was a humble tenement on the south side of the Rottenrow, but afterwards the college was transferred to the east side of the High Street, in consequence of a rich bequest for that purpose from Lord Hamilton. Originally, as in the case of St. Andrews, no salaries were attached to the professorships; no lands nor rents belonged to the institution, and the fees of the students were so small as to be scarcely worth taking into account. But the high privileges with which the university was endowed as a self-governing independent body, were a sufficient counterpoise to this lack of funds or emolument; so that rich ecclesiastics as well as poor scholars were glad to enrol themselves among its members. As in the case of St. Andrews, the course of study and form of government were modelled upon those of the university of Paris. Both of these Scottish colleges, instead of being monastic institutions, where the students were lodged within the walls and supported at a common table, were rather great academies, composed of class-rooms which the students attended daily during the prescribed hours. This was all in the way of education that so poor a country as Scotland was able in the first instance to accomplish.

While Scotland was not more distinguished than England had been during this period for men of high attainment in literature and science, the case was different in poetry; for in this respect Scotland has names to offer with which her

more richly-endowed rival was unable to compete. The first as well as the most distinguished was James I., that minstrel king, whose poetical history was as romantic as his political career, but without the same stormy troubles or melancholy termination. His iniquitous capture and detention in England by Henry IV. have been already narrated. As if to quiet his conscience by softening the evils of this unjust captivity, Henry supplied the young prince with an education far beyond what he could have enjoyed in his own country, and by this James profited so highly, that he became an accomplished knight and statesman, as well as ripe and learned scholar. It was with poetry that he seems to have chiefly solaced his imprisonment in the castle of Windsor; and how could he have otherwise than succeeded, under the inspiration that so soon converted his prison into a palace?

"And therewith kest I down myn eye ageyne,
 Quhare as I saw walkyng under the Toure,
 Full secretly, new comyn hir to pleyne
 The fairest or the freschest young flour
 That ever I sawe, methoght, before that houre;
 For which sodayne abate, anon astert,
 The blude of all my body to my heart."

This beautiful apparition was Lady Jane Beaufort, thenceforth his muse, and finally his queen. He became a poet scarcely inferior to Chaucer himself, who was his model; and his principal poem, entitled the *King's Quhair* (*quire* or book), is the only work in English worthy of being placed by the side of the *Canterbury Tales*. Several other poetical works have been attributed to him, but from their character and style, they were more likely to have been the productions of James V., his talented descendant.

Another distinguished Scottish poet of this period was Henry the Minstrel, better known among the people at large by the homely epithet of Blind Harry. Of his personal history there is little known, except that he belonged to that class now prescribed in Scotland among the "vagabondis, fuillis, and sic like idill peopill;" that he recited his ballads from house to house for a living, and that he was born blind. All this gave little promise of the celebrity he was afterwards to acquire among his countrymen. But happily he hit upon a popular theme, which was the life and adventures of Sir William Wallace, the almost worshipped national hero, which he must have composed between the years 1470 and 1480; and the materials of the work, he informs us, were chiefly derived from the *Life of Wallace*, written in Latin by John Blair, the chaplain of

the hero, and amplified by Thomas Gray. In classical refinement, depth of reflection, and historical fidelity, the poem of *Wallace* cannot stand comparison with Barbour's *Bruce*; but as a spirit-stirring narrative, as well as descriptive epic, it is greatly superior to that of the philosophical archdeacon; so that while the latter work was chiefly confined to the reflective few, the former obtained a universal acceptance among the peasantry of Scotland, whom it roused and animated in the great struggle for national independence. In this way, the blind minstrel became the Homer of his country. Even, too, when his language had become all but a dead letter to common readers, and when Barbour was almost forgotten, the poetical fame of Henry suffered little diminution, as his *Wallace* was faithfully modernized by William Hamilton of Gilbertfield, the friend and correspondent of Allan Ramsay, and in this condition continues to be a favourite in almost every cottage of Scotland.

A third Scottish poet, but of a different character from the preceding, was Robert Henryson or Henderson, of whose life little is known, except that he was chief schoolmaster of Dunfermline during the fifteenth century. Classical and elegant in taste and refined in language, his poetry is a complete contrast to the rough trumpet-like strains of Blind Harry, as well as his favourite themes, which were chiefly recommendation of peacefulness, purity, and religious contemplation. He wrote a collection of fables, thirteen in number, also the tale of *Orpheus* founded on the old classical story, and the *Bludy Serk*, an allegorical tale, in which the highest doctrines of Christianity are impersonated in the adventures of a young prince freeing a king's daughter from captivity. But the best known of his works are the *Testament of Cresseid*, written as a sequel to Chaucer's *Troilus and Cresseide*, and *Robene and Makyne*, the earliest pastoral poem written in the English language. The poetical merits of Henryson are thus justly summed up by P. F. Tytler: "Of the works of this remarkable man it is difficult, when we consider the period in which they were written, to speak in terms of too warm encomium. In strength, and sometimes even in sublimity of painting, in pathos and sweetness, in the variety and beauty of his pictures of natural scenery, in the vein of quiet and playful humour, which runs through many of his pieces, and in that fine natural taste, which, rejecting the faults of his age, has dared to think for itself, he is altogether excellent."

BOOK VI.

PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VII. TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.—118 YEARS.

FROM A.D. 1485—1603.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

England.	Spain.	Germany.	
1485 HENRY VII.	1474 ISAB. and FERDINAND.	1440 FREDERICK IV.	1522 ADRIAN VI.
1509 HENRY VIII.	1516 CHARLES I.	1493 MAXIMILIAN I.	1523 CLEMENT VII.
1547 EDWARD VI.	1556 PHILIP II.	1519 CHARLES V.	1534 PAUL III.
1553 MARY.	1598 PHILIP III.	1558 FERDINAND I.	1550 JULIUS III.
1558 ELIZABETH.		1564 MAXIMILIAN II.	1555 MARCELLUS II.
	France.	1555 PAUL IV.	1559 PIUS IV.
	1483 CHARLES VIII.	1576 RODOLPH II.	1566 PIUS V.
	1498 LOUIS XII.		1572 GREGORY XIII.
Scotland.	1515 FRANCIS I.	Popes.	1585 SIXTUS V.
1460 JAMES III.	1547 HENRY II.	1484 INNOCENT VIII.	1590 URBAN VII.
1488 JAMES IV.	1559 FRANCIS II.	1492 ALEXANDER VI.	1590 GREGORY XIV.
1513 JAMES V.	1560 CHARLES IX.	1503 PIUS III.	1591 INNOCENT IX.
1542 MARY.	1574 HENRY III.	1508 JULIUS II.	1592 CLEMENT VIII.
1567 JAMES VI.	1589 HENRY IV.	1513 LEO X.	

CHAPTER I.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1485—1492.

HENRY VII.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1485—DEATH, A.D. 1509.

Accession of the Earl of Richmond to the crown as Henry VII.—Edward Plantagenet, son of the Duke of Clarence, imprisoned in the tower—Reception of Henry VII. in London after his victory at Bosworth—His coronation—Adjustment of his royal rights—Date established for the commencement of his reign—Act for the settlement of the crown—Henry unites the rival claims of York and Lancaster by marrying the Princess Elizabeth—Dispensation of the pope for the marriage—Royal progress of Henry through the kingdom—Appearance of a pretender to the throne as Earl of Warwick—He is crowned in Ireland—He invades England—Is defeated at Stoke—Henry's avaricious proceedings—His policy under the growing predominance of France—He receives bribes from France, and deserts the Bretons—Indignation of his subjects at his conduct—Events in Brittany in connection with England—Henry's coalition with foreign powers against France—France obtains possession of Brittany—Henry makes traffic of the popular discontent against France—His pretended invasion of France.



RICHARD being removed from the scene, the person that gave most uneasiness to the conqueror of Bosworth Field was Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, son and heir to the late Duke of Clarence, who for some time had been kept a prisoner in the manor-house of Sheriff-Hutton, in Yorkshire, by the jealous fears of his uncle Richard. This unfortunate boy was indisputably the next heir of the house of York after the Princess Elizabeth; he had even at one time been treated by his uncle Richard III. as heir-apparent; and as he was already in his fifteenth year, he was not likely to be overlooked by Henry, who had "the ingenious forecast of the subtle serpent." Before leaving Leicester, he sent Sir Robert Willoughby to

remove the captive from Sheriff-Hutton to London, where the young prince, "born to perpetual calamity, was incontinent in the Tower of London put under safe and sure custody."¹ At Sheriff-Hutton² Edward Plantagenet had for a short time a fellow-prisoner, if not a companion, in the Princess Elizabeth, who had been sent thither by her uncle Richard soon after the failure of his scheme for marrying her. This lady, not long after Edward Plantagenet's removal to the Tower, was brought up to London, and was there lodged with her mother, the queen-dowager, Elizabeth Woodville.

¹ Hall.

² This edifice was erected in the time of Stephen (1140) by Bertram de Bulmer, from whose family it descended by marriage to the Nevils, who held it till the battle of Barnet, in 1471, when Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, was slain, and his

From Leicester, Henry travelled by easy journeys towards the capital; and when he approached the city on the 27th of August, five days after

"sweating sickness," as it was called from one of its symptoms, is not easy of description; but it was an epidemic that committed great ravages,

and which, like the plague, generally proved fatal within a very short time. It began in London about the 21st of September, and continued till the end of October. We are not told that this visitation, so inauspicious at the beginning of a new reign and dynasty, was held to be a judgment, though it may have been so considered by some of the losing party, who had no historians. When the malady abated, Henry prepared for his coronation. On the eve of St. Simon and Jude, he rode from Kennington to Lambeth, and there dined with Thomas Bourchier, Cardinal-archbishop of Canterbury; and after



MANOR-HOUSE OF SHERIFF-HUTTON.—From a drawing by Whittock.

the battle of Bosworth Field, the mayor, aldermen, and companies, all clad in violet, met him at Hornsey Wood, and, with great pomp, conveyed him through the city to St. Paul's Church, where he offered his three standards on the high altar—one, an image of St. George; the second, a red dragon; the third, a dun-cow—and after prayers said and *Te Deum* sung, he departed to the bishop's palace, and there sojourned a season; during which time plays, pastimes, and pleasures were showed in every part of the city.¹ These profane amusements were interspersed with religious pageants: immense processions were ordered to express the hearty and humble thanks of the people, who, it was said (rather prematurely), had been restored to liberty and freedom. The concourse of people in the capital, and their constant meeting in great crowds, appears to have spread a disease which had been for some time raging with less violence in the provinces.² The

dinner, with a goodly company of lords, both spiritual and temporal, he went by land towards London, his nobles riding, "after the guise of France, upon small hackneys, two and two upon a horse;" and, at London bridge end, he was met



CARRIAGE OF THE PERIOD.³—Archæologia.

and welcomed by John Warde, the new mayor, with his brethren and the crafts. The king took up his lodging in the Tower. There, on the following day, the 28th of October, he made a num-

estates confiscated. Edward IV. bestowed it upon his brother, subsequently Richard III., and it became the prison of Edward Plantagenet, son of the unfortunate Duke of Clarence, who was confined within its walls until the death of Richard on Bosworth Field: the Princess Elizabeth of York, afterwards consort of Henry VII., was also confined here. The castle and manor remained in the hands of the crown till 1625, when they were granted to the Ingrams.

¹ Hall; Stow.

² It will be remembered that Stanley excused his non-attendance on King Richard by saying that he was laid up with the sweating sickness. See vol. i. p. 660.

³ Henry entered London in a clumsy, close carriage, carefully shut up so as to conceal his person. The Londoners, who had always been accustomed to see their kings ride on horseback, thought this a very bad sign.

ber of promotions. His uncle Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, was made Duke of Bedford; the Lord Stanley, who had put the crown upon his head on Bosworth Field, was made Earl of Derby; and Sir Edward Courtenay was raised to the rank of Earl of Devonshire. On the 30th of October, Henry was, with all ceremonies accustomed, anointed and crowned king, by Bouchier, the cardinal-archbishop, who, little more than two years before, had performed the same ceremonies for Richard.

On the 7th of November, he met his parliament at Westminster for the proper establishment of affairs.¹ It seems quite certain that Henry, from the battle of Bosworth Field to the last days of his life, considered himself indebted for the throne to his sword, and he always fixed that battle as the epoch of his accession.² Now, when the commons waited upon him to present their speaker, he told them that he had come to the throne "by just title of inheritance, and by the sure judgment of God, who had given him the victory over his enemy in the field." It was found immediately that a great many of the members of the new House of Commons were persons attainted and outlawed by Richard or his brother Edward, for their adherence to the house of Lancaster, or for other causes; and it was also remarked that Henry himself, who had called this parliament, had been attainted. The commons therefore questioned whether their house were lawfully constituted, and the king, to his great displeasure, was obliged to refer the case to all the judges, who assembled in the exchequer chamber. The judges determined that such members of the House of Commons, as were attainted by course of law must forbear taking their seats till an act should be passed for the reversal of their attainder: as for what regarded the king himself, they asserted it as a maxim, that the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood,

and that, from the time the king took upon himself royal authority, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruptions of blood discharged.³ The elections had been made before the blood was well dried upon Bosworth Field; the spirit of the aristocracy (and the people were as yet too weak to oppose the royal power without it) was broken and degraded—evaporated with the noble blood shed in the score of battles fought during the wars of the Roses, or upon the scaffold; and men of all classes had acquired by long practice, a wonderful facility in discovering and siding with the strongest party. No Yorkist opposition of a serious nature was therefore to be expected in the house which, not many months before, had rung with the unanimous praise of King Richard; and, by a single act, all the attainted members were restored to their rights and then took their seats.⁴

Henry in reason ought to have been satisfied with the declaration which effaced all former blemishes and deficiencies, and made him a good and lawful king from the time he assumed the crown, which was on the field of battle; but he resolved to be a king even before that time, in order to punish men for treason which had never been committed, unless he could antedate his royal existence. This antedating involved some very curious points: if he claimed the crown by right of his descent from the house of Lancaster, he might have been expected to date from his boyhood or from the murder of Henry VI.; if people looked to the rights he would derive from his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth of the house of York, though they could not help knowing that this marriage had not even yet been celebrated, they might have allowed him the latitude of dating from the murder of Elizabeth's brothers in the Tower; but Henry took a very different course, and with characteristic nicety, as if so small a theft from time were no

¹ As a new historical era had commenced with the new dynasty, it will be sufficient in this place to point out the principal circumstances in the polity of England, at the accession of Henry VII.

"The essential checks upon the royal authority were five in number:—1. The king could levy no sort of new tax on his people, except by the grant of his parliament, consisting as well of bishops and mitred abbots or lords spiritual, and of hereditary peers or temporal lords, who sat and voted promiscuously in the same chamber, as of representatives from the freeholders of each county, and from the burgesses of many towns and less considerable places, forming the lower or commons' house. 2. The previous assent and authority of the same assembly was necessary for every new law, whether of a general or temporary nature. 3. No man could be committed to prison, but by a legal warrant specifying his offence; and by an usage nearly tantamount to constitutional right, he must be speedily brought to trial, by means of regular sessions of jail delivery. 4. The fact of guilt or innocence on a criminal charge, was determined in a public court, and in the county where the offence was alleged to have occurred, by a jury of twelve men, from whose unanimous verdict no appeal could be made. Civil rights, so

far as they depended on matters of fact, were subject to the same decision. 5. The officers and servants of the crown, violating the personal liberty or other right of the subject, might be sued in an action for damages, to be assessed by a jury, or, in some cases, were liable to a criminal process; nor could they plead any warrant or command in their justification, not even the direct order of the king.

"These securities, though it would be easy to prove that they were all recognized in law, differed much in the degree of their effective operation. It may be said of the first, that it was now completely established. After a long contention, the Kings of England had desisted for near 100 years from every attempt to impose taxes without consent of parliament; and their recent device of demanding benevolences, or half-compulsory gifts, though very oppressive, and on that account just abolished by an act of the late usurper, Richard, was in effect a recognition of the general principle which it sought to elude rather than transgress."—Hallam's *Const. Hist. of England*, chap. i.

² Sir Harris Nicolas, *Chron. of Hist.*

³ Bacon, *Life of Henry VII.*; *Rot. Parl.*

⁴ *Rot. Parl.*; Bacon; Marollier, *Histoire de Henri VII.*, sur-nommé Le Sage, et le Salomon d'Angleterre.

theft at all, he only antedated by a single day, making his reign begin on the 21st of August, the eve of the battle of Bosworth, when the crown was on the head of Richard, and he, Henry, was nothing but Earl of Richmond. In this manner the marches and counter-marches, and all the long preparations of the friends of Richard to meet the invader were overlooked, and they were accused of nothing treasonable before that day. In the preamble of the bill which he caused to be introduced in parliament, after a recital of the unnatural, mischievous, and great perjuries, treasons, homicides, and murders in *shedding of infants' blood*, with many other wrongs, odious offences and abominations against God and man, committed by Richard late Duke of Gloucester, it was shown how John, late Duke of Norfolk, Thomas, Earl of Surrey, Francis, Viscount Lovel, John, Lord Zouch, Robert Middleton, Robert Brackenbury, Ratcliffe, Catesby, and others, had, "on the 21st day of August, the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord, assembled to them at Leicester, in the county of Leicester, a great host, traitorously intending, imagining, and conspiring the destruction of the king's royal person, our sovereign liege lord," &c.¹

The absurdity of this antedating by a day was too manifest to escape observation, and the whole tendency was startling. It was asked how Richard, and Norfolk, and Surrey, and the other adherents of the late king, could have committed treason against Henry, then only Earl of Richmond, and at a time when he had never publicly laid claim to the crown. All constitutional and legal objections were, however, overruled, and, in spite of a faint opposition within doors and a louder outcry without the subservient parliament passed the bill as required, and attainted the late king, the Duke of Norfolk, his son the Earl of Surrey, Lord Lovel, Lord Ferrers, and twenty-five other noblemen and gentlemen. Henry thus obtained what he much wanted—an immediate supply of money:

some of the confiscated estates, the largest and finest in the kingdom, he kept to himself, and others he distributed among his needy followers. Of the thirty persons thus attainted, some had fallen with Richard and the Duke of Norfolk at Bosworth; some, like Lord Lovel, had taken sanctuary, and some had fled beyond sea. The new king was only fond of executions on great state occasions, and the only blood which was shed at this revolution, was that of Richard's confidential adviser, Catesby, and of two persons named Brecher, who were put to death immediately after the battle.

But the most important operation pursued during this session of parliament, and that in which Henry most forcibly displayed his wary, hesitating, and equivocating character, was the settlement of the crown by vote and enactment. The act was dictated by the king himself: all mention of the Princess Elizabeth, and of every branch of her family was carefully avoided; no stress was laid on his descent from an excluded and illegitimate branch of the house of Lancaster; he satisfied himself with repealing in his own favour all such acts as treated Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., and Edward of Lancaster, Prince of Wales, as



HENRY VII.—From the family picture painted by Holbein for Henry VIII.

usurpers and traitors; and in favour of Elizabeth, he merely revoked the bastardy act passed against her and all the children of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville at Richard's accession. He ordered that every record of parliament which contained any mention of his own attainder should be taken off the file, that the original of the bastardy act should be burned, and that all persons who kept copies of it, after a certain day, should be fined and imprisoned. Dropping the high tone of hereditary right and heavenly judgment "shown in issue of battle," he caused it merely to be written in the act of settlement, that "the inheritance of the crown should be, rest, remain, and abide, in the most royal person of the sovereign lord, King Henry VII., and the heirs of his body lawfully coming, perpetually

¹ Rot. Parl.

with the grace of God so to endure, and in none other." But this excess of caution excited suspicions and discontents which might have proved fatal, had Henry not been ready to fulfil a contract of a more private nature, through which only—gloze it as he would—he could pretend to any right to the crown. He was well aware of all the manœuvres of the queen-dowager and the Princess Elizabeth; he knew that the first had fallen in with the views of the late king, and that Elizabeth had consented to marry Richard and convey her rights to him. These circumstances were not likely to conciliate Henry; but affection and respect had no part in his political match; his great object in delaying the union was to avoid making the rights of the house of York too prominent—to disguise the fact that, in law at least, he owed the crown to a woman: and even at last he made it appear that he yielded to the prayer of parliament. The friends of the house of York—the parties who had contracted for the marriage in France a year before—were irritated at seeing no allusion made to the Princess Elizabeth; and the nation at large felt that if this new revolution were to have any value, it would only be inasmuch as it put an end to civil war, by uniting the White and Red Roses. When the commons presented to the king the grant of tonnage and poundage *for life* (now a usual grant), they saddled it with a plain and direct request that he would "take to wife and consort the Princess Elizabeth." When this petition was read, the lords, both spiritual and temporal, rose from their seats and joined in it, by bowing with proper solemnity to the throne, and then Henry graciously replied that he was ready and willing to satisfy them on this point.¹

In the same parliament all grants made by the crown since the thirty-fourth year of Henry VI. were resumed; and thus Henry acquired the power to take from the partizans of the house of York, or to confirm to them the possession of whatever property they had obtained in this way. There was also passed a general amnesty in favour of all such adherents of Richard as would submit to the king's mercy and take the new oath of allegiance. But here, again, Henry showed his character: he would not allow the houses of parliament to have anything to do with this act of grace, which was published and proclaimed as originating in his own royal breast, and emanating solely from his own royal mercy. All these things were sufficient indications of the spirit of absolutism—a spirit which would not have been tolerated by the proud and bold aristocracy of former times, but which there was now little to oppose. Several of Richard's adroit

agents were presently employed about the court; and among these were Sir John Tyrrel, the reputed murderer of the sons of Edward IV. in the Tower.²

On the 18th of January Henry A.D. 1486. married the Princess Elizabeth; and thus, at last, the long-desired blending of the rival Roses was accomplished. But her jealous husband allowed her the smallest possible share of authority or influence: her coronation was indefinitely postponed; and, until policy obliged her husband to adopt a different course, she was little more than a queen in name. Nor did her mother, Elizabeth Woodville, reap any great benefit from the revolution; she did not recover her dower, but lived, it should seem, on an allowance made by Henry, who was too fond of money to be liberal.

The Bishop of Imola, Papal legate, had given the dispensation considered necessary for the marriage, as Henry and Elizabeth were related; but the king was determined to make more of this opportunity. He thought that he might gain something over scrupulous minds, by obtaining the express sanction of the pope to his elevation to the throne: and for this he determined to apply in his usual indirect manner. Pretending scruples or apprehensions as to the lawfulness of the marriage he had contracted, he applied for a second dispensation, to be given by the pope himself. Innocent VIII. readily complied. In his document every clause was inserted that Henry required, and contradictory rights were heaped one upon another. It was recited that the crown of England belonged to the gracious Henry by right of conquest—by notorious and indisputable right of succession—by right of election made by all the prelates, lords, and commons of the realm—and by right of the act of settlement passed by the three estates in parliament assembled—but that, nevertheless, to put an end to the bloody wars which had risen out of the claims of the house of York, and at the urgent request of parliament, King Henry had consented to marry Elizabeth, the eldest daughter and true heir of Edward IV., of "immortal memory." The pope, therefore, at the prayer of the king, and to preserve peace in the kingdom, confirmed the dispensation. So far the dispensation did not very much exceed its proper office: but the pontiff proceeded to confirm the act of settlement passed by the parliament, and to define and fix irrevocably the meaning of that act. According to his interpretation, that act meant that, if Queen Elizabeth should die without issue before the king her husband, or if her issue should not outlive their

¹ Rot. Parl.

² Rot. Parl.; Bacon, *Life of Henry VII.*

HENRY VII.

The defeat of Richard III. at Bosworth left the throne of England vacant for the victorious Earl of Richmond, who became king under the title of Henry VII. As the grandson of Sir Owen Tudor,—a knight of Wales, who had married Queen Catherine, widow of Henry V.,—he was the founder of the Tudor dynasty. Henry was lean, of middle height, somewhat sickly in constitution, but withal of a vivacious temperament. Bacon calls him the “English Solomon”, and it is certain that the country prospered during his reign, for he encouraged commerce and was a patron of literature. He was a skilful diplomatist, and proved himself more than a match for the cunning policy employed by Ferdinand of Spain. It has been set down as a serious defect in the character of Henry, that he loved money to the extent of being miserly. It must be remembered, however, that he passed the early years of his life in poverty, in which hard school he learned the power of gold in achieving an end. And the end he had in view when he became king was the peace, security, and prosperity of his realm. This he had accomplished, when, in 1509, he died at Richmond.



Drawn by J. L. Williams.

Engraved by T. Brown

FROM THE PICTURE
IN THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, WESTMINSTER

father, then, and in that case, the crown should devolve to Henry's children by any subsequent marriage. Sentence of excommunication was pronounced against all who should call in question this interpretation, or who should hereafter attempt to disturb Henry in the present possession, or the heirs of his body in the future succession:—and so ended this extraordinary bull.¹

When parliament was dissolved, Henry prepared to make a royal progress through the kingdom, with the more express object of staying some time in the north, in order to gain the goodwill of the people in those parts. "In the prime time of the year he began his journey towards York, and, because the feast of Easter approached, he turned aside to the city of Lincoln, where he tarried during the solemnity of that high feast." Here he was informed that Lord Lovel, with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, "had fled from the sanctuary of Colchester, and had gone, with dangerous intentions, no man knew whither." On the 6th of April Henry left Lincoln for Nottingham, well attended; by the 17th he was at Pontefract, where he was stopped for awhile by the intelligence that Lord Lovel, with a considerable body of insurgents, had thrown himself between Middleham and York. To retreat might have proved more dangerous than to advance, even in face of an equal force; but the insurgents were greatly inferior, and, on seeing that the enterprise was hopeless, Lord Lovel disbanded them, and fled into Lancashire. After lying concealed there for a short time in the house of his friend Sir Thomas Broughton, he passed over to Flanders. A few of the men who had taken up arms with him were seized and executed. This failure wholly disconcerted the project of the Staffords, who had prepared an insurrection in Worcestershire. The two brothers fled for sanctuary to the church of Colnham, near Abingdon; but this time their sanctuary was not respected: they were dragged by force from the church, and had sentence passed upon them as traitors. Humphrey, the elder, was executed at Tyburn, but Thomas, the younger brother, was pardoned.²

On the 26th of April Henry entered York, in which city the memory of King Richard, his mortal enemy, was yet "recent and lively, and not all forgotten of his friends." But the visitor, on necessary occasions, could relax his avarice: he reduced the town-rent to the crown from £160 yearly to £18, 5s.—he dispensed favours and honours—held feasts—exhibited pageants and miracles—fed some poets who recited some bad verses in his honour—and distributed money among the people, who cried, lustily, "King

Henry! King Henry! Our Lord preserve that sweet and well-favoured face!" Having spent nearly a month at York, he turned to the south-west, and visited Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, and Bristol. In the course of his slow and stately progress he was very attentive to the public observance of religious worship; but he chose his *own* subject for the sermons that were preached. On every Sunday or saint's day one of the bishops read and expounded from the pulpit the bull which Henry had obtained on his marriage from Pope Innocent. On his return to London, in the month of June, he received an embassy from the King of Scotland, who joyfully consented to a treaty of truce and amity, to be followed in due season by a matrimonial alliance between their families.³

On the 20th of September, eight months and two days after her marriage, Elizabeth was delivered of a son, who was christened Arthur, after the hero of ancient romance, with whom Henry claimed relationship on the father's side through the Tudors and Cadwalladers.

We left the young Earl of Warwick, the son of the Duke of Clarence, safely lodged in the Tower. In the month of November a young priest of Oxford, and a beautiful boy, landed at Dublin. The priest gave out that the boy was Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, who had escaped in a marvellous manner from the Tower of London; and among a people of lively imagination and warm feelings, and enthusiastic in their attachment to the house of York, a ready belief was accorded to the story, and a generous sympathy spread from heart to heart for the young hero of it. What was credulity in the common people was design and craft in some, possibly in most of the Anglo-Irish nobles, who were averse to Henry, who had scarcely submitted to his government, and who were ready to adopt all such measures as chance might offer, provided they held out a prospect of overthrowing the new order of things in England. Thomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, and lord-lieutenant or deputy of Ireland, received the priest and his pupil with open arms, and presented the latter "to all his friends and lovers," declaring "the coming of the child, and afterwards affirming that the crown and sceptre of the realm of right belonged to this young prince." The boy was not only beautiful and graceful in person, but witty and ingenious: he told his touching story with great consistency, and when questioned, he could give minute particulars relating to the royal family. The citizens of Dublin declared unanimously in his favour; and his fame was "shortly bruited throughout all Ireland, and

¹ Rymer.² Year Book.³ Herald's Journal, MS. Iel. Collect; Hall; Bacon; Rym.

every man was willing to take his part, and submit to him, calling him, on all hands, king." When news of these doings reached King Henry, he summoned a great council to meet in the Charter House, near his royal manor of Richmond. His bad faith had made many men desperate; and, in the homely saying of the chronicler, "had set all things at sixes and sevens." The pardon which he had granted in the first parliament was not only hampered with exceptions and restrictions, but the parts that were free from such qualifications had not been observed; several persons who had submitted and claimed the benefit of the amnesty had been thrown into prison and cruelly treated; and in this number was the Earl of Surrey,¹ who was now a close prisoner in the Tower. Henry, trembling at the effect of all this, now resolved to proclaim another general pardon, free from all exceptions. The next resolution adopted in council was to arrest Elizabeth Woodville, the mother of the queen; and the third was to produce the real Earl of Warwick, and show him in the most public manner.



EAST GATE OF BERMONDSEY ABBEY.²—From an engraving dated 1794.

The council was held with great secrecy. The resolutions, however, were immediately carried into execution; and, first, the queen-dowager was

arrested, deprived of all her property, and placed as a close prisoner in the monastery of Bermondsey. The motive set forth by Henry was certainly not the true one; it seemed altogether incredible to the historians of the following age, and it was not credited by Henry's contemporaries. It was that Elizabeth Woodville was punished for her intrigues with King Richard, and for delivering her daughter into the hands of the usurper, contrary to her pact and agreement with those that had arranged with her concerning the marriage of her said daughter Elizabeth with Henry himself, then an exile in France. Bacon, and Hall, whom he follows, plainly assign another reason. After observing that the priest of Oxford, who had never seen the real Earl of Warwick, must have had a prompter in a person conversant with the history of the court and family of York, Bacon says, "so it cannot be, but that some *great* person, that knew particularly and familiarly Edward Plantagenet, had a hand in the business, from whom the priest might take his aim. That which is most probable out of the precedent and subsequent acts is, that it was the queen-dowager from whom this action had the principal source and motion. For certain it is, she was a busy, negotiating woman, and in her withdrawing-chamber had the fortunate conspiracy for the king against King Richard III. been hatched, which the king knew and *remembered, perhaps, but too well*; and was at this time extremely discontent with the king, thinking her daughter (as the king handled the matter) not advanced, but depressed: and none could hold the book so well to prompt and instruct this stage-play as she could."³

Soon after, the Marquis of Dorset, Elizabeth's son by her first marriage, was arrested and thrown into the Tower. The amnesty was of course published immediately; but, not relying wholly on this measure, Henry sent trusty agents to the seaports to prevent fugitives, malcontents, and suspected persons from passing over to Ireland or to Flanders: on a Sunday he brought young Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, out of the Tower, and conducted him in the most public manner through all the principal streets of London, that he might be seen and recognized by the citizens, many of whom had known the boy up to his tenth year. This well-studied and most open exhibition had its effect in England. "Nevertheless, in Ireland, where it was too late

¹ Surrey had fought bravely for King Richard at the battle of Bosworth Field, where his father, the Duke of Norfolk, was slain.

² Bermondsey Priory was founded in 1081, by Ailwyn Childe, a citizen of London, for monks of the Cluniac order, first introduced into England by Archbishop Lanfranc. In the reign of Edward III. the priory was sequestered, together with other

alien priories, but re-established and erected into an abbey in the second year of the reign of Richard II. The abbey was finally surrendered in the year 1539, by Robert de Wharton, who received in compensation the large pension of £330, 6s. 8d., and also the bishopric of St. Asaph *in commendam*.

³ Bacon, *Life*; Hall.

to go back, it wrought none; but contrariwise, there they turned the imposture upon the king, and gave out that *he*, to defeat the true inheritor, and to mock the world, and blind the eyes of simple men, had tricked up a boy in the likeness of Edward Plantagenet, and showed him to the people, not sparing to profane the ceremony of a solemn procession, the more to countenance the fable."¹

But, for a time, the plot thickened even in England. John, Earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, second sister of Edward IV. and Richard III., had, like the Earl of Warwick, fallen into the power of Henry after the battle of Bosworth. It was known that his uncle, the late king, had at one time appointed this young earl to be his successor on the throne, and that many persons looked up to him as the most promising member of the house of York. The young earl is described as a person of great wit, courage, and enterprise, "with thoughts highly raised by hopes and expectations;" yet, if he had been of a different temper, it seems probable that, at a moment when Henry's suspicions and jealousies were so much excited, self-preservation might have induced him to flee, if not to embark in some desperate project. Immediately after the private sitting of the council at Richmond, Lincoln disappeared, and it was not known for some time whither he had betaken himself. The Irish lords had sent emissaries into Flanders. The high personage to whom they addressed themselves was the Dowager-duchess of Burgundy, the widow of Charles the Rash, and sister to Edward IV. and Richard III., who lived in good state in the Netherlands, having sovereign authority in the district which her husband had left as her dower. Good and amiable as she was in other respects, this princess hated King Henry and all his race with a most enduring and implacable hatred. Bacon says, rather ungallantly, that she had "the spirit of a man, and the malice of a woman;" and that, "abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and being childless and without any nearer care, she made it her design and enterprise to see the majesty royal of England once again replaced in her house, and had set up King Henry as a mark at whose overthrow all her actions should aim and shoot." It was to her that Lord Lovel had fled on the failure of the insurrection in Yorkshire, and it was to her that her nephew, the Earl of Lincoln, now repaired. The duchess presently got together a body of 2000 Germans, under the command of Martin Swart, a valiant and experienced captain. With these foreign mercenaries, the

Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Lovel, and some other English exiles, embarked for Ireland. In the month of May, a few days after their landing, the Earl of Warwick of that side of the water was crowned in the cathedral church of Dublin in the most solemn fashion, the Bishop of Meath performing the ceremony. This was done without any show of opposition, there being not a single sword drawn for King Henry, and, indeed, no displeasure testified in Ireland, except in the city of Waterford and among the people of the Butlers, who were old Lancastrians and hereditary enemies of the Earl of Kildare, the lord-keeper.² Edward VI., as the new king was styled, issued writs, convoked a parliament, and caused penalties to be enacted against the Butlers and the citizens of Waterford.

Henry, meanwhile, levied troops in different parts of the kingdom, put on a smiling, yet at the same time a devout face, and, with great policy, resorted to the best means for disconcerting the plots hatching in England, and for securing the good-will of the people. Shortly after the sudden flight of Lincoln, he travelled leisurely through Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, in which counties the young earl's influence was high. He was courteous to all the gentry, many of whom held themselves ready to do him service.³ From Bury St. Edmunds he went to Norwich, and, to captivate the populace, he went from Norwich "in manner of a pilgrimage" to Walsingham, where he visited our Lady's Church, famous for miracles. He then proceeded by way of Northampton and Coventry, to Kenilworth Castle, within the strong walls of which he had placed his mother, his wife, and his infant son, Prince Arthur. While he lay at Kenilworth, the king, from Ireland, landed at the pile of Foudray, in the southern extremity of Furness. Immediately on their landing, the Earl of Lincoln and the Lord Lovel were joined by their sworn friend Sir Thomas Broughton, whose estates lay in Lancashire. From the coast they advanced boldly towards York, expecting to be joined on the road by many malcontents. "But their snowball did not gather as it went; for the people came not in to them, neither did any rise or declare themselves in other parts of the kingdom for them, which was caused partly by the good taste that the king had given his people of his government, joined with the reputation of his felicity (good luck), and partly for that it was an odious thing to the people of England to have a king brought in to them upon the shoulders of Irish and Dutch, of which their army was in substance com-

² Three or four of the bishops, however, kept aloof.

³ We learn, from one of the Paston letters, dated in the month of May, that the king and his lieutenant, the Earl of Oxford, were right well content at the conduct of the Norfolk gentry.

¹ Bacon.

pounded."¹ Though cruelly disappointed, the young Earl of Lincoln boldly turned southward to meet Henry, who was advancing upon York by way of Coventry, Leicester, and Nottingham, at the head of a well-appointed and numerous army. On the 16th of June the Earl of Oxford, who led Henry's van, was brought into action at Stoke, then a little village upon the brow of a hill not far from Newark. Henry remained with the rear-guard, which never came into action. The battle was fierce and obstinate for about three hours; but the invaders had little or no cavalry, and the mass of them were ill provided with arms. "Martin Swart, with his Germans, performed bravely, and so did those few English that were on that side; neither did the Irish fail in courage or fierceness, but being almost naked men, only armed with darts and skeins, it was rather an execut. on than a fight upon them; inasmuch as the furious slaughter of them was a great discouragement and appalment to the rest." The veteran Germans died in their ranks almost to a man; nor was the victory decided till one-half of the whole invading force and many hundreds of the Earl of Oxford's men had perished. His majesty Edward VI., now plain Lambert Simnel, the son of a baker, and the priest of Oxford, whose proper name was Simons, were taken prisoners; the Earl of Lincoln, the Lords Thomas and Maurice Fitzgerald, Sir Thomas Broughton, and Martin Swart, died fighting like brave men. The Lord Lovel was seen to escape from the field: his name was not included in the mournful list of the dead, made as usual by an herald, but, as he was never more seen, it was believed that he had been drowned in attempting to swim his horse across the river Trent. Long after, when the race of the Tudors had gone to their account, and when the dynasty of the Stuarts had been driven out of the kingdom—nearly 200 years from the time of this forgotten battle of Stoke—some workmen accidentally discovered a subterranean chamber at Minster Lovel, in Oxfordshire, the ancient seat of the adventurous lord. Within this chamber was a skeleton of a man seated in a chair with his head resting upon a table; and these sad relics were supposed, with some reason, to tell a tale of horror.²

Henry's conduct after the victory of Stoke was very characteristic. "For Lambert (Simnel)," says Bacon, "the king would not take his life, both out of magnanimity—taking him but as an

image of wax, that others had tempered and moulded—and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that if he suffered death, he would be forgotten too soon, but being kept alive he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like enchantments of people in time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his court, to a base office in his kitchen; so that he turned a broach³ that had worn a crown. . . . And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the king's falconers. As to the priest, he was committed closer prisoner, and heard of no more—the king loving to seal up his own dangers."⁴

One of the king's first cares after the battle of Stoke was to return a solemn thanksgiving, and to offer up his banner at the shrine of our Lady of Walsingham. He then travelled northward to punish such persons as had assisted or favoured the rebels. His proceedings were wholly independent of the ordinary courts of justice; but, as on many other occasions, his revenge was subservient to his avarice, so that the chief punishments he inflicted were by fine and ransom. But the pleasure Henry derived from a harvest of this kind, and from seeing that all immediate opposition had vanished, did not blind him to the facts, that his behaviour to his queen had created him many enemies, and that his jealousy of the whole house of York, instead of strengthening had weakened him, by alienating the affections of the people. Elizabeth, the rightful heir, was kept in obscurity; she had been his wife a year and a half, and had borne him a son, and still she was not crowned. Now, however, he was "willing to give some contentment of that kind, at least in ceremony." Elizabeth was crowned at Westminster, on the 20th of November, Henry witnessing the whole ceremony, and the feast which followed, from behind a screen or lattice that concealed his person.⁵ He liberated the Marquis of Dorset from the Tower, but it appears that he still left Elizabeth Woodville, that nobleman's mother, and the mother of his queen, in the hands of the monks of Bermondsey. The chief business of the parliament when it met was to vote supplies and a bill of attainder, which, on slight evidence, included a great number of persons said to have been concerned in the late insurrection. It appears that no names were inserted except of persons who had property to forfeit.⁶

Ever since his accession Henry had been occu-

¹ Bacon. ² Bacon; Hall; Rot. Parl.; Carte, *Hist. Eng.*

³ A spit; French, "broche."

⁴ Bacon.

⁵ A curious account of the coronation is given by Ives. See *Select Papers*, &c.

⁶ "Next the king required their aid to put down the dangerous and unlawful practice of 'maintenance.' The reader will recollect that by maintenance was understood an association of individuals under a chief, whose livery they wore, and to whom

they bound themselves by oaths and promises, for the purpose of maintaining by force the private quarrels of the chief and the members. Hence the course of justice was obstructed, jurors were intimidated, and offenders escaped with impunity. Hence also (and this it was that chiefly provoked the hostility of the king) powerful noblemen were furnished with the means of raising forces at a short warning to oppose the reigning, or to assist a new claimant. In the preceding parliament an oath

pied exclusively in settling his affairs at home; but now, complicated intrigues and great political movements forced him to look abroad. The aspect of affairs in France, even before these demonstrations, was sufficiently alarming; the dis-severed parts of that country were gradually uniting into a consistent whole, and forming a great and compact kingdom, while the much narrower extent of Britain was still divided into two rival kingdoms, frequently at war with one another. The rapid growth of the French power threatened to cast a dangerous shadow over all the neighbouring countries; and, both according to the principles of common policy, which seeks to check the too rapid aggrandizement of a rival, and to the juster and nobler policy which opposes itself to the conquest of small and weak states by strong ones, Henry seemed bound to take an active part in the affairs of the Continent. But Henry was no warrior, and his avidity for money, his juggling and double-dealing, prevented him from taking up the honourable position of an arbiter and peacemaker; for, with the means he had in his hands, he might have curbed the ambition of France without any war. At the time of the death of Louis XI., which happened on the 30th of August, 1483, about two months after the accession of Richard III., by craft and policy, by fortunate marriages, and by the sword, the French monarchy had swallowed up all the independent principalities, except Brittany, which still preserved its duke and its comparatively free institutions. Charles VIII., the son of Louis, was only fourteen years of age when he ascended the throne of France; and, according to arrangements made by his father, he was placed for a fixed time under the tutelage of Madame Anne, his elder sister, who had married Peter of Bourbon, Lord of Beaujeu. What followed was according to precedent:—the Duke of Orleans (afterwards Louis XII.), who hated Bourbon and his wife, flew to arms; but Orleans was unsuccessful and driven to seek refuge in Brittany. Duke Fran-

cis II. had always been a weak prince, and he was now growing old and infirm. His guest, notwithstanding he was already married to one of the daughters of Louis XI., conceived the idea of obtaining possession of the duchy by marrying Anne of Brittany, the elder daughter and heiress of Francis; and a party among the turbulent Breton nobles entered into his views. At the same time there was another faction that favoured the French court, and another that inclined to an alliance with England. The country was ravaged by a civil war. Encouraged by the prevailing disorders, the French regency precociously betrayed their design of seizing the duchy, upon the ground of some inexplicable right. Duke Francis thereupon summoned the three estates of the duchy, who took a most solemn oath of allegiance to the Princess Anne, and, in case of her dying without issue, to her younger sister Madame Isabeau. This act fixed the eyes of several princes upon the heiress of Brittany, and, besides the Duke of Orleans, who had many formidable difficulties to overcome, the Sire d'Albret, whose dominions lay in Gascony and at the foot of the Pyrenees, and Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederick IV., aspired to her hand. The poor duke, who had engaged to consult the three estates on the choice of his son-in-law, neglected so to do, and encouraged the hopes of these three suitors, and even treated with others at one and the same time. The Duke of Orleans made his peace with the French court and returned to Paris, but he was soon detected in a fresh conspiracy, and was again obliged to flee to Nantes. He soon found that his party was losing ground in Brittany, where the nobles were disgusted at seeing that he did what he chose with their imbecile prince, and filled all the offices with French adventurers, his own adherents. The course they pursued to correct this evil was absurd enough: a great many of the Breton nobles opened a correspondence with the French court, and implored its aid. At this moment a

had been required from the lords, and was ordered to be taken by the commons in each county, that they would not keep in their service men openly cursed, or murderers, or felons, or outlaws; that they would not retain persons by indentures, or give liveries contrary to law; and that they would not make riots or maintenances, nor oppose the due execution of the king's writs."—*Lingard*, vol. iv. p. 189.

"From the time of Edward I., the feudal system and all the feelings connected with it declined very rapidly. But what the nobility lost in the number of their military tenants, was in some degree compensated by the state of manners. The higher class of them, who took the chief share in public affairs, were exceedingly opulent; and their mode of life gave wealth an incredibly greater efficacy than it possesses at present. Gentlemen of large estates and good families, who had attached themselves to those great peers, who bore offices which we should call menial in their households, and sent their children thither for education, were of course ready to follow their banner in a rising, without much inquiry into the cause. Still less would the vast body of tenants and their retainers, who were fed in the castle

at time of peace, refuse to carry their pikes and staves into the field of battle. Many devices were used to preserve this aristocratic influence, which riches and ancestry of themselves rendered so formidable. Such was the maintenance of suits, or confederacies for the purpose of supporting each other's claims in litigation, which was the subject of frequent complaints in parliament, and gave rise to several prohibitory statutes. By help of such confederacies, parties were enabled to make violent entries upon the lands they claimed, which the law itself could hardly be said to discourage. Even proceedings in courts of justice were often liable to intimidation and influence. A practice much allied to confederacies of maintenance, though ostensibly more harmless, was that of giving liveries to all retainers of a noble family; but it had an obvious tendency to preserve that spirit of factious attachments and animosities which it is the general policy of a wise government to dissipate. From the first year of Richard II., we find continual mention of this custom, with many legal provisions against it; but it was never abolished till the reign of Henry VII."—*Hallam, Hist. of England during the Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 245.

French army was on their frontiers; for the Regent Anne had made up her mind to take advantage of the condition of affairs. The Bretons formed a confederacy at Châteaubriant, and stipulated that the king should not send more than 400 men-at-arms and 4000 foot into their country—that the liberties of the duchy and private property should be respected—and that, as soon as the Duke of Orleans should be expelled, the French should recross the frontier. Charles poured 16,000 men into the country, and, of course, broke all his engagements as soon as he was able. In the month of May, 1487, while Henry was expecting Lambert Simnel from Ireland, the French army advanced in three divisions; the first took Ploërmel, the second Vannes, and the third laid siege to Nantes, within the walls of which Duke Francis took refuge with his daughters. Maximilian, now titular King of the Romans, sent a body of 1500 German and Flemish soldiers to the assistance of Francis; and these, being joined by some Bretons, under the command of the Count of Dunois, cut their way through the French lines, and relieved Nantes in the beginning of August. Another of Madame Anne's suitors was less fortunate. As the Sire d'Albret was marching through the Limousin, with 3000 or 4000 Gascons, to succour Duke Francis and the ladies, he was attacked by a superior force of French, to which he capitulated. Though foiled before Nantes, La Tremoille, Charles' general, took Auray, Vitré, and St. Aubin-du-Cormier: at the same time fresh troops poured

the fact to be, that he had already accepted of a *retainer* from the French court. If this were not the case, he must forfeit his reputation for cunning and quick-sightedness, and stand in this particular in the light of a dupe. "King Charles," says Bacon, "knew well he could not receive any opposition so potent as if King Henry should, either from policy of state, in preventing the growing greatness of France, or upon gratitude unto the Duke of Brittany¹ for his former favours in the time of his distress, espouse that quarrel, and declare himself in aid of the duke. Therefore, he no sooner heard that King Henry was settled by his victory (at Stoke), than he sent ambassadors unto him, to pray his assistance, or at the least that he would stand neutral: which ambassadors found the king at Leicester."²

Henry, to acquit himself, as he said, of his gratitude to both the King of France and the Duke of Brittany, for whom he "was ready even to go a pilgrimage," and to "satisfy all obligations both to God and man," offered himself as mediator. Upon this the ambassadors departed well pleased, for they knew that his mediation would not stop the progress of their army. Charles' generals, indeed, proceeded with more vigour than ever; and, while they were fighting, Henry despatched Christopher Urswick, his chaplain—"a person by him much trusted and employed"—to talk to the French court. From Paris Urswick went to Rennes, the capital of the Duke of Brittany. When Francis saw the priest, he told him that, having been a benefactor and a kind of foster-father to Henry for many years, he looked, at this time, from the "renowned King of England" rather for succour in a brave army, than a vain treaty of peace. The chaplain then returned to Paris, and the court there sent him back to London, to tell his master of the obstinacy and disrespect of Duke Francis. And still the French troops continued their operations, and whenever they gained a battle or took a town they emphatically repeated that they had no wish to make conquests, but were most anxious for the success of Henry's mediation. Another



THE CASTLE AND CATHEDRAL, NANTES.—From Touchard Lafosse, La Loire.

across the French frontier, while Maximilian could send no further reinforcements. At the approach of the storm Duke Francis applied to England for assistance. At that moment Henry was absorbed by his own troubles; but when those difficulties were over he was in no haste to accede to the prayer of the Bretons. We believe

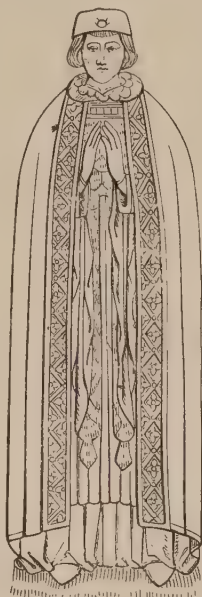
embassy was sent over to England, and Henry could not do less than return the compliment. Urswick was despatched again to the French court, and with him were associated the abbot

¹ "Britain" is the form of the name used by Bacon; to prevent confusion, we have substituted the more usual form in this and other places.

² Bacon.

of Abingdon and Sir Richard Tunstal, a layman. But by this time the people of England were beginning to lament that the French king should be allowed to aggrandize himself at the expense of an ancient ally of their country; and some gallant knights, in whom the spirit of chivalry and the recollections of Crecy and Azincourt were not yet extinct, were all on fire to hasten to the rescue of an unfortunate prince, and measure swords with the French. Sir Edward Woodville, one of the queen's uncles, collected a brave band of 400 men, and set sail from the Isle of Wight for St. Malo, on the coast of Brittany. When the news of this expedition reached the French court, the poor chaplain Urswick and his brother ambassadors there had a narrow escape from the fury of "divers young bloods." But "presently came an agent from King Henry to purge himself touching Lord Woodville's going over, using for a principal argument, to demonstrate that it was without his privity, for that the troops were so small, as neither had the face of a succour by authority, nor could much advance the Brittany affairs. To which message, although the French king gave no full credit, yet he made fair weather with the king, and seemed satisfied."²

This was, indeed, a business where everybody was seeking to deceive everybody. Henry, however, forbade other English adventurers to join Duke Francis; and, as the zeal of the nation blazed the more from repression, he determined to turn it to his advantage financially. "Wherein first he thought to make his vantage upon his parliament, knowing that they, being affectionate unto the quarrel of Brittany, would give treasure largely."³ The wily Morton, now Archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, was instructed so to address par-



CHRISTOPHER URSWICK.¹
From his monumental brass in Hackney Church.

liament as to affect them towards the business, but without engaging the king in any express declaration of war; and the ambiguous speech of the right reverend minister fully answered these ends. Parliament eagerly caught at the bait, and recommended strong measures, "as well in respect of the emulation between the nations, and the envy at the late growth of the French monarchy, as in regard of the danger to suffer the French to make their approaches upon England, by obtaining so goodly a maritime province, full of sea-towns and havens that might do mischief to the English either by invasion or by interruption of traffic." They were also indignant at the injustice and oppression used in Brittany, for no one could be well deceived by the manifestoes of the French court; and they advised the king to embrace the cause of the Bretons openly and manfully, and then they, with "much alacrity and forwardness," voted an unusually large subsidy. When Henry got the money, he sent his chaplain to warn the French court, and to explain that, with all his friendly feelings, it would be impossible for him to resist the motion of his people. At the same time the priest was to hint that the English succour to be sent to Duke Francis would be limited, and that the troops would be instructed not to wage war against the French beyond the limits of Brittany. The French did what might be expected; they reinforced La Tremoille, who carried the towns of Châteaubriant, Ancenis, and Fougères. By this time the Breton nobles were fully aware of the folly they had committed in inviting them into the country: the factions united for common defence, and an army of the unfortunate duke, strengthened by the few English under Woodville, by the 1500 Germans sent by Maximilian, and by a few companies of Gascons and of Basques, sent by the family of D'Albret, took the field under the supreme command of the Duke of Orleans. After some minor operations, the two armies engaged in a general battle on the 20th of July, 1488, between Andouillé and St. Aubin-du-Cormier. La Tremoille, by his superiority in numbers and in field artillery, gained a complete and sanguinary victory. Sir Edward Woodville was slain; and of his 400 men and 1700 Bretons who had assumed the white coats and red crosses of the English, to deceive the enemy, but very few escaped. The Duke of Orleans, who had fought bravely on foot, was taken prisoner, and

¹ The monument of Christopher Urswick is an erection resembling an altar tomb, surmounted by an obtuse arch ornamented with foliage and tracery. Beneath the arch is the following inscription—"Christophoro Urswyk, Rectore, Aq Dñi 1519." On each side are the contractions MIA (Misericordia). On the slab of the altar is the effigy in brass of Urswick, with the word "Misericordia" at length, and on the stone beneath the arch is, likewise, a brass plate inscribed with his epitaph in Latin—

"Christopher Urswick was a man of equal talent and piety. He was chaplain to Henry VII., and employed in promoting the union between that king and Elizabeth of York. Refusing an offered bishopric, and resigning several valuable preferments, he retired to his rectory at Hackney, where he passed the decline of life in the exercise of religious offices. He died in 1521, in the sixty-fourth year of his age."

² Bacon; Dara, *Hist. de la Bretagne*; Lobineau.

³ Bacon

Brittany lay helpless at the foot of the conqueror.¹

When the news of this disastrous battle, and of the slaughter of their countrymen, reached England, the people raised so loud an outcry that Henry was startled from his pleasant dream. Still, however, he was disposed to wait events, hoping that Maximilian would succour Brittany, and that he should be allowed to keep the money which parliament had voted for the war. But the course of events did not improve. La Tremoille took Dinant and St. Malo, and threatened to besiege the unfortunate Duke Francis in Rennes, his capital. Finding that no assistance arrived from England or from any other quarter, Francis at last accepted the hard terms offered by the French court; and in the middle of August (1488) he signed the treaty of Verger. Hereby the claims of the French crown to the duchy were submitted to the consideration of certain commissioners: the French were to retain the conquests they had made, and the duke was bound never more to call in troops from England or any other country, and not to marry either of his daughters without the full approbation of his suzerain lord, the King of France. The Bretons prepared for a fresh struggle, but their poor duke, who seemed heart-broken, sickened, and died on the 7th of September, about three weeks after he had signed the treaty.²

The Princess Anne was even now only in her twelfth year, and her little court was distracted by the intrigues of the rivals for her hand. D'Albret, one of her suitors, who had found his way into Brittany in a beggared state, attempted to carry her off and marry her by force, for Anne felt a very natural aversion to a man who was old, exceedingly ugly, and of a ferocious temper. The Count of Dunois rescued her, and carried her off, seated behind him on his war-horse, and she was subsequently protected by the people of Rennes. While men were disputing within Brittany who should be her husband, the French court claimed the right of being her guardian; and before the bishops and barons could get ready a proper answer, a French army took the field, and carried by assault Pontrieu, Guingamp, Concarneau, Brest, and other places of less importance. This most unequal war now excited fresh cries of indignation in England, and Henry was urged, as the sovereign of a generous people, as a father, to save the helpless orphan. The king conceived the notion of forming an extensive coalition. He despatched ambassadors to Maximilian, King of the Romans, to his son the Archduke Philip, to the King of Spain, and to

the King of Portugal, calling upon them to act in concert with him, in order to check the lawless ambition of the French court. He then summoned another parliament, and asked for more money to *carry on the war*.

Parliament, which could not be A.D. 1489. ignorant of the use made of the sums already voted for the defence of Brittany, reduced Henry's demand from £100,000 to £75,000.³ But the levying even of this diminished amount, in the temper in which the nation was, occasioned alarming commotions. These we shall presently notice. Meanwhile Henry offered to the Breton government the services of 6000 archers, but he limited the time of their service to six months, and would not send them at all until two of the best seaport towns of Brittany were put into his hands as security for the repayment of the entire expense of the armament, and until the young duchess had taken an oath never to marry without his consent. In the spring the Lord Willoughby de Broke landed in Brittany with his small army; at the same time a Spanish force advanced through Roncesvalles, to make a diversion in the south of France; and Maximilian hoped, after subduing an insurrection of his Flemish subjects, to attack the French on their northern frontier. By this plan of operation the French were prevented from concentrating in full force in Brittany, and Lord Willoughby de Broke, with his small army, was enabled not only to keep them completely in check, but also, with the help of some Breton troops, to gain several advantages over them. Though nearly half a century had passed since the last *real* battle fought by the English on the Continent, the French had not forgotten the old campaigns, and they paid such a respect to the valour of the Islanders, and their conduct in the open field, that they cautiously avoided anything like a pitched battle. They kept themselves in fortified towns and entrenched camps, and limited their operations to skirmishes. The Lord de Broke, instead of being encouraged to risk his little army frankly, was constantly checked by the unwarlike and most cautious king, who, moreover, recalled him and his troops in *less* than six months. The French had been obliged to detach a great army towards Fuenterrabia to oppose the Spaniards; and Maximilian, aided by a small force of English, chiefly drawn from Calais, had gained some important advantages in the north, and taken the town of St. Omer. Not more for these reasons, than for others of a less apparent nature, resulting from a change of plan which was not made visible until a year and a half later, the French court offered to treat for peace, and soon after signed a treaty at Frank-

¹ Daru, *Hist. de la Bretagne; Actes de Bretagne; Mézerai; Bacon; Hall*.

² Original MSS. and *Actes de Bretagne*, quoted by Daru.

³ *Rot. Parl.*

fort with Maximilian. The chief clauses were—that the French troops should retire from Brittany; that the Duchess Anne should dismiss all her foreign auxiliaries; that the fortresses of St. Malo, Fougères, Dinant, and St. Aubin, should be put into the hands of the Duke of Bourbon and the Prince of Orange, to be by them held till all the differences between France and Brittany should be amicably settled; and, finally, that a congress should be held at Tournai for that settlement. Maximilian pretended to act merely as a friendly mediator, and the French had their eyes too constantly fixed on their own intrigues and deceptions to perceive his.¹

Thus finished the war of 1489. The English had expected great glory, and they got none. The harshness used in levying the subsidy had driven the northern counties into insurrection, and had cost the life of the king's lieutenant, the Earl of Northumberland, who was murdered by the people. At one moment this insurrection threatened to shake the throne, but it was put down by an army commanded by the Earl of Surrey. John à Chambre, “a very *boute-feu* (fire-brand), who bore much sway amongst the vulgar and popular,” was taken alive; and Sir John Egremont, who had joined the insurgents for higher objects, “fled into Flanders to the Duchess of Burgundy, whose palace was the sanctuary and receptacle of all traitors against the king.”² John à Chambre was executed at York in great state, for he was hanged upon a gibbet raised a stage higher, as a traitor paramount, and a number of his men were hanged upon the lower story, round about him.

In the beginning of this year parliament made up the deficiency in the subsidy (which, instead of £75,000, had produced only £25,000) by passing a new grant of a tenth and fifteenth, in order that the war with France might be carried on with vigour; for Henry's interests were not taken into account by the treaty of Frankfort, and it was already evident that that treaty would not preserve the independence of Brittany. The English people again expected to be gratified by an active war, but Henry put their money into his coffers, and sent some priests to the Continent to negotiate with the various courts. A new coalition was now formed, the principal members being Henry, Ferdinand of Spain (a sovereign who was his match in craft), and Maximilian, King of the Romans,³ wherein each sovereign, under the pretext of aiming at the benefit of Europe by checking French ambition, sought nothing but his own selfish aggrandizement.

Maximilian, whose suit had formerly been ap-

proved by Duke Francis, in spite of the treaty of Frankfort, and without consulting his new allies, whose treaty, as yet, remained a secret, proposed an immediate marriage with the young duchess, and Anne was induced to give her consent. But at the moment, Maximilian feared to make the journey into Brittany either by land or water, and sent the Prince of Orange in his stead. A marriage, by proxy, was performed at Rennes with so much mystery, that the servants of Anne were not aware of it until some time after, and the date of the ceremony has never been precisely ascertained. As soon as that disappointed suitor, the fierce D'Albret, ascertained the object of the Prince of Orange's mission, he gave information to the French court, and betrayed the important city of Nantes, which he had surprised, to a French army. As the treaty of Frankfort had been but indifferently observed by the French, and as they had kept possession of many of the fortresses in the heart of Brittany, they renewed the war with many advantages. The young duchess applied to her husband for aid; but he was again distressed by the revolt of his Flemish subjects, and could give her nothing but the empty title of “Queen of the Romans,” which she now publicly assumed; and King Henry, in reply to her demands for English troops, increased her distresses by asking her for money at a time when her coffers were quite empty, and when the only money current in Brittany was stamped leather cut into pieces of different sizes.

About the same time an important revolution had taken place in the French court. King Charles, who was now in his twenty-first year, freed himself from the authority and guardianship of his sister, released the Duke of Orleans from his dungeon at Bourges, changed most of the ministers and officers, and took upon himself the business of government. This politic and crafty king, who, however, was excessively ignorant in other respects, saw that to obtain possession of Brittany by force of arms would, after all, be a work of great danger and difficulty, and he resolved to obtain his end in a very different manner. For more than seven years he had been solemnly affianced to Margot—the “gentle demoiselle,” the daughter of the fair Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian. Margot had been “nourished and brought up” at the French court, and, as she was now in her eleventh year, it was expected that the marriage would be consummated in two or three years. But Charles, who had now firm possession of the rich provinces of France which had been constituted her dower, and who saw but a distant and uncertain prospect of deriving any further advantage from the contract, determined to break it, and marry the Duchess Anne, in spite of that princess

¹ Daru; Bacon.

² Bacon.

³ Rymer; Rot. Parl.; Bacon; Daru.

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marriage by proxy to Maximilian, the *father* of Margot; for thus he confidently hoped to obtain quiet possession of Brittany. This sudden move took all parties by surprise. At the same time Charles bribed most of the ladies in the court of Brittany, and cajoled or terrified the ministers of that weak and distracted government. The Countess of Laval, the Countess of Dunois, the Marshal de Rieux, and Montauban, chancellor of the duchy, engaged to obtain Anne's assent; and the Duke of Orleans, who had formerly aspired to her hand, now pleaded and intrigued in favour of his sovereign. But they had a greater difficulty than they expected. The young duchess, or "Queen of the Romans," considered her marriage contract with Maximilian as binding, both by Divine and human law; and she was well aware of the contract which existed between the King of France and Margot of Burgundy. She was now in her fifteenth year, and her natural talents had been developed by an unusually careful education, and by an early experience in the affairs and troubles of the world. She saw that this new husband they wished to force upon her was the oppressor of her country—the despoiler of her family; it was sword in hand that he wooed her, and he was not a generous conqueror. Besides all this, he was rude, ugly, and illiterate, while she was learned, accomplished, and remarkably beautiful. Though constantly assailed by her ladies and her ministers, her repugnance did not yield until a French army advanced and threatened to besiege her in her capital. Then, seeing that she must be either the wife or the captive of Charles, she consented to a treaty, the principal article of which was, that she should marry the French king, and convey to him her rights over Brittany. Charles paid Anne a short visit in Rennes, and then retired into Touraine. His court maintained a specious farce to the last: they treated his affianced bride Margot as Queen of France, giving her splendid fêtes at the very moment that Charles was enforcing another marriage; and still farther to lull and delude Maximilian, they drew up and published an extraordinary passport or safe-conduct, permitting the Duchess Anne to travel through France to join her husband, the King of the Romans, in Flanders. But now the scene changed: instead of his bride, it was his rejected daughter that Charles sent to Maximilian; and the fair bride, the heiress of Brittany, was conducted to the castle of Langeais, in Touraine, and there married to Charles on the 6th of December, 1491.¹

A.D. 1492. Maximilian, who had lost for himself a wife and a great terri-

tory, for his daughter a husband and one of the first thrones in Europe, made every court in Europe resound with his complaints and imprecations; and he threatened France with an invasion from the co-operating armies of the house of Austria, of Spain, and of England. Henry, seeing that there was business to be done in the way of money-making, pretended to be greatly shocked (irritation was a state of mind he never felt or affected) at the double-dealing and over-topping ambition of his cousin of France: he addressed himself to the gathering up of the loosened threads of the European coalition, and he summoned a parliament to vote him fresh supplies—almost the sole duty which parliament had to perform in his reign. During the preceding summer he had levied a few troops, and as recently as the month of October he had obtained a grant of two tenths and two fifteenths.² He now, in the month of January, pressed for an accelerated rate of payment, and got a parliamentary sanction to measures by which the English gentry might ruin themselves in bearing personally the expenses of a campaign. An act was passed to allow the warlike spirits, who were eager for glory, to alienate their estates without payment of the ordinary fees or fines, and to enfeoff lands, to the end that their executors might have funds to fulfil their bequests.³ Many persons of the best quality, knights and noblemen, thus encouraged, proceeded at once to sell their estates, or to raise money upon them. They hoped to indemnify themselves by conquests and possessions in France; but, in the event, they found that they had impoverished—in many instances utterly ruined—themselves and their families to no purpose. Henry had declared in parliament, with his own mouth, that Charles was a disturber of the Christian world, and that he was now determined to conquer the French crown, his rightful inheritance, for himself. The levies of troops proceeded with rapidity; and from one end of England to the other nothing was heard but the magical words of Crecy and Poitiers, Azincourt and Verneuil. "But, for all this," says Bacon, "and though the king showed great forwardness for a war, not only to his parliament and court, but to his privy council likewise (except the two bishops⁴ and a few

² He had also issued a commission to extort money in the different counties and cities, under the illegal name of "Benevolence." The citizens of London were forced to pay £10,000. Archbishop Morton, now chancellor, put men between the horns of a cruel dilemma: if they lived frugally and without show, they were told that they must be rich from their parsimony, and therefore could well afford to pay; if they lived hospitably and splendidly, their rate of expenditure proved that they must be opulent, and therefore they could well afford to pay.

³ Rot. Parl.

⁴ Morton and Fox.

¹ Daru; Bacon; *Archives de Nantes* and *Actes de Bretagne*, quoted by Daru.

more); yet, nevertheless, in his secret intentions, he had no purpose to go through with any war upon France. But the truth was, that he did but traffic with that war to make his return in money." Some suspicion was excited by seeing that he let the spring, and the summer too, go by without taking the field. At last, in the month of October, a season in which commanders usually thought of retiring into winter quarters, and not of opening a campaign, he embarked, and sailed for Calais, where he safely landed with a magnificent army of 25,000 foot and 1600 horse. Some of his captains ventured to hint that, after all, this would prove a mere demonstration, and that the king would not have taken the field at such a time of the year if he were not sure of concluding a peace presently.¹ The fact was, Henry had arranged a treaty three months before this, and peace was in substance concluded with Charles before the army left England: but this he was anxious to conceal; and he silenced the captains by asserting that, as he had come over to make an entire conquest of France, which was not the work of one summer, it was of no consequence at what season he began the invasion, especially as he had Calais ready for winter quarters. To have an air of doing something, he marched from Calais to Boulogne, and sat down before that place as if he meant to besiege it. So completely was this campaign settled beforehand upon paper, that the French did not employ the useless and expensive ceremony of setting an army on foot to resist the invaders. There were scarcely any troops between the coast and the capital. This reliance upon a secret bargain might have proved dangerous, but King Charles had a secret security in his hands, as we

shall see presently. Instead of pressing the siege, Henry caused letters from his ambassadors to be published in the camp, showing that no co-operation was to be expected from Ferdinand and Maximilian, and that no reliance was to be placed on either of those allies. On the 27th of October, eight days after his arrival before Boulogne, he summoned twenty-four of the principal officers of the English army to a solemn council, and submitted to their consideration the preliminaries of a treaty of peace with France. Those great captains did what they were required to do, and what they had been paid to do (for all Henry's favourites touched some French gold): they put their names to a report, and strenuously advised him to sign the treaty. Early in November two treaties were duly signed—one public, the other private. By the first,² Henry and Charles were to live in peace and alliance all the days of their lives; and the peace between the two countries was to last for one year after the death of the survivor of the two kings. By the second, Charles was to pay Henry, by instalments, the sum of £149,000 sterling; £124,000 to go in discharge of all claims upon Anne of Brittany, and £25,000 in payment of the pension (our kings called it tribute) due to Edward IV. It was thus that Henry, under the full sway of his money-making spirit, sold war, or the hopes of it, to the people, and peace to his enemies. "But the truth is, this peace was welcome to both kings: to Charles, for that it assured unto him the possession of Brittany, and freed the enterprise of Naples: to Henry, for that it filled his coffers, and that he foresaw, at that time, a storm of inward troubles coming upon him, which presently after broke forth."³

¹ Sismondi remarks that at this time, France had considerably outstripped England in the military art. "Henry VII.," he says, "was clear-sighted to be aware that no sooner should he be engaged in a war with France, than a rebellion would break out in England. He knew the Continent, where he had lived long, and that the time of Crecy, Poitiers, and Azincourt, perpetually recalled to the remembrance of the English, had passed away. The military art had undergone great improvements in France. Charles VIII. had at his disposition a superb artillery, superior to that of all Europe beside; a body of men-at-arms, as constantly exercised during peace as during war;

francs-archers, whom his predecessors had for thirty years been training for the field; and brave bands of Swiss, ever ready to rally under the flag of France. The English, on the contrary, for two generations, had no military practice, beyond the sudden ebullitions of their civil wars, which lasted only for a few days; they had no troops of the line, and they had brought their artillery to no perfection. Besides, they were far from prodigal in their subsidies, and could not long maintain a war requiring enormous expense for the transport of troops and provisions by sea."

² This treaty went by the name of the peace of Etaples.

³ *Ibidem*.

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1492—1509.

HENRY VII.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1485—DEATH, A.D. 1509.

Perkin Warbeck, a new pretender to the crown—He is used as a tool by the courts of France and Burgundy—Contradictory reports of his real origin—Execution of Warbeck's abettors in England—Sir William Stanley executed as a traitor—Warbeck makes an unsuccessful landing in England—He repairs to Scotland—State of Scotland at this period—Rebellion against James III. its king—His defeat and assassination—Succeeded by James IV.—Plots of Henry VII. against James IV.—James adopts the cause of Warbeck—He invades England in Warbeck's behalf—Unsuccessful result of the invasion—Warbeck dismissed from Scotland—He again lands in England—He is defeated and taken prisoner—His attempts to escape from the Tower—He is executed—Execution of the Earl of Warwick—Attempts of Charles VIII. of France to obtain Naples—His death—Marriage of Margaret, daughter of Henry, to James IV. of Scotland—Death of Prince Arthur, son of Henry—His widow espoused to his younger brother—Henry's extortions—His agents, Dudley and Empson—Henry entraps the Earl of Suffolk—Inquiry about the murder of the sons of Edward IV. in the Tower—Henry dispenses with parliaments—The Archduke Philip lands in England—Ungenerous advantages taken of the event by Henry—He seeks in marriage the widow of Philip—His negotiations with Ferdinand of Spain—Last sickness and death of Henry VII.—His character.



HE "storm of inward trouble," which Henry had foreseen, proceeded from a new pretender to the crown, in right of an assumed descent from the house of York. In the preceding year a stranger—a beautiful young man—landed in the Cove of Cork, and gave himself out to be Richard, Duke of York, the second son of Edward IV. The murder of the elder son by order of their uncle Richard was admitted, but this youth (so went the story) had escaped by some marvellous means from the Tower; and, after being a fugitive and a wanderer for seven long years, had come to claim his inheritance. Without caring for the recent case of the baker's boy, the citizens of Cork warmly declared in favour of the adventurer, whose name was soon spread over the greater part of Ireland. Many of the Anglo-Irish nobles were quite ready to draw the sword; but the powerful Earl of Kildare was rather more cautious than he had been on the previous occasion, and the young man was induced to accept a pressing invitation to the French court. King Charles, who was then expecting the invasion of Henry, and who had not as yet begun his secret negotiations, saw the use that might be made of him in disturbing and alarming the English government, and he therefore gave him a most courteous reception, and caused his whole court to treat him as the real Duke of York and heir to the crown of England. A royal body-guard was appointed to wait upon him; the story of his adventures, and the list of his accomplishments, were diligently circulated; and Sir George Nevil, Sir John Taylor, and about 100 English exiles, went to Paris and bound themselves to his service. The person of this

claimant was the security which Charles had against Henry, and of which he made the most, threatening to espouse his cause and to let him loose in England, backed by a French army; and it was this consideration that hastened the conclusion of the peace of Etaples. When that treaty was concluded, Charles turned the adventurer out of France. Henry endeavoured to make the French court deliver him up; but Charles, probably thinking that he might be useful hereafter, said that such a measure would be inconsistent with his honour. The wanderer then retired for protection and assistance to the Duchess of Burgundy. This princess pretended many scruples, and submitted his whole story to a studied and imposing scrutiny, in order that the world might see that she did not take up his cause lightly. All this, and something more, may have been necessary to counteract the recollections left by her conduct in relation to Simnel. But in the end she embraced her guest as her dear nephew, the living image of her loving brother King Edward IV. She bestowed on him the poetical surname of "The White Rose of England," in allusion to his pure Yorkist descent. The people of Flanders, out of their love and respect for the duchess, showed a great alacrity in believing what she desired, and, by means of the active commercial intercourse between them and the English, the present condition of the young man was soon made known,¹ and a correspondence was opened in his behalf in England. Sir Robert Clifford was despatched as the confidential agent of these malcontents to the court of the Duchess Margaret, to ascertain whether this were a true prince or not. Sir Robert

¹ Bacon says, "The news came blazing and thundering over into England that the Duke of York was sure alive."

reported that he had seen "The White Rose," had conversed with him and his aunt, and that there could not be a shadow of doubt as to his birth and rights. But Henry also had sent his secret emissaries into the country, and they framed a report of a very different nature, stating, as the result of their diligent researches, that "The White Rose" was none other than one Peterkin or Perkin Warbeck, the son of a merchant—a converted Jew—of the city of Tournai; that he had lived much with the English merchants in Flanders, and that he had recently been travelling about Europe as a servant to Lady Brompton, the wife of one of the exiles. In the summer of 1493 Henry despatched an embassy to the Archduke Philip, son of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, grandson of Charles the Rash, and now sovereign prince. The ambassadors were charged to demand the surrender, or at least the expulsion of Warbeck; but the answer they received was, that, to have the love and favour of the King of England, the archduke from that time forward would neither aid nor assist Perkin or his accomplices, but that it was not in his power to interfere with the duchess-dowager, because she, in the lands assigned to her for her dower, might, as a sovereign princess, do and order all things at her own will and pleasure. Henry upon this withdrew the mart of English cloth from Antwerp to Calais, and prohibited all intercourse with Flanders. "After this the king, looking circumspectly to his matters, purposed to pacify the storms and blasts that he perceived to be growing rather by policy and council than by dubious war." The first thing he did was to bribe Sir Robert Clifford and William Barly, his associate; and these secret agents of the English malcontents, won by his money and promises, betrayed the names of all the gentlemen in England who had entered into Warbeck's scheme. On the same day Henry caused to be arrested, in different places, and brought before him in London, John Ratcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon de Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William Daubeney, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressemer, Thomas Astwood, "as also certain priests and religious men," as Sir William Richeforde, doctor of divinity, and Sir Thomas Poynes, both friars of St. Dominic's order, Dr. William Sutton, Sir William Worsely, dean of St. Paul's, Robert Layborne, and Sir Richard Lessey. It was not possible to keep secret so many arrests of conspicuous persons, and many who had been sharers in the same treason fled and took sanctuary. Judgment of death was passed upon all the prisoners, and Sir Simon de Mountford, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, and William Daubeney, were beheaded immediately. The others were pardoned, and all the priests for their order's sake; "but," adds

the chronicler, "few of them lived long after." Lord Fitzwalter was pardoned of his life; but afterwards, being sent to Calais and there laid in hold, he was beheaded, because he corrupted the keepers in order to escape out of prison, intending, as was thought, to have gone to Perkin.

These transactions passed towards the end of the year 1494, or nearly two years after the peace of Etaples.¹

A.D. 1495. Henry's suspicions had fallen upon Sir William Stanley, brother to

Lord Stanley, who had placed the crown upon his head at Bosworth Field. After the festival of Christmas the king and court went to lodge in the Tower of London. One day, as Henry sat there in council, the false Clifford was introduced suddenly to enact a part. Falling upon his knees, as if he who had sold his party were in fear of his life, he implored the royal pardon; and Henry, as good an actor as the traitor, granted it with much benignity of countenance. The traitor was then questioned concerning the full extent of the conspiracy, and Clifford named Sir William Stanley. Henry expressed both horror and incredulity, but he recommended his friend Stanley to keep his room in the Tower, where Sir William was residing with the court in discharge of his duties as chamberlain. Regard had no doubt been paid to the convenience of having the court and prison within the same walls. On the following morning, when he was brought before the council, Stanley "denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuse or extenuate his fault, so that (not very wisely), thinking to make his offence less by confession, he made it enough for condemnation."² The judges at Westminster considered his confession sufficient grounds for a sentence of death. People could scarcely believe that Henry would refuse the royal pardon in such a case. To the Stanleys he had been chiefly indebted for the crown; the criminal himself had saved his life at Bosworth Field, when he was near falling under the furious charge of Richard; and the Lord Stanley, Sir William's brother, in addition to his many important services, was husband to the king's mother, who was still living. But the prisoner was "the richest subject for value in the kingdom"—and, accordingly, he died the death of a traitor on the 15th of February. Other political reasons, such as a wish to inspire terror by striking down a great man, have been assigned; but nearly all the writers who lived near the time seemed to agree in thinking that Stanley would have had a much better chance for his life if he had not been so very rich.³

¹ Hall; Stow; Bacon; Rot. Parl.

² Bacon.

³ Bacon; Hall; P. Virgil; André MS. in Brit. Mus.; Stow.

The party of Perkin Warbeck, after all these executions, and the treachery of Sir Robert Clifford, were filled with despair and distrust. At the same time, the Flemings, who suffered severely from the interruption of the trade with England, began to murmur, and even to threaten the pretender. Warbeck, upon this, adopted the bold resolution of landing in England. On the 3d of July, while the king was in Lancashire on a visit to his mother, a few hundred desperate men—English exiles or foreign adventurers—landed near Deal, and attempted to raise the country in favour of “The White Rose.” The people were easily moved, but it was fiercely to repel, not to join, the invaders, who, after a sharp conflict, were driven back to the sea-shore. One hundred and sixty-nine were taken prisoners; the rest, with Perkin among them, returned with a press of sail to Flanders.¹ All the captives were driven to London tied together like a great team of cattle, and they were executed to a man, some at London and Wapping, others at different places upon the coast of Kent, Sussex, Essex, and Norfolk, their bodies being gibbeted, “for sea-marks or light-houses to teach Perkin’s people to avoid the coast.”²

A.D. 1496. The interruption of the commercial intercourse with Flanders was of necessity almost as injurious to the English as to the Flemings, and Henry agreed to a reconciliation with the Archduke Philip. A “great treaty of commerce” between the two countries was signed in the month of February, bearing this important appendage—that Philip should prevent the Dowager-duchess of Burgundy from assisting or harbouring the king’s rebels, and that each of the contracting parties should banish from his dominions the enemies of the other.³ Upon this, Warbeck, who could no longer stay in Flanders, returned to Ireland, where he met with a cold reception. From Ireland he crossed over to Scotland, where the court, which was incensed against Henry, received him with open arms.⁴

To James III., who had so readily recognized his accession, and made treaties with him, Henry was never a warm friend, or an open enemy. He kept up a correspondence with the factions in Scotland even at a time when he had no ground whatever for a quarrel with the king. But in the summer of 1487, when he was preparing to take part in the war on the Continent, he despatched his favourite negotiator, Richard Fox,

lord privy seal, who had recently been appointed to the bishopric of Exeter, to negotiate with James, who referred him to the Bishop of Aberdeen. The two bishops agreed that the truce subsisting should be prolonged till the 1st of September, 1489; and then, taking up a project which had already been entertained in the English court, they settled the following extraordinary marriages: 1. The King of Scots was to take to wife Elizabeth Woodville, widow of Edward IV.; 2. James, Prince of Scotland and Duke of Rothesay, was to marry one of the daughters of Elizabeth Woodville and Edward IV.; and, 3. The Marquis of Ormond, the second son of the Scottish king, was to marry another daughter.⁵ This treaty, however, soon fell to the ground, because the Scottish monarch, as a preliminary, insisted upon the surrender of the town of Berwick, which, it appears, Henry had at one time promised. From this moment the English court gave a more decided countenance to the faction of the Scottish aristocracy. Although the turbulent Albany had been killed at a tournament in France, and the great Douglas had been confined like a monk to the monastery of Lindores, the barons were still powerful, and still bent on the destruction of the king, whom they had treated so harshly, that they could never believe in the sincerity of his reconciliation and forgiveness. When the unfortunate James began to display more activity and vigour than had been customary with him, and to adopt measures for curtailing their authority, they won over his eldest son, the Duke of Rothesay, a youth only in his sixteenth year, but who had some ability, and all that impatience which has so frequently distinguished the heirs of weak kings. At the same time they strengthened their party with some of the Scottish bishops and higher clergy, who were irritated by the king’s denunciation of the practice of buying and selling church promotions. The King of England secretly sanctioned the unnatural conspiracy of the son against the father; but so adroitly did Henry manage this matter, that it could never be discovered to what extent he went. James was not very wise in his new energy: he set up his second son, the Marquis of Ormond, in opposition to his first; and he still further irritated the higher order of the clergy by insisting that the right of disposing of vacant benefices belonged solely to him, and not to the court of Rome. His parliament went along with him in this measure, and interdicted appeals to the pope in such cases. They also passed acts of great severity against the Earls of Argyle and Angus, the Lords Drummond, Hailes, and Lyle, the Bishop of Glasgow, and many others. As

¹ It appears that Warbeck never landed, but kept himself on board with sails bent, to make off in case of not finding the people favourable.

² Bacon; Fabian; Hall; Stow; Rot. Parl.

³ Rymer. This last clause Henry continued to insert in all his treaties with foreign powers.

⁴ Hall; Polydore Virgil; Stow; Tytler, *Hist. Scot.*

⁵ Rymer.

soon as this parliament adjourned, the barons collected their vassals in arms; and the Duke of Rothesay, who was now addressed as "King of Scotland," issued from Stirling Castle, and put himself at their head. Upon this, James sent the Earl of Buchan, the Lord Bothwell, and the Bishop of Murray, on an embassy to Henry, to solicit the assistance of a body of English troops—in every respect the worst step he could have taken. This application was soon known, and it was made one of the strongest grounds upon which the Scottish insurgents declared that he had forfeited the crown. His son was immediately proclaimed under the title of James IV.; and a new administration was formed, which acted in his name. Henry, hoping to profit by these troubles, and caring little in what manner, did not hesitate to recognize the son as king. The unfortunate father was soon driven from Edinburgh; his baggage and money were seized at Leith; and he escaped with difficulty into Fife, by throwing himself on board a ship belonging to the brave Sir Andrew Wood. As the whole of the south had risen in arms against him he fled to the north, where he was soon joined by the Earls of Athole, Huntly, and Crawford, the Lord Lindsay of the Byres, a veteran who had served the French in the wars on the Continent, and by many other noblemen of great name. Old Lindsay presented him with a gray charger remarkable for height, power, and spirit, and said, "Only keep a good seat, and his speed will outdo all I have ever seen, either to flee or follow." From the north James soon turned southward, with an army of 30,000 men. He found his enemies, with his own son at their head, at Blackness, near Linlithgow. His force was far superior; but by the advice of some of his friends he listened to terms of accommodation, and even signed a pacific treaty. But almost immediately after, either with or without his consent, the Earl of Buchan fell unawares on the prince's army, gained a decided advantage, and killed a great many men; though the affair did not break up the array, or even force the prince to retreat. Indeed, within a few days the king renewed the treaty with his enemies, who stood with arms in their hands, and who obtained very advantageous conditions. He then retired to Edinburgh Castle, and dismissed his northern forces. But the prince's party, or rather the faction which made that youth their instrument, either kept together their forces, or re-collected them immediately after the pacification of Blackness, and once more forced the king into the field. After some minor operations, this short but sanguinary civil war was terminated on the 18th of June, 1488, at Little Craglar, a moor upon the east of a brook called Sauchie Burn, about two miles from Stir-

ling, and one mile from the memorable field of Bannockburn. The royalists were rather inferior in number, and the naked Highlanders were not a match for the hardy and well-armed Galwegians, and the yet better equipped Borderers of Liddesdale and Annandale. While his followers still maintained a desperate conflict, the king, who was no warrior, and apparently no horseman, stuck his spurs into his charger, and galloped from the field. The horse he rode was the gallant gray which had been presented to him by the Lord Lindsay of the Byres, and which probably proved too much for an unskilful or a timid rider. It is possible that James may really have been killed by a fall from this horse; but the following is the singular account given by all the Scottish chroniclers who lived nearest to the time, and also, we believe, universally adopted by later writers, as well as still attested by popular tradition. As the king crossed the brook of Bannock, close to a small hamlet called Miltoun, a poor woman who was drawing water from the brook, threw down her picher in alarm close before him; upon which his bounding steed took fright, swerved in his course, and threw him to the ground with such violence as to deprive him of his senses. The cotters ran to his assistance, and, wholly ignorant of his quality, carried him into the house of the miller, took off his heavy armour, and laid him upon a wretched flock bed, with a coarse rug thrown over him. As soon as he recovered his senses he asked for some priest or monk to whom he might confess before he died. The poor people then asked who he was; and James, as the story goes, said incautiously, "Alas! this morning I was your king." Then the woman of the house ran forth wringing her hands and crying out for a priest to shrive the king! Attracted by her clamour, a man, who was one of a party of stragglers from the victorious army of the prince, went into the house, and recognizing the king, stooped over him, as if he were a priest about to administer the last consolations of religion, and stabbed him to the heart with a dagger. James III. was only thirty-five years old when he perished. At the dismal news of his death his undutiful son was overwhelmed with remorse; but though this feeling embittered the remainder of his life, and cast a gloom upon his most festive hours, it did not prevent him from ascending the throne, nor from embarking most ardently in the pursuit of pleasure. He attended his father's funeral, and then proceeded to Perth, and was crowned at Scone Abbey, with the usual pomp and rejoicings, on the 26th of June. He had set an example highly dangerous to kings; but this did not seem to affect Henry, who granted passports to the ambassadors of his "dear cousin." James IV., taking care, however,

at the same time, to send strong reinforcements to Berwick, which might be attacked with the vigour which generally characterizes a new revolution. Having agreed with the young king for a three years' truce, he then waited events; and the course they took, for some time, seemed likely to lay Scotland at his feet without his making war, which he disliked, and without his touching his treasures, which he disliked still more.

The late King of Scotland had not died unlamented, and there were some bold and desperate men who were quite ready to try another revolution. In the following year the Lord Forbes took up arms, and marched through the country with a bloody shirt, said to be the late king's, fixed upon a spear, as his banner; and this ghastly token had a wonderful effect upon the common people, who had always been rather attached to the deceased sovereign. At the same time the Lord Lyle occupied the strong castle of Dumbarton in defiance of the new government, and the Earl of Lennox, the Lord Darnley, and some others, armed their vassals and put their castles in a state of defence. But James, who was as active and warlike as his father had been sedentary and pacific, and who was surrounded by men of energy, rapidly collected an army, and, after a few sieges and a desperate nocturnal fight at Talla Moss, about sixteen miles from Stirling, he completely suppressed this revolt. His clemency in the hour of victory and triumph was still more effective than his arms, and the disaffected nobles were pretty generally reconciled, and even attached to his government.

In the following year (1490), at the very moment when the Scottish king was negotiating with Henry in the most friendly manner for the settlement of some Border differences, and for a prolongation of the truce, a dark plot was hatched at the English court for the seizing of his person, together with that of his brother, the Duke of Ross, the heir-apparent to the throne. Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, the favourite of the late king, who had fled into England, the Earl of Buchan, who had recently been received into James' favour, and one Sir Thomas Tod, of the realm of Scotland, entered into an agreement with Henry to seize the two princes and deliver them both into his hands. For present aid in this treasonable enterprise Henry advanced the sum of £260; but, with his accustomed parsimony, he stipulated that the money should be restored to him by a certain day. The bargain was drawn up at Greenwich, and Tod delivered his son as an hostage or security.¹ But although

James had no suspicion, and had probably never learned that such a plan was on foot, the project came to nothing. In the following year Henry received with open arms the Earl of Angus, one of the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, and concluded another dark agreement with him; and though this conspiracy, which was known, at least in part, to James, failed, like that of Bothwell, Buchan, and Tod, he did not, for that, cease to maintain a secret intercourse with the disaffected portion of the Scottish nobility, nor neglect to keep spies in the court. James, though he was very imperfectly informed of these practices, still knew enough to excite his indignation; and his natural disposition alone made him hate the cold and crafty character of Henry. The young king, moreover, had, from the time of his accession, kept up a friendly correspondence with Henry's implacable enemy, the Duchess of Burgundy; and there are good reasons for believing not only that James knew of Warbeck's coming, but that he had negotiated with him several years before he came.

Whether James entered into these relations with his eyes open to the fact that Perkin was not what he gave himself out to be, or whether he, at this or at any later time, believed him to be an impostor, must remain matter of doubtful speculation. What is certain is, that he and his people had long entertained the notion of breaking with Henry, as with a man who could never be trusted, and who had the art of making peace more dangerous than war. When, therefore, the wanderer presented himself, he found the Scots in a humour which would not dispose them to be very critical in the examination of his proofs of royal birth; but such was the wonderful tact, such the winning manners of Perkin, that he soon convinced people through their feelings to himself personally, and most of them seem to have proceeded in the honest belief that their interesting guest was really the person that he reported himself to be. There was certainly no real prince at the time more beautiful, and graceful, and accomplished, than this extraordinary pretender. Immediately after his arrival in Scotland, James IV., who always addressed him as "cousin," entertained him with tournaments and other great festivals; and when these were over he took him with him on a royal progress through Scotland, by which means he was seen and enthusiastically admired by all classes. As if to prove the warmth of his attachment, and the sincerity of his conviction that Perkin was the real Duke of York, he married him in a short time to the Lady Catherine Gordon, the beautiful daughter of the Earl of Huntly, who, on the mother's side, was nearly related to the royal house of Stuart.

¹The industrious Rymer first brought this transaction to light. The original agreement is published in his *Fœdera, Conventiones, &c.*

Henry was much disquieted by these transactions; nor were his apprehensions abated when he learned that James had summoned all his lieges to meet him in arms at Lauder. The first thing he did was to renew an old friendship with Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, the discontented favourite of the late king;¹ to send a present to the reigning king's brother; and to employ one Master Wyat, an Englishman, and an old servant in this kind of business, as a secret envoy in Scotland. Henry's bosom friend, Fox, now Bishop of Durham, was commissioned to negotiate in a more open manner; but he was less successful than Wyat. The English bishop was soon succeeded at the Scottish court by a French knight, a more welcome ambassador, from Charles VIII. This was the Sire de Concessault, who had been captain of the French guard of honour assigned to Perkin by King Charles in 1493. In public, the accomplished diplomatist showed himself as a mediator anxious to reconcile the differences existing between the French and English sovereigns; in private, he favoured Perkin and the war party, and pressed for the invasion of England; for his master Charles was irritated and alarmed by the conduct of Henry, who had now formed a league with the pope, the King of the Romans, the King of Spain, the Duke of Milan, and the Doge of Venice, in order to prevent the French from establishing themselves as conquerors beyond the Alps. In a short time Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, wrote secretly to Henry, informing him that the Earl of Buchan² took it upon himself to fulfil what was meant, and that he hoped to be able, "in the long nights," to surprise Warbeck in his tent, and take him prisoner. He went on to tell his employer that he had spoken to the king's brother, who engaged to do his grace service, and not to join the army against his grace for aught the king might do, and that the Bishop of Moray undertook to solicit the young prince to go over to his grace, in case his brother King James should persist, against the will of his baronry and his whole people, in making this war. This spy, who was trusted by King James all the time, certainly worked hard to earn Henry's money, and scrupled at no measures, however base. In other letters he mentions the names of the Daecres, Nevils, Lovels, and Herons, and some other gentlemen of the north of England, as being in correspondence, or having stolen interviews, with King James and Warbeck.³

The Dowager-duchess of Burgundy contrived to send to Scotland sixty picked men-at-arms,

and a supply of crossbows, arms, armour, and other military stores; and Perkin soon found himself at the head of 1400 men of all manner of nations. James now concluded a treaty with Warbeck as with a sovereign prince. Many of the Scottish nobles besides Bothwell and Buchan were sold to Henry, and ready to betray the army; others, out of prudence and good policy, were against the war, for Scotland had been much weakened by the recent internal dissensions; but James, who was young and ardent, knew not the treachery of one party, and rejected the advice of the other. By some means not explained, Buchan failed in his plan of seizing Warbeck in his tent; and on the 8th of September Bothwell informed Henry that, on the 15th day of the same month, James would be at Ellam Kirk, within ten miles of the marches of England, with Perkin and his followers, and all the Scottish troops he could muster.⁴ The spy made a trifling mistake in point of date; but early in the winter James crossed the Borders, being preceded by a declaration of war, and an address on the part of Perkin to his faithful subjects, the people of England. Had Perkin come alone, or with the few Englishmen who had joined his standard, his chance would have been better, though in no circumstances could that chance have been a good one. Warned in proper time by Bothwell, Henry had adopted measures to indispose men's minds to insurrection.

Instead of a general rising in his favour, Perkin saw that he, and the Border gentlemen who had joined him, were regarded with detestation, as being in close league with the natural enemies of England. At the same time, the French adventurers could not agree with the Germans and Flemings, and the Scots quarrelled with all the foreigners alike. Then, to convert Warbeck's last faint hope into despair, the ill-disciplined invaders, with or without James' consent, began to plunder the country, and thereby to convert every yeoman and every peasant into a determined enemy. Warbeck said (or at least it is reported, to his honour) that he would rather lose the throne than gain it by the sufferings of Englishmen. It should appear that the cattle and stores had been removed betimes from the open country, and that this marauding expedition was not very productive in the article of victuals; for the invaders soon felt the want of provisions, and thereupon retreated across the Borders without fighting a battle, or waiting for a sight of an English army, just as Bothwell had foretold.⁵

¹ At the memorable execution in 1482, when James III.'s favourites were hanged by the barons on the bridge of Lauder, this Ramsay was the only one that escaped. As the plot for seizing King James and his brother seems to have originated with him, he must have had a genius for this kind of undertaking.

² Buchan, it will be remembered, had also been concerned in the Greenwich plot for seizing James and his brother.

³ *Original Letters illustrative of English History*, by Sir Henry Ellis.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Bacon; Hall; Stow; Tytler's *Hist. Scot.*; Sir Henry Ellis' *Letters*.

This incursion, though little better than a foul raid, was productive of serious consequences; for the people of Cornwall, considering themselves over-taxed by Henry to meet the expenses of the war,¹ rose in open rebellion, and crying for the execution of the Archbishop Morton, chancellor and chief minister, and of Sir Reginald Grey, they poured into Devonshire to the number of 16,000 men. From Devonshire they advanced into Somersetshire, where they were joined by the Lord Audley, and many other persons of less note. They then marched through Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Surrey, into Kent, and encamped on Blackheath. Henry, whose great sagacity did not preserve him from superstition, believed that Saturday was his lucky day; and, accordingly, he ordered battle to be given on a Saturday. While the Lord Daubeney moved from London to attack in front, the Earl of Oxford made a circuit to attack in rear; and the king, with a great body of reserve and most of the artillery, kept his person out of danger at St. George's Fields, in the suburbs of London. Lord Daubeney, after a sharp conflict, in which the Cornish archers did great execution, drove in the advance post of the insurgents at Deptford-Strand, carried the bridge, ascended the hill, and established himself on the heath. At the same time, Oxford showed himself in their rear. Though without horse or artillery, or any good officers to command them, the Cornish men fought bravely, until 2000 of them were slain. Fifteen hundred were taken with arms in their hands; and among the prisoners were Lord Audley and Flammoek, an attorney, and Joseph, a blacksmith. The Lord Audley was beheaded at Tower Hill; Flammoek and Joseph were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn. The blacksmith died like a hero. All the rest were pardoned by proclamation, and the prisoners were permitted to compound for their liberty with the men that had taken them.

The battle of Blackheath was fought on the 22d of June, 1497. A short time before it happened King James again crossed the Tweed, and swept the country as far as the Tees; but he retreated when the Earl of Surrey marched northward with a powerful army. The English then ravaged a part of the Scottish borders; but after gaining or losing a few insignificant conflicts they retired, and the war languished. Henry's correspondents were not slow in informing him that James wished for peace; whereupon the English king repeated an offer he had already

made of the hand of his eldest daughter, Margaret, to his cousin, the King of Scots. Some time elapsed before the treaty was signed, and the marriage was not concluded till more than five years after. James, though young, thoughtless, dissipated, and extravagant, was too honourable to think of selling Perkin Warbeck, for whom he had coined his plate, and even converted the great chain of gold which he was accustomed to wear into money. Before dismissing his army, or concluding anything with Henry, he permitted Perkin to depart; being no longer able to assist him, and seeing that, if he remained, his presence would only embarrass the negotiations. A ship was privately got ready at Ayr, and a delicate attention was paid to whatever might contribute to the comfort of the passengers. Warbeck was escorted to the sea-port by a guard of horse, and he embarked with a few followers who were much attached to him, and who would on no account leave him. Though he had nothing to offer her but a wandering and perilous life, his wife resolved to share his fortunes to the last—for, prince or impostor, he had won the heart of that beautiful woman. At the end of July the "Duke and Duchess of York"—as they were still called—left Scotland for ever.² They stood over to Ireland, and, landing at Cork, Warbeck tried once more to raise the Irish. Failing in this attempt, he acted on the bold resolution of trying his fortunes in Cornwall. At the beginning of September he arrived in Whitsand Bay, with four small barks and some six or seven score fighting men. From the coast he marched inland to Bodmin, the native place of Joseph the blacksmith, whose fate at Tyburn seemed to his townsmen to call for vengeance. In other parts of the country there were many thousands who had lost relations and friends in the fierce fight at Blackheath, and who were equally eager for revenge. Warbeck soon found himself at the head of a host. Having assumed the title of Richard IV., King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, and having sent his wife, "for present safety," to Mount St. Michael, he advanced into Devonshire, and, being joined by many disaffected persons, appeared before the city of Exeter on Sunday, the 17th of September, with an irregular force, estimated by those within the walls at 10,000 men. The nobility and gentry of all the neighbouring country had flocked into that city, where, headed by the Earl of Devonshire, and seconded by the wealthier burghers, they bade defiance to the insurgents, who had no artillery, nor any kind of engines proper for a siege. The Cornish men, however, boldly as-

¹ On the 13th of February, 1497, soon after receiving news that James and Warbeck had crossed the Borders, parliament passed a grant of two-tenths and two-fifteenths. The Cornish men pretended that the men of the north alone ought to pay for the defence of their own provinces.

² Tytler's *History of Scotland*. Mr. Tytler's curious extracts from the "Treasurer's Books" establish several very interesting points.

saulted the east and north gates; but they failed, and lost about 300 or 400 men. On the following morning they repeated their assaults upon the same two gates, and "especially at the north gate, which was again well and truly defended, and put Perkin from his purpose there; insomuch, as when Perkin

and his company had well assayed and felt the guns, they were fain to desire to have license to gather their company together, and so to depart and leave the city."¹ This failure disheartened such of the men of Devonshire as had joined the insurgents, and they began to return to their homes as quietly as they could; but the hardy men of Cornwall advised Warbeck to continue his march eastward, vowing that they were ready to die for him to a man. Making rapid marches, they reached Taunton, in Somersetshire, on the 20th, but they found no accession of force, though the

country people, who were still complaining of the king's tax-gatherers, wished success to their enterprise. At Taunton their farther progress was checked by the presence of a royal army, numerous, provided with artillery, and well appointed in all particulars. The half-naked Cornish men, thus confronted, neither fled nor spoke of retreat; and Warbeck, showing a good countenance, rode along their lines, and made his dispositions for a battle, to be fought on the morrow; for the quiet shades of evening were stealing along the beautiful valley of Taunton Dean, and the royalists had pitched their tents and tethered their horses for the night. But Warbeck, with all his princely qualities, was deficient in one, very essential to princes in those days—he wanted courage; he was appalled by the sight of the measureless superiority of Henry's forces, and during the night he mounted a swift horse and fled from his company at Taunton, taking no leave nor license of them.² When morning dawned, and his flight was discovered, the Cornish men, without head or leader—"without

stroke stricken"—submitted to the mercy of Henry, who hanged the ringleaders, and dismissed the rest, naked and starving. Great numbers of well-mounted men were despatched in every quarter in pursuit of Perkin, but his steed carried him well, and he reached the sanctuary



THE REFECTORY, BEAULIEU.³—From an engraving by Sparrow, dated 1786

of Beaulieu, in the New Forest. There was also sent, with all speed, a troop of horse to St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, to seize, at all hazards, the person of the Lady Catherine Gordon, who had been sent there by her husband, "whom in all fortunes she entirely loved." "The king," adds Bacon, "sent in great diligence, not knowing whether she might be with child; *whereby the business would not have ended in Perkin's person.*" The horsemen easily got possession of the fair Catherine, and brought her like a captive and bondwoman to the king, in whose presence she blushed and wept bitterly. Her beauty and amiable countenance touched even the cold, impassive heart of Henry; he treated her with respect, almost with tenderness, and sent her to his wife, the Queen Elizabeth, in whose court she was received with great kindness.⁴

The sanctuary of Beaulieu was soon surrounded by the king's troops, but Henry hesitated to force so holy a place, and he proceeded by artifice, in which he was not often unsuccessful. He sent some of his skilful agents to work upon the

¹ Letter from the Earl of Devonshire to the king, dated the 18th of September, the same day on which this second attack was made.—Ellis' Letters.

² Letter from the king, dated the 25th of Sept.—Sir H. Ellis.

³ The Cistercian abbey of Beaulieu was founded A.D. 1204, by King John. The stone wall which surrounded the precincts of the abbey is in several places nearly entire. The abbot's apart-

ments, after the dissolution converted into a family seat, a long building, supposed to have been the dormitory, the ancient kitchen, and the refectory, are still standing. The church is entirely gone. The refectory, a plain stone building, with strong buttresses, and a curiously-raftered oak roof, forms the parish church of the village of Beaulieu.

⁴ Hall; André; Bacon; Sir Henry Ellis' Letters.

fears of Perkin, who, finding himself without help or hope, accepted the royal pardon, and, of his own will, frankly and freely departed out of sanctuary. Henry would not admit him into his presence, but his curiosity induced him to take a secret view, from behind a screen, of the spirit which had so long tormented him. A part of the royal army, whose presence was necessary for the enforcement of taxes and fines, marched westward into Devonshire and Cornwall. The commissioners appointed to levy fines upon the wealthier insurgents, according to one old writer,¹ "like a whirlwind, tossed and pierced the coffers and substance of the people;" and Bacon says that "they proceeded with such strictness and severity, as did much obscure the king's mercy in sparing of blood, with the bleeding of so much treasure."

When Henry returned to London, Warbeck rode behind him at a little distance, but not in any ignominious fashion. In order that he might be seen by all the citizens, he was sent through Cheapside and Cornhill to the Tower, riding on horseback in slow procession. The people crowded to gaze upon the handsome prisoner, whose wonderful adventures had occupied their minds during so many years. Some hooted and scoffed, but the majority preserved a wondering and respectful silence. When they saw the dismal gates close upon him they thought never to see him again; but presently he came forth of the Tower, and he was conveyed in the same slow state back to the palace at Westminster. In appearance, he lived at liberty in the court; in reality, he was watched by certain keepers, who were ordered never to lose sight of him, nor permit him to move from them a nail's breadth. He was not converted into a menial, like Simnel, but was treated with an outward show of respect. He was repeatedly examined before a select commission; but, except a few particulars, which in no way explained the most mysterious parts of his story, his confessions were kept secret.²

A.D. 1498. Without speculating on Henry's motives, which it is clear were not penetrated by any of the contemporary writers, we will proceed to relate the outward and visible facts which wound up the marvellous history of Perkin Warbeck. In June, when he had resided some six or seven months in Henry's court, he contrived, or, what seems more probable, he was permitted to escape. Being immediately pursued, he took refuge in the house of Bethlem, called the Priory of Shene, beside Richmond, in Surrey. This house was one of those which enjoyed the right of sanctuary; but the prior having, by earnest solicitations, procured a promise from the king that his life should be spared, de-

livered him up. A paper was now put into his hand, and he was fettered in a pair of stocks before the door of Westminster Hall, where he stood a whole day, not without coarse insults; and there he read the paper, which purported to be his full confession. The next day he stood in the stocks at Cheapside, and read the same paper. The confession, which was afterwards printed by Henry's orders, though we believe that no full and authentic copy is preserved, was a very unsatisfactory, and in part a contradictory document. Henry's cunning and caution injured the weight of the evidence by which he wished all men should be convinced. After the second reading Perkin was shut up in the Tower, where he became the companion and friend of the unfortunate Earl of Warwick, who, after his exhibition in the city and at court, for the purpose of exposing the imposture of Simnel, had been recommended to his old lodging.³

A.D. 1499. Perkin Warbeck had not been more than six months in the Tower when a new attempt was made to dethrone Henry; and one Ralph Wilford or Wulford, the son of a cordwainer, undertook to play the part of the Earl of Warwick. Several plots had been set on foot to release the unfortunate earl, and proclaim him king; but, though aided on one occasion by Charles VIII., they had all failed. Now a report was spread that Warwick had perished, or was missing in the Tower; but after a short interval there was a whisper that he had escaped. From the borders of Sussex, Ralph Wilford and an Augustine friar, named Patrick, who was the chief contriver of this farce, stole into Kent, where they seem to have found some encouragement. The cordwainer's son told the story of his royal birth, captivity, and escape; and the monk undertook to prove it to be all true, in a discourse which he publicly delivered from the pulpit. Both, however, were arrested almost immediately: Ralph the scholar was executed—Patrick the monk and master was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. There was a very general impression at the time that this whole business "was but the king's device," and that the friar was soon permitted to go to some monastery abroad. Wilford was executed in the month of March. In the month of July it was rumoured that Warbeck and the Earl of Warwick had conspired together to escape from the Tower and get up a new insurrection. Such was the fascination of Perkin's manners, that he not only won the entire friendship of Warwick, but also the favour and kindness of his keepers. Strangways, Blewett, Astwood, and Long Roger, undertook to murder their master, Sir John Dig-

¹ *Holl.*² *Bacon.*³ *Bacon; Hall; Grafton; Fabyan; André; Stow; Rymer.*

by, the governor, to get possession of the keys of the Tower, and to conduct the two captives to some place of safety, where *Warbeck might be proclaimed by the title of Richard IV.*, and whither Warwick might summon the retainers of his father the late Duke of Clarence. Such at least was the account given by the law officers of the king, though here again people doubted whether Henry had not excited the natural desires of the two prisoners for liberty, led them into the plot, and invented some of its worst features; for he was so cunning that it was not believed he could ever act in a straight-forward manner. The plot being discovered before it could be executed—or this at least being stated—Warbeck and Warwick were closely confined in separate cells, and preparations were made for their separate trials, for, though the only charge brought against Warwick was his being an accomplice of Perkin, it was not deemed wise to try them together. Henry's judges seem to have been ready to twist and turn the law just as it suited the purpose of their master; but on the present occasion there were long deliberations. At length, on the 16th of November, Warbeck was arraigned in Westminster Hall, upon divers treasons committed and perpetrated after his coming on land within this kingdom (for so the judges advised, because he was a foreigner). He was convicted, of course, and on the 23d day of the same month, he and John O'Water, the mayor of Cork, one of his first adherents, were drawn to Tyburn; there, on the scaffold, his confession was again read, and he affirmed, on the word of a dying man, that it was all true. Then he and his fellow-sufferer "asked the king's forgiveness, and died patiently."¹ Such was the end of this strange, long drama.

Before the execution of Warbeck the Earl of Warwick was brought, not before the judges, but as a peer (though he had never taken the oaths, and the act of attainder passed against his father, the Duke of Clarence, had never been reversed), to the bar of the House of Lords, and accused, not for the attempt to escape simply, but for the conspiring with Perkin to raise sedition, and destroy the king. The poor prince, who, from his long confinement, was unaccustomed to the ways of the world, and helpless and ignorant in a piteous degree, confessed to the indictment; the Earl of Oxford, as lord-steward, pronounced the judgment of the house; and on the 24th of November, three days after his trial, he was beheaded on Tower Hill.² Thus did Henry remove the last descendant of the Planta-

genets from whom he had anything to fear, and from this moment he stood without a competitor. The hapless Warwick was in his twenty-ninth year when he died; but he had been a state-prisoner from his childhood, and seems to have been almost as innocent as a child, when he was judicially murdered by the king and the degraded peers of England. The people, however, long continued to murmur; nor were their doubts wholly removed that Warbeck, after all, might have been the real Duke of York, and lawful heir to the throne. The dying words of that mysterious character might have been uttered on some secret promise of pardon, or on the threats of some execrable tortures; and the confession itself was so full of contradictions and reservations, that it could scarcely impose even on simple minds.³ If there was a tenderer sympathy for the inoffensive Earl of Warwick, the exciting adventures of Warbeck were the more frequent theme of conversation. And what became of Warbeck's fair wife? The Lady Catherine continued in the queen's court, apparently much respected, and, on account of her beauty, the people continued to call her "The White Rose." She was afterwards re-married to Sir Matthew Cradoc, of North Wales, ancestor of the Earls of Pembroke, and was buried with him in the old church of Swansea, where their tomb and epitaph are still to be seen.

A fierce plague having broke out A.D. 1500. in London, the people considered it as a judgment from Heaven. After several changes of residence, Henry, partly from a delicate regard to his own health, and partly because he had business to transact with the Archduke Philip, went over to Calais, and stayed there till the pestilence was over. He invited the archduke to Calais, but that prince prudently declined putting himself within his power, and their meeting took place at St. Peter's Church, between Calais and St. Omer. The subjects of their long conference were commerce, and cross-marriages between their children; but there were no visible effects, and it was thought that the king's anxiety to confer personally with the archduke proceeded from some other causes, in which the case of Warbeck was included. About this time died, "much hated of the people," Morton, the chancellor and primate; but men were disappointed in their hopes that the death of that grinding minister, and the tranquillity at home and abroad, would render the king less eager for money.

¹ Hall.

² Blewett and Astwood, two of the servants of the governor of the Tower, were hanged at Tyburn, a few days after the execution of "the noble and commiserable" Earl of Warwick.

³ The reader will be amused, though probably not convinced, by Walpole, who, in his *Historic Doubts*, maintains that Perkin Warbeck was really the Duke of York. For ourselves, we believe that Perkin was an impostor, but that Henry overdid his part, and never proved him to be one. We have, however, stated the clearer facts without any bias, and from them the reader may draw his own conclusions.

Charles VIII., of France, had now been nearly two years in his grave. In 1494, about sixteen months after buying off Henry by the treaty of Etaples, that strange king, who claimed by purchase from the house of Anjou an absurd right to the throne of the Two Sicilies, crossed the Alps with an army of 3600 men-at-arms, 20,000 French infantry, 8000 Swiss mercenaries, and an immense train of artillery. The little princes of the numerous states into which Italy was divided had no force to oppose to such an army, and their jealousies prevented the formation of a general league. The invaders poured on, from the foot of the Alps to the Bay of Naples, without meeting with any resistance. But Charles soon found that the lily of France was not destined to take root in an Italian soil.¹ The Neapolitans, who, in their frivolity and "mad love of change," had at first welcomed the French, were presently disgusted with their insolence, and opened communications with their expelled sovereign, Ferdinand II. of Aragon, who had not retired further than the island of Sicily. At the same time a formidable league, consisting of the pope, the King of the Romans, the King of Castile, the Duke of Milan, the republic of Venice, and a few of the minor Italian states, was formed against the invaders; and Charles not only lost his conquest as rapidly as he had made it, but had extreme difficulty in fighting his way back to France.² While waiting till the state of his finances should enable him to renew the mad enterprise, he gave himself up to pleasure and debauchery, neglecting his beautiful wife, Anne of Brittany. In 1498, he resolved to engage 15,000 men-at-arms, natives of Italy, and win over the pope, who had quarrelled with the republic of Venice, and with some other members of the coalition. "He also resolved, within himself, to lead a more chaste and religious life, to regulate the laws, to reduce taxation, under which his people were groaning, and to reform the church. He got good preachers about him, and was a constant hearer of their discourses."³ Being thus in great glory in relation to this world, and in good mind as to the next [*his health had been for some time declining*], on the 7th of April, being the eve of Palm Sunday, he took his queen by the hand, and led her out of her apartment in the château of Amboise, where the court was then residing, to a place in which she had never been before, to see them play at tennis-ball in the castle ditch.⁴ The king and queen had to pass through a filthy corridor, which was so low at the entrance that Charles, notwithstanding

his diminutive stature, struck his forehead against the archway. The accident seemed slight, and the king spent some time in looking on at the tennis-players, talking freely with everybody. But about two in the afternoon he fell down backwards, and lost his speech, and being laid down on an old straw mattress in the open corridor, he died about nine hours after, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.⁵ The Duke of Orleans succeeded to the throne, and married the widow Anne, having obtained a divorce from his wife Jane, who was still living, by agreeing to pay 20,000 ducats to Pope Alexander VI., and to cede the Valentinois in Dauphiny, with a pension of 20,000 livres, to the pope's son, the execrable Cesar Borgia. Louis XII.—such was the title of Orleans—was as eager as his predecessor for the conquest of the Two Sicilies. That England might not hinder him in the prosecution of those distant wars, he gladly renewed the treaty of Etaples, and bound himself by solemn oaths to pay up the pension, which had fallen into arrears. Henry got some money, and in the summer of 1499, Louis descended from the Alps into the fertile plains of Lombardy.

Some Border forays afforded A.D. 1501-3.

Henry a pretext for sending Fox, Bishop of Durham, on an embassy to James of Scotland. This skilful negotiator found the young king in Melrose Abbey, and induced him to *ask* the hand of the Princess Margaret, his master's eldest daughter. This match had long been a favourite scheme with Henry; it had been proposed more or less openly on several occasions, but James had hitherto shown a strong aversion to it. After tedious negotiations this treaty, which led, after the lapse of a century, to a no less important result than the peaceful union of England and Scotland, was concluded and ratified. Henry's old friend and correspondent, the Earl of Bothwell, came to London to act as proxy for King James; and "the fiancels" were solemnly celebrated in the queen's chamber, the Princess Margaret, in giving her consent, being made to say that she did it "wittingly and of deliberate mind, *having twelve years complete in age in the month of November last past*."⁶ This ceremony took place on the 29th of January, 1502, but the young lady did not arrive in Scotland until nearly twenty months later. On the Borders she was met by a selected party of Scottish nobility, and on the 7th of August she made her entry into Edinburgh, King James riding behind her on the same palfrey. The following day the marriage ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Glasgow. This marriage was preceded by a treaty of perpetual peace, wherein Henry's

¹ "Che non lice

Che il giglio in quel terreno abbia radice."—*Ariosto*.

² Giannone, *Storia del Regno di Napoli*; Guicciardini, *Istoria d'Italia*.

⁴ *Comines*.

⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵ *Comines*

⁶ *Ellis's Letters*.

favourite clause was not forgotten—that neither prince should give shelter or encouragement to the revolted subjects of the other.

Before the consummation of the marriage of his eldest daughter, Henry's eldest son, Arthur, had been married and had died. As early as 1496, Henry concluded a bargain with Ferdinand of Spain, who agreed to give Prince Arthur his fourth daughter, Catherine, with a portion of 200,000 crowns. Three years after, when Arthur was in his twelfth year, he was solemnly affianced, the Spanish ambassador acting as proxy for the princess, who did not arrive until two more years had passed. On the 6th of November, 1501, the marriage ceremony was performed in St. Paul's Cathedral. On this occasion Henry had the heart to spend a considerable sum of money in feasts and tournaments; but some of his nobles, in order to flatter him, spent so much that they were reduced to ruin. The chief man that took care of the marriage pageants was Bishop Fox, "who," says Bacon, "was not only a grave councillor for war or peace, but also a good surveyor of works, and a good master of ceremonies, and anything else that was fit for the active part belonging to the service of court, or state of a great king." The historian adds that there was a great deal of astrology and fortune-telling in the masques and fanciful pieces which were represented. "You may be sure that King Arthur the Briton [after whom the young prince was named], and the descent of the Lady Catherine from the house of Lancaster [through the daughter of John of Gaunt], was in nowise forgotten." Prince Arthur was compared to Arc-turus, and the princess to Hesperus; and her ancestor, old King Alfonso, "the greatest astronomer of kings," was brought on the scene to predict the wonderful and brilliant fortunes, and the glorious progeny which should spring from the match. "But, as it should seem, it is not good to fetch fortunes from the stars; for this young prince, that drew upon him at that time not only the hopes and affections of his country, but the eyes and expectation of foreigners, after a few months, in the beginning of April [1502], died at Ludlow Castle, where he was sent to keep his residence and court as Prince of Wales." Arthur was little more than fifteen years and six months old; and his amiable temper and handsome person seem to have gained the affection of the people. Ferdinand, the father of the young widow, for political reasons, instantly proposed that she should be married to her brother-in-law, Prince Harry, now heir-apparent to the English throne—a marriage more in accordance with Jewish law than with the canons of the Catholic church. Henry suggested some difficulties; but, when Ferdinand asked back the young lady, and

the money which had been paid with her, he agreed to the match, provided that the dispensation could be obtained from Rome, and that 100,000 crowns, the remaining half of Catherine's portion, should be immediately remitted to London. The dispensation was more easily obtained than the money; and though, in 1503, in the thirteenth year of his age, Henry was contracted to his brother's widow, the marriage, for various reasons, was delayed for six years, during which time it was more than once nearly broken off altogether.

At the same time Henry was looking through Europe for a rich wife for himself—his queen, the daughter of Edward IV., having died in childhood in the Tower, shortly after the birth of her son, Prince Henry. He lost no time; he commenced his search before the dust had time to gather on his wife's coffin; but he was a suitor difficult to please in point of money. Having no longer any fear of insurrection at home, and seeing the great powers of the Continent too much absorbed by other wars to molest him, he fleeced his subjects more unmercifully than ever, giving all his affections and thoughts to the gathering and heaping up of treasure. His ministers, his lawyers, and his priests, did their best to gratify this ruling passion, and to prove to the people that all was done legally, and that the duty of all loyal subjects was passive obedience and a ready paying of money. "And as kings," observes Bacon, "do more easily find instruments for their will and humour than for their service and honour, he had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two instruments, Empson and Dudley, whom the people esteemed as his horse-leeches and shearers, bold men, and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist. Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language. But Empson, that was the son of a sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other respects whatsoever." These men, who, according to the forcible expression of the same great writer, "turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine," were both lawyers. Their modes of proceeding were very simple, but such as could hardly have succeeded had not the spirit of the aristocracy been annihilated, and the House of Commons reduced to a cipher. They charged the owners of estates, which had long been held on a different tenure, with the obsolete burdens of wardship, liveries, premier seins, and the whole array of feudal obligations, for which they would only give quittances for payments in money: they not only converted nearly every offence into a case of fine and forfeiture, but they also invented new offences, that they might get the fines. To hunt up their game

they kept up packs of spies and informers in every part of the kingdom; and to strike it down with the legal forms, they kept a rabble to sit on juries. In the end they did not "observe so much as the half face of justice."¹

A.D. 1504. At the very moment that this system was in full vigour, a parliament met (in the month of January), and the commons chose Dudley, the leech, for their speaker, and passed all such bills as the king thought fit to propose. But though parliament had become the obedient tool of the court, there were loud murmurs out of doors; and there was a desperate man, a son of a sister of Edward IV. and Richard III., who appears to have been disposed to take advantage of the prevailing discontent. This was Edmund de la Pole, son of the Duke of Suffolk, and younger brother of the Earl of Lincoln, who came over with Sinner, and was killed at the battle of Stoke. When the Duke of Suffolk died Edmund claimed his titles and estates; but the king, who had a law and a logic of his own, maintained that he did not inherit from his father, but from his brother Lincoln, who had died before the father, and had never had possession; and that, as his said brother Lincoln had been attainted by parliament, he, Edmund, could have no claim to the honours or lands. Strange as was this course of argument, it received the sanction of the obsequious parliament; and Edmund was obliged to content himself with a fragment of his patrimony, which was given, not as of right, but as an act of kindness and liberality on the part of the king, and with the inferior title of Earl of Suffolk. This harsh usage had a great effect on a temper which seems to have been naturally irritable. The young earl, in a broil, had the misfortune to kill a man. The case, if properly tried, would not probably have gone beyond a modern case of manslaughter; but Henry, glad of the opportunity to reduce one connected with the house of York, had him arraigned as a murderer, and then, instead of permitting the trial to take place, commanded him to plead the royal pardon. Suffolk fled to the Continent, and took refuge in the court of his aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy. Henry, by means with which we are unacquainted, induced him to return to England, where he lived at large for some time without any talk of his offence. At the marriage of Prince Arthur and the Infanta Catherine, he attended with the rest of the nobility, and, being "too gay," sunk himself deep in debt. Almost immediately after he was again missing, as was also his youngest brother, Richard de la Pole. Henry soon learned that both the young men were with their aunt of Burgundy, and, resorting "to

his wonted and tried arts," he caused Sir Robert Curson, who was employed at the time at Calais, to quit his post as if he had fled from it in disgust or in fear of the king, and to present himself to the Earl of Suffolk as a discontented man. This knight soon insinuated himself into the secrets of the earl, and found out the names of the persons upon whom "he had either hope or hold." To increase Suffolk's confidence in the spy, Henry, at one stage of the business, ordered the pope's bull of excommunication and curse against rebels to be read at Paul's Cross against the Earl of Suffolk and Sir Robert Curson. Curson communicated with Henry in great secrecy, and still maintained his own credit and inward trust with the earl. In consequence of the information given by this base agent, Henry arrested William de la Pole, another brother of Suffolk; the Lord Courtenay, who had married the Lady Catherine, one of the sisters of Henry's queen; Sir James Tyrrel, Sir William Windham, and some other meaner persons. Lord Abergavenny and Sir Thomas Green were apprehended at the same time, but they were not closely confined, and were liberated soon after. It was not easy, even in Henry's courts of law, to convict William de la Pole and the Lord Courtenay of any other crimes than their relationship to the fugitive, and their connection with the house of York; yet Courtenay, Henry's brother-in-law, remained a prisoner in the Tower during the king's life, and De la Pole "was also long restrained, though not so strictly. But for Sir James Tyrrel, against whom the blood of the innocent princes, Edward V. and his brother, did still cry from under the altar, and Sir John Windham, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; the two knights beheaded."² This sentence is another curious specimen of Henry's indirect dealing. Tyrrel and Windham were condemned, not for any conspiracy, but for having assisted the king's enemy, the Earl of Suffolk, in his first escape out of England in 1499, or nearly three years before this trial. If suspicions had rested upon Tyrrel as the murderer of the innocent sons of Edward IV., Henry had not thought it expedient to proceed against him for that horrible and mysterious business; on the contrary, he had employed Tyrrel, and seems even to have honoured this master of the horse of his predecessor. It appears to have been while Tyrrel was lying in the Tower, under sentence of death for having favoured the escape of Suffolk, that he confessed, or at least it was reported by Henry that he confessed, to his having employed Miles Forest and John Dighton to murder the princes, and that they had been murdered in their bed,

¹ Bacon.² Bacon.

and buried at the stair foot. From the manner in which this confession was obtained or reported, and from other circumstances, the mystery did not seem cleared up in an entirely satisfactory manner. As the story went, there were but four persons that could speak upon their own knowledge as to the murder—Sir James Tyrrel, Miles Forest, John Dighton, and the priest of the Tower, who, it was said, had buried the bodies. Sir Robert Brackenbury, who was removed from the custody of the Tower for twenty-four hours, must have known that the two children were either killed or carried off, but Brackenbury had died at Bosworth Field fighting for King Richard; and his servant, one Black Will, who guarded the princes, if alive, was never questioned or mentioned, any more than John Green, who had carried, or was said to have carried, Richard's order to Brackenbury. Of the four witnesses mentioned, Miles Forest and the priest of the Tower were dead; and from this showing there remained only Tyrrel and Dighton to speak to the facts. Dighton was a prisoner as well as Tyrrel, and, whatever the master may have done or said, it is quite certain that the servant confessed the murder, and that he repeated the particulars of the story to many men and in many places. But here, again, the course pursued darkened and deepened the shades of doubt in the popular mind. The confessions in the Tower were taken privately. Tyrrel, as we have seen, was got rid of on another charge; but, according to the remarkable words of Bacon, "John Dighton, who, it seemeth, *spake best for the king, was forthwith set at liberty*, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition." Several years later (about 1513), when More wrote, Dighton was still not only alive, but at large; and though the same writer tells us that he was likely to come to the gallows at last,¹ he does not inform us for what crimes, or whether he ever really met the fate predicated for him.

As for the fugitive Earl of Suffolk, if, in fleeing the second time, he had arranged a conspiracy, there was certainly no proof of it made public by this inscrutable government. Sir Robert Curson, "when he saw the time, returned into England, and withal into wonted favour with the king, but worse fame with the people." Suffolk, dismayed, retired from the court of his aunt, and became a needy and neglected wanderer through the Netherlands, Germany, and France.

¹ Bacon's account of this affair is unaccountably perplexed, and indeed contradictory—in singular opposition to his usual philosophic clearness. His narrative of the confessions of Tyrrel and Dighton distinctly makes these persons to have been committed to the Tower, and examined upon the subject of the murder of the princes, on the first rumour of Warbeck's attempt, and for the express purpose of putting down his pretensions. Yet he concludes the statement by informing us that Tyrrel was "soon after beheaded in the Tower-yard," leaving us to suppose

A.D. 1506.

In the last years of his reign Henry dispensed with parliament, not caring for their votes, but levying money by the arbitrary and illegal method of benevolences. Dudley and Empson continued their profitable labours all the while. In 1504, when Prince Henry was knighted, the king called a parliament, and demanded, by the feudal customs, a payment for that occasion, and another for the marriage of his eldest daughter. They were instructed to offer £40,000; and then the king, to show his moderation, took £30,000. After this there was no more talk of parliaments. Henry's coffers were brimful; his wealth in ready money was enormous; yet he still earnestly endeavoured to increase it by marriage, and an accident occurred which seemed to offer him, not only the means of obtaining a wife, but also of getting possession of the person of an enemy whom he dreaded even in his helplessness and beggary. In the month of January a storm drove some foreign vessels to seek shelter in the harbour of Weymouth. Distressed by their sufferings at sea, and being in want of fresh provisions, a small party came on shore. Among them were the Archduke Philip, and his wife Joanna, now, by the death of her mother Isabella, Queen of Castile, of which country they were going to take possession when the tempest interrupted their progress. Their departure from Flanders had been watched, and, as if he had foreseen what would happen, or had been alarmed by the passage of a fleet through the Channel, where the vessels beat about for many days, Henry had stationed guards along the coast, and had issued his orders as to the treatment of the royal couple if they should land. They had scarcely set foot on shore when Sir Thomas Trenchard and Sir John Carew went with an armed force into Weymouth, where, with much humbleness and humanity, they invited the party to their houses—giving them, however, to understand that they would not be allowed to re-embark without the notice and leave of their king and master. Philip had no confidence in Henry's good faith: he knew him to be in close alliance and constant correspondence with his father-in-law, Ferdinand the Catholic, who, at the moment, was endeavouring to keep the kingdom of Castile for himself: he must have bitterly regretted not being guided by his council, who advised him to brave the storm rather than

that he had never been liberated from his said examination and his execution. His own *History* shows that it was, in fact, ten or eleven years after, that Tyrrel was put to death on another charge, and that in the meantime he had been long at large. We have followed the account of More, who speaks of Tyrrel's confession as having been made after his committal on the charge for which he suffered.

² "Dighton, indeed, yet walketh on alive, in good possibility to be hanged ere he die."

trust himself on any part of Henry's dominions; but, making a virtue of necessity, he put on a cheerful countenance, as if he considered himself a guest, and not a prisoner. Henry presently despatched the Earl of Arundel to tell his loving cousin how glad he was that he had escaped the dangers of the seas, that he was to consider himself as in his own land, and that he, the king, would make all haste to embrace him. Arundel went to the coast in great magnificence, with a brave troop of 300 horse. When Philip had heard the earl's message, "seeing how the world went, the sooner to get away, he went upon speed to the king at Windsor; and his queen followed by easy journeys." At three o'clock, on the 17th of January, the cunning host and the unwilling guest met upon Elworth Green, two miles from Windsor. The two princes saluted each other with all loving demonstrations. Philip said that he was now punished for not having gone within the walled town of Calais when they last met. Henry replied (did the by-standers keep their countenances?) that walls and seas were nothing where hearts were open. When they went from Elworth Green towards Windsor, Henry rode on the right hand of Philip, and when they reached the castle, the host, instead of being at the stirrup of his royal guest, permitted him to dismount, and to stand some time before he alighted from his own saddle. Within the castle Philip found a splendid apartment prepared for him. But the guest soon found that he had to pay a dear price for his entertainment. Henry drew up a new treaty of commerce wholly in his own favour; and while they were discussing this subject, choosing a fitting time, he drew Philip into a private room, and asked from him the immediate surrender of the Earl of Suffolk, who, after long sufferings and wanderings, had retired in penury to Flanders, where he was then enjoying Philip's protection. The King of Castile "herewith was a little confused and in a study:" he said that such a measure would reflect dishonour, not only on himself, but also on the King of England, who would be believed to have treated him as a prisoner if he exacted such a thing from him; but Henry told him to make his mind easy in this respect, for, as for the dishonour, he would take it all upon himself, and so the honour of Philip would be saved. "The King of Castile, who had the king in great estimation, and besides remembered where he was," consented reluctantly to oblige the king, from whom, however, he obtained the most solemn assurances that the life of Suffolk should be respected. Philip, in consequence, adopted such measures as induced the earl to believe that his sovereign pardoned him, and to come over of his own good-will. Henry next proceeded to exact a wife. Margaret, Duch-

ess of Savoy, was sister to Philip, and a widow, and very rich. Henry had cast his eyes upon her as a suitable match, and now he forced her brother to agree to the marriage, and to fix her portion at 300,000 crowns. But Philip had a son as well as a sister; and this remorseless driver of hard bargains made him agree that his infant son Charles' (afterwards the Emperor Charles V.) should be married to the Princess Mary of England, his youngest daughter.

To draw out the time, Henry gave great feastings and entertainments; he made Philip a knight of the Garter; and Philip made him and Prince Harry knights of the Golden Fleece. At the proper season he conducted Philip and Queen Joanna to London, where they were entertained with the greatest magnificence; but as soon as the Earl of Suffolk had been conveyed to the Tower the festivities had an end, and the kings took leave. Philip and Joanna sailed instantly for Spain, having been detained nearly three months in England. The life of the unfortunate Earl of Suffolk was spared for two or three years; but in his last moments Henry left an order for his execution.

Before the negotiations could be finished for the marriage of Margaret, Duchess of Savoy, Philip died in Spain, and thereupon, thinking that his widow would be a better match than his sister, Henry dropped the treaty for the duchess, and proposed for Joanna the queen. At the very time, Joanna was bereft of her reason by the sudden loss of her young and handsome husband Philip—was sunk in the most hopeless insanity, from which she never recovered. But the bronze which fifty years of successful craft and assurance had put upon the face of Henry was not to be affected, and, in reply to her father, King Ferdinand, who had taken upon himself the government of Castile, he asserted that her malady had been brought on by the harsh treatment which she had received from her former husband; that it was only temporary, and by no means of a nature to prevent her from contracting a proper marriage. Ferdinand, not less from a desire of continuing to rule the whole Spanish monarchy, and to keep so great a master of intrigue from having any part of it, than out of tenderness for his unhappy child, renewed his representations of Joanna's condition. Upon this, Henry gave his old friend to understand, that if he were not permitted to marry one of his daughters (Joanna), his son Prince Harry should never marry his other daughter (Catherine). He had several advantages in this controversy: he knew that his alliance or neutrality in the great game that was playing between the French and Spaniards for supremacy in Italy was indispensable

1 Charles at this time was just six years old.

to Ferdinand; he had the Infanta Catherine in his hands, and 100,000 of Ferdinand's dollars in his coffers. But at the same time he also knew the subtlety and power of the Spanish monarch; and even Henry's genius may have been overawed by the sublime craft and state policy of Cardinal Ximenes, who conducted the administration of affairs in Castile for Ferdinand. Three such minds have not often been brought in contact! In the end, seeing that he would never be allowed to marry Joanna, Henry gave up that suit, and concluded a new treaty, in which Ferdinand agreed, on the one hand, to remit 100,000 more crowns in completion of his daughter's portion; and Henry agreed, on the other, that his son should complete his marriage with the infanta as soon as all this money was received, but not before.

A.D. 1508. The king's health had long been in a wretched state; he was subject to violent fits of the gout, but an elder enemy was a periodical cough, "that wasted his lungs, so that thrice in a year, in a kind of return, and especially in the spring, he had great fits and labours of the phthisic." Henry was a religious prince; his declining strength and sufferings made him think "more seriously of the world to come"—and the world to come made him think of the sufferings of his people. In the spring of 1507 he distributed alms among the poor, and discharged all prisoners in London that were confined for fees or debts under forty shillings. The following year, being still worse, he opened his ears to the bitter cries raised against Dudley and Empson, and their accomplices. Formerly, many persons had been set in the pillory and had their ears cut off for uttering these complaints, or defaming the king's council; but now he was touched with great remorse for the oppressions and exactions he had permitted his two finance ministers to exercise. He even ordered justice to be done to all persons who had suffered wrong; but as his bad season passed these good resolutions departed, and his greediness for money returned. For, "nevertheless, Empson and Dudley, though they could not but hear of these scruples in the king's conscience, yet, as if the king's soul and his money were in several offices, that the one was not to intermeddle with the other, went on with as great rage as ever."

Thus, in spite of his repentance, A.D. 1509. did Henry continue to the last to grind his wealthier subjects in order to add to

his immense treasures, which he kept for the most part under his own key at the manor of Richmond. But his last spring had now arrived; his cough was worse than ever, his thoughts were again turned to repentance, and he drew up a will, which strongly shows his remorse and anxiety, enjoining his young successor to do what he had never the heart to perform himself—to repair the injuries he had committed, and make restitution to the victims he had plundered. He died on the night of the 21st of April, 1509, at his new palace of Richmond, and was buried in the magnificent chapel which he had built, and which bears his name, in Westminster Abbey.



GATEWAY OF RICHMOND PALACE.—From a drawing by J. W. Archer.

He was in his fifty-third year, and had reigned twenty-three years and eight months, wanting one day.

Henry, as a sovereign, was a man of the age; and *his* was an age of subtlety, as the preceding ones had been ages of rude force and violence. There was one great struggle going on in every part of Europe, the objects of which were to overthrow the feudal system, to depress the aristocracy, and to elevate the authority of kings. In other countries this led to the establishment of despotic monarchies, from which England herself had a narrow escape; for, if hardy and an-

¹ The name of this royal residence was originally Shene Palace. It was inhabited by the Edwards I., II., and III. The latter died in it, and likewise Anne, queen of Richard II. After her death, Richard, having demolished the apartments in which his beloved queen died, deserted the place. It was afterwards repaired by Henry V. In 1497 it was destroyed by fire, and rebuilt by Henry VII., who named it Richmond, from his earldom of Richmond, and died in it. Queen Elizabeth was for some time a prisoner here, and it was her favourite residence after her accession to the throne. The chamber in which she died was over the gateway. The palace was in part pulled down in the middle of the seventeenth century, and still further demolished in the eighteenth. The principal existing vestige is the gateway, but some of the offices remain among residences built on the crown lands.

cient seed remained in the ground, which craft could not detect, or of which it could not appreciate the importance, and if sturdy plants continued to thrive which no force or tyranny could ever uproot, yet the liberties of the country were, in a great measure, held in abeyance during the

sway of the Tudors. The authority of the nobles had passed over to the king. The people were not yet strong enough to put in their claim for a portion of the power which had been wielded by the feudal lords, and which for a time fell almost entirely to the sovereign.¹

CHAPTER III.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1509—1520.

HENRY VIII.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1509—DEATH, A.D. 1547.

Accession of Henry VIII.—His marriage with Catherine, his brother's widow—Trial and punishment of Empson and Dudley—Henry joins a league against France—France invaded—Failure of the invasion through the selfishness of Ferdinand of Spain—Naval encounters between the English and French—Death of Sir Edward Howard, Lord-admiral of England—Henry invades France—Indecisive military operations—Henry besieges Terouenne—Defeats the French at the "Battle of the Spurs"—He is duped by the Emperor Maximilian—England invaded by the Scots during Henry's absence—Unwise operations of James IV.—His total defeat and death at Flodden—Doubts entertained of the death of James IV.—The league against France dissolved—Peace between France and England cemented by a royal marriage—Death of the King of France—The Duke of Suffolk marries his widow—Wolsey made a cardinal—Previous history of Wolsey—His promotions—His style of living—Henry forms a new alliance with France—Becomes a candidate for the imperial crown—Is unsuccessful—Visit of Charles V. to England—Henry visits France—The "Field of the Cloth of Gold"—Sports and pageantries of this meeting.



HENRY, Prince of Wales, the only surviving son of his father, was in his eighteenth year when he ascended the throne, without opposition, and to the universal joy of the nation. His handsome person, his frank manners, his cheerful disposition, and even his ardent love of pleasure, were all made subjects of applause and endearment; and the people seemed to like him the more from his differing in all things from his father, whose death they openly rejoiced in. He had been prevented by the jealousy of the late king from taking any part in public business, but, in retirement, he had contracted a taste for literature and the arts, and his natural abilities were fancied to be of a high order. He was proclaimed on the 22d of April, and was crowned, with his Queen Catherine, on the 24th of June.

His marriage with the Spanish infanta, the widow of his own brother, had not been concluded without serious deliberation; but it appears that Henry himself offered no objection, and that Catherine was admired and beloved both by the court and the people. A bull from the pope did away with the restrictions of canonical law, and was considered sufficient to settle all scruples of delicacy. They were married at Greenwich on the 3d of June, twenty-one days before the coronation, Catherine being about eight years older than Henry. With the single exception of Warham the primate, every member of the council had forwarded the match, which, moreover, was strongly recommended by Henry's grandmother, the Countess of Richmond, who was still living, and much consulted by the ministers.²

The council of government, which was ap-

¹ " . . . Every one who takes a retrospective view of the wars of York and Lancaster, and attends to the regulations effected by the policy of that prince (Henry VII.), must see they would necessarily lead to great and important changes in the government; but what the tendencies of such changes would be, and much more in what manner they would be produced, might be a question of great difficulty. It is now the generally received opinion, and I think a probable opinion, that to the provisions of that reign we are to refer the origin, both of the unlimited power of the Tudors, and of the liberties wrested from our ancestors by the Stuarts; that tyranny was their immediate and liberty their remote consequence; but he must have great confidence in his own sagacity, who can satisfy himself, that, unaided by the knowledge of subsequent events, he could, from a consideration of the causes, have foreseen the succession of effects so different."—Charles James Fox, *History of the Early Part of the Reign of James II.*

² "In the reign of Henry VII. all the political differences which had agitated England since the Norman conquest, seemed to be set at rest. The long and fierce struggle between the crown and the barons had terminated. The grievances which had produced the rebellions of Wat Tyler and Cade had disappeared. Villanage was scarcely known. The two royal houses, whose conflicting claims had long convulsed the kingdom, were at length united. The claimants, whose pretensions, just or unjust, had disturbed the new settlement, were overthrown. In religion there was no open dissent, and probably very little secret heresy. The old subjects of contention, in short, had vanished; those which were to succeed had not yet appeared."—Macaulay, *Review of Hallam's Constitutional History of England.*

² This lady, the mother of Henry VII., died in the same month of June in which her grandson was married and crowned. She believed (and so it was generally believed both in England and Spain) that there had been no consummation of Catherine's first

pointed under the advice and influence of the old countess, consisted of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor; Fox, Bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy seal; the Earl of Surrey, treasurer; the Earl of Shrewsbury, steward; Lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, master of the wards and constable of the Tower; Sir Edward Poynings, comptroller; Sir Henry Marney, Sir Thomas Darcy, Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws, and Sir Henry Wyat. Most of these were men of experience and ability: they had all served the late king, and had taken part in his most obnoxious acts: but this consideration did not prevent them from joining heartily in a measure of vengeance against their old colleagues in office, Empson and Dudley, who

had been arrested immediately after the death of their master.¹

When brought before the council these two learned lawyers made a skilful defence, but this did not save them from being committed to the Tower. Soon after, a proclamation was issued to encourage complaints against them, and the long-restrained fury of the people was purposely let loose against their spies and informers. Many of the "lesser rogues in country places" were torn to pieces; some were paraded through the streets of London, mounted on wretched horses, with their faces turned to the tail. Some were set in the pillory at Cornhill, and then conveyed to Newgate, where they soon died in consequence of the harsh treatment received from the mob



HENRY VIII. AND HIS QUEEN, CATHERINE OF ARAGON.—From portraits by Holbein.

and from their jailers. The gratifying of their spite seems to have been the only gratification the people received, for, though there was a talk of "restitution," the courts of law took such an alarm at the immense number of persons who presented themselves as victims, that their doors were soon closed in the faces of the applicants, and no more was said about refunding. Henry, who was no exception to the general rule, that the son of a miser must be a spendthrift, and who had dipped deeply into his father's coffers for his splendid coronation, and the jousts, tournaments, and expensive feasts and masques he was constantly giving, probably fancied that the heads of Empson and Dudley ought to serve as a receipt in full. It may be that he was also tempted by the great wealth those rapacious men had

accumulated. Few pitied their fate, and law had no delicacies in those days. They were indicted, not for offences of which they were notoriously guilty, as in this case the character of the late king would have been awkwardly involved, and the question of restitution revived, but for the almost impossible crime of forming a conspiracy to deprive the present king of his succession and rights. The judges, the law officers of the crown, and two juries,² concurred in finding them guilty of treason, and they were condemned to death and forfeiture, not as robbers of the people, but as traitors to the king.³

¹ *Peter Martyr*; Herbert, *Life of Henry VIII.*; *Slow*.

² Dudley was tried at London; Empson at Northampton. The heirs of both were restored in blood, some two or three years after. John Dudley, the son of the first, became Viscount Lisle under Henry VIII., Earl of Warwick under Edward VI., then Duke of Northumberland, and was beheaded on the accession of Mary. It was the grandson of the rapacious minister of Henry VII. that was married to Lady Jane Grey.

³ Herbert; *Slow*; Bishop Godwin.

marriage. Catherine was married to Henry, not with the ceremonies prescribed for widows, but with those appropriated to maids. She was dressed in white, and wore her hair loose.

Secure in his insular position, and for a long time in the hearty affection of his subjects, rich, and powerful, the English king might have defied the sovereigns of the Continent, and avoided taking any part in their wars. Even at this time he might have occupied the honourable position of an arbiter or friendly umpire, and given increase of wealth and strength to his country by commerce, while his contemporaries were exhausting their kingdoms by incessant hostilities. But Henry was anxious for military glory; his council were cajoled by his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Aragon, and by Pope Julius II.; Louis XII. of France was not inclined to continue the pension paid to his father, and thus, in the third year of his reign, the young and fortunate king was induced to join a coalition against France, and to take part as a principal in the continental war.

A.D. 1512. A herald was despatched to command Louis not to make war upon the pope, "the father of all Christians." As Julius II. was, at the least, as much a soldier as priest, and as he had formed the present league against France, it was not to be expected that Louis would submit to this injunction. He was soon visited by a second herald from Henry, who demanded the instant cession of Anjou, Maine, Normandy, and Guienne. This was equivalent to a declaration of war; and Henry summoned his first parliament to ask for money to enable him to fit out a proper army. Supplies were voted with the greatest alacrity; and though parliament no longer expressed the free voice of the nation, yet on this occasion the people applauded their votes, and began to dream once more of the glories of Crecy and Azincourt. A fine army was raised and equipped, and Henry thought of passing into France by way of Calais, when his father-in-law Ferdinand represented how much more advantageous it would be to make his attack in the south, and to begin operations by making sure of the rich province of Guienne, where the English rule was still regretted. His arguments seemed convincing, and when he sent a fleet to convey the English forces to the foot of the Pyrenees, whence they could march in a few days to the banks of the Garonne, his son-in-law consented to adopt his plan of operation. Ten thousand men were immediately embarked under the command of the Marquis of Dorset. Crossing the Bay of Biscay, they landed in Guipuzcoa, and were quartered, by Ferdinand's orders, at Fuenterrabia, near the mouth of the Bidassoa. Dorset immediately proposed passing the river into France, but he had little or no artillery, and found that he could not move except in concert with a Spanish force. Ferdinand promised everything that was neces-

sary, and collected troops in the Biscayan provinces, as if for the invasion of the south of France. When all was ready, the English expected to be led to the siege of Bayonne, but Ferdinand pretended that it would be dangerous for the allied army to advance until they had made sure of Navarre, which that movement would leave in their rear. Navarre was then a separate kingdom, governed by Catherine and John d'Albret, who, to defend themselves against the encroachments of the King of Aragon, had contracted a close alliance with the King of France. As Dorset could not help himself, he consented to remain in force upon the Bidassoa, while his ally negotiated with the terrified court of Navarre. D'Albret readily consented to remain neutral during the present war, but Ferdinand demanded a free passage for his troops, the surrender of some of the most important fortresses, and the person of the Prince of Viana, the heir to the crown, as an hostage. The latter terms were indignantly rejected, and thereupon Ferdinand threw the army he had collected under pretext of joining the English into Navarre. This army was commanded by the Duke of Alva, who, after taking several of the towns, invited the English to join him in the siege of Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre. Dorset refused to make war anywhere but in France, and called for the artillery, and a supply of horses, which had been promised to him ever since his landing. With the greatest courtesy he was told that, since he scrupled to join the Spanish arms in Navarre, he must wait until that business was settled, and that then he would have all that he wanted, together with an auxiliary force to enable him to take Bayonne and Bordeaux, and the whole of Guienne. As the marquis could do nothing else, he again consented to wait. The presence of an English army on the Bidassoa obliged the French to concentrate their forces between that river and Bayonne, and prevented Louis from sending any succour to his unfortunate ally the King of Navarre, who was soon reduced to extremities, and obliged to flee with his wife and children across the Pyrenees into his little principality of Béarn. Pampeluna capitulated to Alva, and Upper Navarre was thenceforward joined to the Spanish monarchy—an important scheme long in contemplation, and for the happy execution of which Ferdinand had been so anxious for the presence of an English army in the south. When Dorset again made his impatient voice heard, he was told that the Duke of Alva was quite ready to march, but that it must be in the direction of Béarn, not of Bayonne and Bordeaux. Upon this the English commander refused to move at all, and Ferdinand sent an ambassador to Henry. It is little to the credit of the sagacity of the English council

that they did not perceive how they were duped, but, on the contrary, sent Dorset orders to conform to the instructions of the Spanish court. But before these orders arrived the English troops, who during their inactivity had suffered severely from sickness and also from famine (for Ferdinand did not even supply them with proper provisions), took the decision of the case into their own hands, and insisted upon returning home. When the crafty Spaniard saw that their violence was becoming dangerous, he prepared some ships for them, well satisfied with the success of his past manœuvre. At this moment the order that they were to remain arrived from England; but the men mutinied, and, cursing the Spaniards and the Biscayans, forced their commanders to set sail. Greatly reduced in numbers, humiliated, and in tatters, this expedition, from which so much had been expected, reached England about Christmas.¹

A.D. 1513. Having made up his mind to lead an army in person into France, Henry, in the preceding autumn, had summoned a parliament to ask for more money. Besides imposing a poll-tax and a sort of property-tax, the houses voted him two-fifteenths and four-tenths. With the money thus raised, and with the remnant of his father's hoards, the young king began to fit out ships and to levy a great army. By this time the French were not only driven out of Italy, where the Spaniards succeeded them, but were harassed on their own frontiers by the "Holy League," as the sovereigns continued to call a coalition which acted in the most base and worldly manner. In these difficulties Louis opened negotiations with the King of Scotland, in order to find Henry occupation in his own country. The Scots at the moment had several grounds of complaint against the English court. Henry had appropriated to himself certain jewels which his father had bequeathed to the Queen of Scotland, and his fleet had come into hostile collision with ships bearing the Scottish flag. Fully anticipating what followed, Henry put his towns near the Scottish borders in a good state of defence—collected troops in the marches, and gave the command of them to the Earl of Surrey, the best of his generals, who was instructed to watch James, while his royal master proceeded against Louis.²

The French king, though much exhausted in finances by his Italian wars, and though oppressed both with ill-fortune and ill-health, was no contemptible opponent. He determined, if possible, to obtain the command of the Channel, to meet the English at sea, which was already considered in a manner as their element, and to

prevent their landing on his coasts. In the preceding year several naval encounters had taken place; and in one great battle, fought off Brest, the French had the advantage, though it was dearly bought with the death of their brave Admiral Primauguet, who was blown up in his ship with 900 men. At the same time, however, the *Regent*, Henry's finest ship, perished in the like manner with 700 Englishmen. Louis reinforced his fleet and collected a great number of mariners, who were conveyed from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Channel, and there embarked under experienced commanders of various nations, but chiefly Genoese. This "great navy," says Hall, "which the French had prepared, and which was well furnished in all things, was, no doubt, a wonder to see!" To disperse or destroy it, Henry despatched "ships royal and others meet for war, to the number of forty-two, besides ballengers," under the command of the lord-admiral, Sir Edward Howard, one of the gallant sons of the Earl of Surrey. Howard sailed from Portsmouth in the month of March, 1513. Early in April he presented himself at the mouth of the harbour of Brest, within which the French ships were anchored, and defended by batteries and other works. He secured the mouth of the haven, and then wrote to the young king his master to come over in person to have the glory of a great and sure victory. Henry, it appears, had no taste for naval engagements, and his council, considering it very improper in Howard to send such an invitation, "for putting the king in jeopardy upon the chance of the sea," wrote sharply to him, and commanded him to do his duty as admiral. Howard was stung by this letter. On St. Mark's Day, despising the tremendous fire kept up both on sea and shore, he sailed right into the harbour of Brest, followed by a number of small row-galleys, and attempted to carry the whole fleet by boarding, or, failing in that, to cut out some of their best ships. He lashed himself alongside the French admiral and leaped on board, sword in hand; but only seventeen men had followed him when the French admiral cast himself loose, and the English galley slid away. The row-galleys, under the command of Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Wallop, and Sir William Sidney, pressed forward to his rescue, but they were engaged by the light vessels in the harbour, and before they could get alongside, Howard and his handful of men were all killed and thrown overboard. The death of their gallant admiral completely disheartened the fleet, which returned to England, being followed shortly after by the French, who sailed out of Brest and made some descents on the coast of Sussex.

At this moment King Ferdinand, who had

¹ Herbert; Wolsey's Letters, quoted by Fiddes; Godwin.

² Sir Henry Ellis; Lord Herbert.

led Henry into this absurd war, made a separate truce for himself with France, which, among other things, recognized his seizure of Navarre. Some of the English ministers thought that, as the strength of the league had thus received a mortal wound, it would be better to postpone the invasion of France; but Henry, the willing dupe of those who flattered him as the most warlike monarch and most perfect knight in Christendom, would not forego his purpose, and pretended that a new alliance which he had formed with Maximilian "the Moneyless," who was now emperor, would more than compensate for the secession of his father-in-law Ferdinand. His army was ready; his people, from one end of the land to the other, were singing beforehand the glory which should attend "the red rose," "the royal rose," in France. To desist at this stage would have been a marvellous effort, but Henry soon showed that he had not a particle of the military genius of his predecessors, and that he loved war for its pomp and parade rather than for its grand operations in the field. In the month of May he despatched his vanguard to Calais, under the command of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert: he cut off the head of the Earl of Suffolk in the Tower (a cowardly mode of beginning a campaign); and then, "when all things were prest, accompanied with many noblemen and 600 archers of his guard, all in white haberdines and caps, he departed from his manor royal of Greenwich the 15th day of June."¹ Instead of steering straight for Calais, Henry ran down the Channel as far as Boulogne, to regale the French coast with a mighty firing of great guns. Having thus announced to France that the majesty of England was coming, he put about his fleet and landed at Calais on the last day of June, amidst such a roar of artillery from ships and batteries as had never been heard in the memory of man.² Lord Herbert had already taken the field and begun the siege of Terouenne, but Henry was in no great hurry to join him, passing his time very pleasantly at Calais with his courtiers and favourites, among whom Thomas Wolsey, his almoner, was already the most prevalent.³

The news that a French army, under the command of the Duke de Longueville and the famed Bayard—*Le Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*—was moving to the relief of Terouenne, caused the young king to mount his war-horse; and on the 21st of July he marched out of Calais with a magnificent army amounting to about

15,000 horse and foot. They had scarcely got beyond Ardres when they saw a strong detachment of French cavalry manœuvring in their front. Expecting a battle, Henry dismounted, and threw himself into the centre of his lansquenets, to fight on foot like the Henries and Edwards of former times. The brilliant Bayard, who was with the French horse, would have charged, but his superiors in command reminded him that King Louis had given orders that they should most carefully avoid fighting the English in open battle; and, after reconnoitring the invaders, the French withdrew, having already succeeded in another part of their commission, which was to throw provisions and gunpowder into the besieged town. The English, "without let or hindrance," joined the divisions under Lord Herbert, and the siege was then pressed with some vigour. The besieged garrison was numerous, brave, and skilful: they countermined a mine attempted by Baynam, the English engineer; and their artillery, though it made less noise, did more mischief than that of the besiegers. At the same time the Count of Angoulême (soon after Francis I.) advanced with a considerable army from Amiens, and threw out detachments of stradiotes (an active description of light cavalry), which scoured the whole country, frequently cutting off the convoys and foraging parties of the English. In this state of affairs the Emperor Maximilian, who had received an advance of 120,000 crowns from the English treasury to enable him to raise troops, came to Terouenne with nothing but a small escort. Henry put on all his magnificence for this reception; for, nominally, the emperor was the first of Christian princes. The two potentates met in a tremendous storm of wind and rain (which must have deranged the white silk jackets of the English courtiers) in the midst of a plain between Aire and the camp. The broad way to Henry's heart had been discovered by all his royal brothers, and, his vanity being once satisfied—for Maximilian assured him that he, the Emperor of the West, was come to serve under him in quality of volunteer—he seems to have overlooked the omission of which he had been guilty in not bringing an army with him. The emperor had scarcely arrived at head-quarters when Henry received a much less flattering visitor. This was Lyon king-at-arms, bringing him the defiance and declaration of war of the King of Scotland, who had already taken the field and sent his fleet to co-operate with his ally the King of France. Henry, however, knew that the brave Surrey was in the marches, and he told the messenger that that earl would know how to deal with his master.

Nearly six weeks had now been wasted in the

¹ Hall.

² Tytler, *Life of Henry VIII.*: Herbert; Holinshed.

³ At this time we find Queen Catherine writing very humbly and affectionately to the rising Wolsey, and entreating him to send her frequent news of her husband, his grace the king.—See Sir Henry Ellis' *Collection of Letters*.

siege of the insignificant town of Terouenne; and so absurdly had the siege been conducted, that the garrison still continued to receive supplies from the army of the Count of Angoulême. When these communications were interrupted, the main body of the French army, consisting of about 12,000 men, advanced from Plangy, with a view of throwing in provisions under cover of a feigned battle. Upon this Henry and Maximilian crossed the river, and formed in order of battle between it and the town and the French army. The emperor, who had won a victory over the French on that very ground thirty-four years before, directed the operations of the English, wearing the red cross of England above his armour, and the red rose of Lancaster, Henry's favourite cognizance, in his helmet. All this, according to an old historian, deserves to be recorded to the eternal honour of our nation, as also the fact of the emperor's taking for pay 100 crowns a-day, besides what was disbursed among his attendants.¹ The French horse charged in a brilliant manner, but, after throwing some powder within reach of the besieged, they wheeled round to fall back upon their main body. Being hotly followed by the mounted English archers and a few squadrons of German horse, they quickened their pace to a downright flight, galloped into the lines of their main body, and threw the whole into uproar and confusion. As the English charged with tremendous shouts of "St. George! St. George!" the panic became complete; and every Frenchman that was mounted struck spurs into his horse and galloped from the field. In vain the bravest of their officers tried to rally them; the attempts, indeed, were worse than vain, for, owing to their not making the same use of their spurs and fleeing with the rest, the Duke de Longueville, the illustrious Bayard, La Fayette, and many other captains of high rank, were taken prisoners by the English. Henry could not help congratulating his captives on the great speed their men had put into their horses: the light-hearted Frenchmen joined in his laugh, and said that it had been nothing but a "Battle of Spurs." By this name, accordingly, the affair came afterwards to be popularly known. The panic, however, was both real and lasting; and if Henry had taken advantage of it, and of other circumstances, he might have inflicted a much more serious blow. The Swiss, to whom he had sent some money, had crossed the Jura Mountains in great force, and had penetrated into France as far as Dijon, the capital of Burgundy. With a Swiss army of 20,000 men on one side, and an English army on the other, Paris began to betray symptoms of alarm. But, to the great joy of Louis, Henry, instead of advancing, permitted

himself to be amused another whole week by the siege of Terouenne. At the end of August the French garrison capitulated, and were allowed to march out with all the honours of war: the town, by the advice of Maximilian, who had an interested and evident motive for this advice, was dismantled and burned. That the destruction might be complete, without any labour to the English, the Flemings in the neighbourhood, the subjects of the emperor's grandson the Archduke Charles, were let loose upon the devoted place, and, being animated with the old enmities usual to bordering nations, razed the walls, filled up the ditches, set fire to the houses, and scarcely left one stone standing upon another. The weather continued to be very rainy, and Henry, by this time, "had so much of war that he began to be weary of the toil thereof, and to cast his mind on the pleasures of the court."² But still it was only the beginning of the month of September, and military etiquette required that something more should be done before going into winter quarters. What Henry *did* was a military absurdity; but he continued to be guided by Maximilian, who was still working for the profit of the Flemings and his grandson Charles. Instead of advancing into France, he turned back to lay siege to Tournai, which belonged to France, though it was *enclave* in the territory of Flanders, over the trade of which it exercised a bad influence, while it gave a passage to the French into the heart of the country. As far as the Flemings were concerned it was altogether an unpleasant neighbour; and the emperor was wise in getting possession of it without cost or risk. But what interest Henry could have in such an enterprise was not very apparent. His favourite, Wolsey, however, had an interest, and a great one—Maximilian had promised him the rich bishopric of Tournai, and this prevailing favourite no doubt recommended the siege. The French citizens of Tournai refused the assistance of a garrison of the royal troops, and sacrificed themselves to a bad pun.³ Upon being summoned they made a bold show of resistance, but, as soon as the English artillery got into play, they changed their tone, and in a few days capitulated. On the 22d of September Henry rode into Tournai with as much pomp and triumph as if he had taken the capital of France. Ten days before this inglorious conquest the Swiss, who saw what sort of an ally they had in the English king, concluded a treaty highly advantageous to themselves with the King of France, and marched back to their own mountains. Louis was thus enabled to concentrate his forces in the north, and the grand plan of the

² Bishop Godwin.

³ They said—"Que Tournai n'avoit jamais tourné, ni encore ne tournerait."—*Mémoires de Fleuranges*.

¹ Bishop Godwin.

allies vanished in air. Wolsey got the rich bishopric, Henry spent some money in jousts and tournaments, and then returned well satisfied to England, where he arrived safe and sound on the 22d of October. Although he did not gain quite so much by it, Maximilian had duped the vain-glorious king almost as much as Ferdinand had done before.

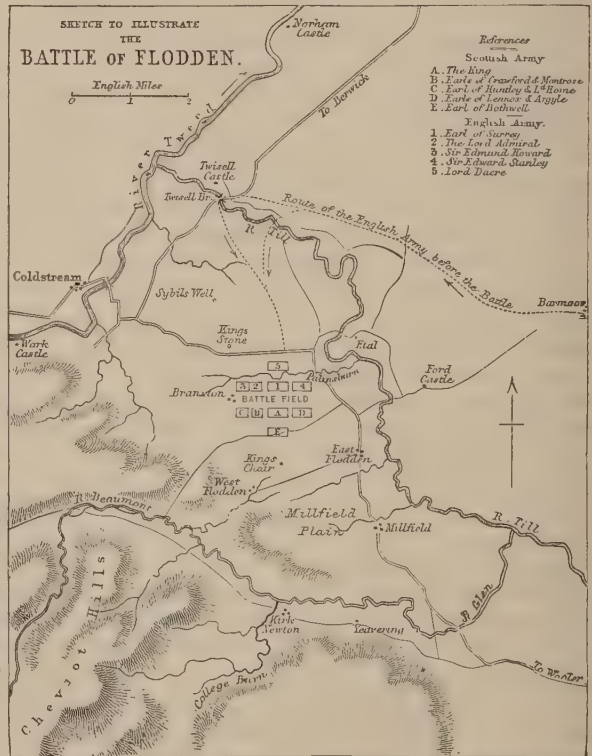
The money which Henry had expended on the Continent amounted to an enormous sum. But his confidence in the Earl of Surrey had not been misplaced; and during his absence that nobleman had gained one of the most remarkable victories on record. Following up his defiance, the Scottish king put himself at the head of a numerous and gallant, but somewhat undisciplined army, and, contrary to the advice of most of his ministers, crossed the Tweed and began hostilities.

The version most received of the fatal field of Flodden is so striking and romantic, that we scarcely hope to rectify what is incorrect in the impressions it has made; but the following appear to have been the real circumstances which preceded and attended that battle.

Although undertaken against the advice of the majority of the nobility, the war was very popular with the Scottish people, who flocked in such numbers to the royal standard that James was enabled, on the 22d of August, to cross the Borders with one of the most formidable armies that had ever invaded England. His artillery and appointments were also superior to what had hitherto been seen in Scottish armies. Instead of advancing, however, he lingered on the right bank of the Tweed, besieging Norham Castle, which did not surrender till the 29th of August. He then marched up the Tweed to Wark Castle, which detained him a day or two. From Wark he went to Etal, and thence to Ford, another Border fortress of no great consequence, but which he attacked out of spite to the family of the Herons (to whom it belonged), a member of which, John Heron, was suspected of having murdered his favourite, Sir Robert Kerr, the warden of the Scottish marches. William Heron, the head of the family and real owner of the castle, was a prisoner in Scotland, and Elizabeth, his wife, had passed southward to the Earl of Surrey, at York, in order to make

arrangements by which the castle might be spared from the fury of the Scots, and her husband liberated from his captivity. James, however, took the castle by storm and razed it to the ground.

From York the Earl of Surrey, who was allowed time to reinforce his army, marched to Newcastle, and from Newcastle he advanced to Alnwick, whence, on the 4th of September, he despatched Rouge Croix, the pursuivant-at-arms, to reproach James with his breach of faith, and to offer him battle on the following Friday, if he had courage to remain so long on English ground. The same herald bore another message from Surrey's son, the Lord Thomas Howard, now Admiral



up the Tweed to Wark Castle, which detained him a day or two. From Wark he went to Etal, and thence to Ford, another Border fortress of no great consequence, but which he attacked out of spite to the family of the Herons (to whom it belonged), a member of which, John Heron, was suspected of having murdered his favourite, Sir Robert Kerr, the warden of the Scottish marches. William Heron, the head of the family and real owner of the castle, was a prisoner in Scotland, and Elizabeth, his wife, had passed southward to the Earl of Surrey, at York, in order to make

of England, who, in very rude terms, told the Scottish monarch that he would come to justify the death of that pirate, Barton, which had been charged upon him as a foul murder by James, and that he neither expected to receive nor would give quarter. To Surrey James replied in a chivalrous tone, accepting his challenge; but he left the brutal message of his son unanswered. Though his army was already somewhat thinned by desertion, James was resolved to abide the battle, and chose his ground with some skill on Flodden Hill, an off-shoot of the Cheviot, steep

on both flanks, and defended in front by the deep Till, a tributary of the Tweed. When the English came in sight of this position they did not like it; and Surrey, on the 7th of September, sent James a second letter, reproaching him with having "put himself into a ground more like a fortress or a camp, than any indifferent ground for battle to be tried." As this taunting message had not the desired effect, Surrey sought to obtain his end by manœuvring round the position, by advancing towards Scotland, and then turning sharply round the rear of Flodden. On the morning of the 8th he crossed the Till, near Weetwood, without meeting any opposition, and marched over some rugged ground to the village of Barmoor, on the right bank of the river. Early on Friday morning, instead of pursuing his march towards Berwick, he faced the north-west, proceeded to Twisell-bridge, re-crossed the Till, and advanced towards Braxnton, as if it was his intention to occupy a hill to the westward of Flodden. James, who had thrown away an admirable opportunity of attacking the English while they were crossing at Twisell-bridge, and at a dangerous ford a little higher up, now put himself in motion, in order to prevent them from taking up a formidable position between him and his own country. Setting fire to their huts and litter, the Scots descended their hill, and, under cover of the great smoke they had raised, hurried forward to seize the heights of Braxnton, towards which the English vanguard was hastening in another direction. Between Twisell-bridge and Flodden, but nearer to the latter than the former, runs the small stream of Palinsburn, which the English had crossed before the wind drove away the smoke, and discovered the Scottish army within a quarter of a mile of them, in perfect order, "marching like the Germans, without talking or making any noise."¹ Several of the Scottish nobles had advised a retreat: among these was the same Lord Lindsay of the Byres that made James III. the fatal present of the gray charger, a rough old soldier, who had a turn for parables, and who had represented to the council that the stakes between the combatants were not equal. For this advice James, it is said, threatened to hang Lindsay at his own castle gate; nor were the remonstrances of the Earl of Huntly and the Earl of Angus (the once terrible Bell-the-Cat) heard with more calmness. It is added, that the king told the latter that, if he were afraid of the English, he might go home. The taunt touched the old man to the quick, and he burst into tears. He turned, however, to depart,

saying mournfully, "My age renders my body of no use in battle, and my counsel is despised: but I leave my two sons and the vassals of Douglas in the field: may old Angus' foreboding prove unfounded!"

To decline the battle was now impossible; and the Scottish nobles, with a very few exceptions, made up their minds to conquer or die with their sovereign. The two armies were about equal in number, each counting about 30,000 men. On the side of the English were 5000 whom Henry had sent back from France to meet this storm on the Borders—one, not altogether unimportant, consequence of the diversion of the Scots in favour of Louis. The disposition of both armies was also much the same, and very simple. The line of each was formed into a centre and two wings, and on each side a strong body of reserve was posted behind the centre. The battle began about four in the afternoon of Friday, the 9th of September, with cannonading on both sides. The English were superior in artillery, and their guns seemed to have been better served. "Then out burst the ordnance on both sides with fire, flame, and hideous noise; and the master gunner of the English slew the master gunner of Scotland, and beat all his men from their guns, so that the Scottish ordnance did no harm to the Englishmen, but the Englishmen's artillery shot into the midst of the king's battail, and slew many persons—which seeing, the King of Scots and his brave men made the more haste to come to joining." The Earl of Huntly and Lord Home, with part of the left wing of the Scots, who fought on foot with "long spears like Moorish pikes," fell upon part of the English right wing under Sir Edmund Howard, with a fury that was irresistible. Sir Edmund was beaten down; his banner was brought to the dust; his lines were completely broken, and part of his men fled in the greatest disorder. Sir Edmund, after being saved by the remainder of the right wing under the lord-admiral, fell back towards the English centre, which extended its line to receive him, while Lord Dacre, who was in reserve behind the centre, came up and charged with all the English cavalry. Though the Borderers under Lord Home, fancying they had already gained the victory, had begun to disperse over the field in search of plunder, that Scottish wing kept its ground with wonderful obstinacy, throwing off the English horse at the point of their long spears: but charge after charge told upon them, and, after a long conflict, and a terrible slaughter on both sides, Huntly and Home retreated before Sir Edmund, the Lord-admiral Howard, and Lord Dacre. The Earls of Crawford and Montrose, who were not able to prevent this retrograde movement, were charged in their turn by

¹ Official account written to Henry VIII. in French.—The good order and striking silence of the Scots are noticed by nearly every contemporary writer. "Little or no noise did they make," says a black-letter account, printed by Richard Faques in 1513, and reprinted by Mr. Haslewood in 1809.

horse and foot, whom they received in line without wavering upon the points of their spears; and when they were reinforced from the centre, they not only became the assailants, but also threw the whole right wing of the English, with the cavalry from their reserve, into confusion. At this critical moment the lord-admiral sent the *Agnus Dei* which he wore at his breast to his father, who was with the English centre, requesting him to bring up the whole of that division with all possible speed. Surrey advanced; but King James, who watched his movements, fell upon him with the entire centre of the Scots, fighting himself most gallantly in their front. The battle was now tremendous; and when the Earl of Bothwell came up with the reserve to the support of the king, the victory for a while inclined to the Scots. But there were two circumstances—the shyness of Lord Home, and the rashness of the Highlanders who formed James' right wing—which proved fatal to the high hopes of the imprudent but gallant sovereign. When the Earl of Huntly urged Home to renew the fight and advance with his portion of the left wing, which had suffered cruelly, to the assistance of the king, he is said to have replied, "He does well that does for himself. We have foughten our vanguards, and have won the same; therefore let the lave [the rest] do their part as well as we." When the right wing, under the Earls of Lennox and Argyle, with the Campbells, the Macleans, the Macleods, and the other clans from the Highlands and the Isles, who obeyed no orders save those of their chiefs, descended a hill to join the main body, they were met by the extreme left of the English—hardy bowmen and stout pikemen from Cheshire and from Lancashire—under Sir Edward Stanley, who galled them sorely with their arrows. In a frenzy, the half-naked clansmen threw away shield and target, and with their broadswords and axes, and without any order, rushed among the English. In vain La Motte, a commissioner from the French king, and other experienced French officers, endeavoured to keep them in their ranks—on they rushed, as if every Highlandman thought of deciding that great engagement with his own right arm. At first the English were astonished at this fierce onslaught, but they stood firm, closed their ranks and squares, and opposed as wonderful a coolness to the wonderful impetuosity of their enemies, who, at length, were driven back, and, being unable to re-form, were slaughtered in detail, or put to downright flight. Their chief commanders, the Earls of Lennox and Argyle, both perished on the field. Stanley now charged the king's centre on its right flank and rear; and, at the same time, James had to sustain the shock of Surrey in front, and the attack of the Admiral Howard

and Lord Dacre, who, after repulsing the Earls of Crawford and Montrose, who were both slain, had fallen upon his left flank. In fact, he was now surrounded—hemmed in within a gradually contracting circle of foes, who, by this time, seem to have adopted, to a man, the savage resolution of the lord-admiral, Thomas Howard—of giving no quarter. Now was the time that the nobles and the meanest subjects of the doomed prince showed their valour and their attachment to his person:—

"The English shafts in volleys hail'd,
In headlong charge their horse assail'd;
Front, flank, and rear, the squadrons sweep
To break the Scottish circle deep,
That fought around their king.
But yet, though thick the shafts as snow,
Though charging knights like whirlwinds go,
Though billmen ply the ghastly blow,
Unbroken was the ring;
"The stubborn spearmen still made good
Their dark impenetrable wood,
Each stepping where his comrade stood,
The instant that he fell.
No thought was there of dastard flight;
Link'd in the serried phalanx tight,
Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
As fearlessly and well."¹

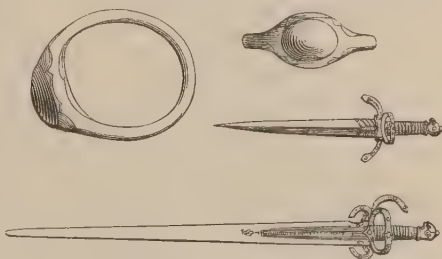
Nor did they cease fighting when James bit the dust with an English arrow sticking in his body, and with a mortal wound from an English bill on his head: they closed round the body, which fell within a spear's length of Surrey, defending it dead as obstinately as they had defended it when living. Night closed upon the carnage, and separated the combatants. Surrey was for a while uncertain of the victory; but during the night his scouts brought him intelligence that the Scots were in full retreat towards their own country, and that none remained on the field; "upon which the earl thanked God with humble heart." But the intelligence of the scouts was not quite correct: during the night the Borderers, who had fought under the standard of Lord Home, being joined by marauders from Tynedale and from Teviotdale, stripped the slain, and pillaged part of the baggage of *both* armies; and when day dawned, Home's banner was seen hovering near the left flank of the English, while another body of Scots—apparently the remnant of the centre, which had fought under the king—appeared in front, occupying a hill, as if determined to renew the contest. Surrey brought his artillery to bear upon them, and they were dislodged; but even then they seem to have retreated very deliberately, and Lord Home's people carried a rich booty and a considerable number of prisoners across the Tweed. Lord Dacre found seventeen pieces of cannon deserted on the hill-side; and it appears to have been in the morning, and not in the preceding evening, that

¹ *Marmion*.

the English horse followed a portion of the retreating Scots for about four miles, and not further. It is quite certain that Surrey had suffered dreadfully in this stern conflict, and that he had no inclination whatever to try the fords of the Tweed, and the moors and morasses beyond it. The loss of the Scots, according to the most moderate calculation, amounted to 8000 or 9000 men; but in this number were included the very prime of their nobility, gentry, and even clergy. Besides the king and his natural son, Alexander Stuart, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had studied abroad, and received instruction from Erasmus, there were slain twelve earls—Crawford, Montrose, Lennox, Argyle, Errol, Athole, Morton, Cassilis, Bothwell, Rothes, Caithness, and Glencairn: to these must be added fifteen lords and chiefs of clans; amongst whom were Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, Loughlan Maclean of Dowart, and Campbell of Lawers; and conspicuous in the sad list are the names of George Hepburn, Bishop of the Isles; William Bunch, abbot of Kilwinning; Lawrence Oliphant, abbot of Inchaffray; the dean of Glasgow; La Motte, the French agent, and most of his countrymen. Some families of the gentle blood of Scotland lost all their male members that were of an age capable of bearing arms. The body of the king was found by Lord Dacre among a heap of dead. Dacre, who had known him well, recognized it, though it was disfigured by many wounds, and it was afterwards identified by James' chancellor, Sir William Scott, by Sir John Forman, and some other prisoners. The body was conveyed to Berwick, where it was embalmed and wrapped in sheets of lead, and it was then sent secretly, among other packages, to Newcastle. From Newcastle the Earl of Surrey took it with him to London, and then placed it in the monastery of Shene, near Richmond. Meanwhile, in Scotland, the people were loath to believe that their king was dead; and those who believed it attributed his death, not to the English in the field, but to certain traitors in the retreat. It was said that James, after escaping across the Tweed, was murdered by some of the retainers of the Earl of Home; and the classical, but credulous and imaginative Buchanan tells us that he himself had heard one Lawrence Telfer say that he saw the king on the north of the Tweed after the battle. Lesley, again, informs us that it was asserted by many, that it could not be the

king's body which Surrey had conveyed to London, as James was seen alive by many, and safe at Kelso, after the flight of Flodden; and he adds, that some of the Scots continued to believe that the king had gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to pray for the souls of his slaughtered nobles, and to pass the rest of his life in devotion and penitence. By these romantic believers it was particularly objected to the English, that they could never show the token of the iron belt which James constantly wore round his body, in penance for his youthful rebellion and the death of his father: but the English produced the unfortunate monarch's sword and dagger, and a turquoise ring (supposed to have been sent him by the Queen of France), which are still preserved in the Heralds' College, London; and no rational doubt can be entertained that James perished at Flodden Field.¹

Queen Catherine instantly announced this victory to her husband in a very spirited and very



SWORD, DAGGER, AND RING OF JAMES IV.²—From the originals in Heralds' College, London.

English letter. Being on the winning side, she said, "All that God sendeth is for the best;" and she sent Henry the coat-armour of the unfortunate James.³ The affectionate tone of the letter is remarkable. She calls the king "my Henry;" and concludes with praying God to send him home shortly, as without this no joy can be complete. The king received this conjugal despatch while he lay before Tournai. Soon after his return to England he rewarded Surrey, by restoring to him the title of Duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father, who fell in the battle of Bosworth Field.

The victory at Flodden had been so dearly bought, and money and provisions were so scarce in his camp, that Surrey was in no condition to follow up his advantages. Instead of invading

¹ Original despatch in French, attributed to the Lord-admiral Howard, preserved in the Heralds' College, and printed by Pinkerton.—*The Trewe Encountre or Batayle lately don betwene Englande and Scotlande*, &c., first printed in 1513, and reprinted by Haslewood, in 1809; Hall's *Chronicle*; *Pittscottie*; Lesley, *De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*; Walter Scott, *Notes to Marmion*; Ellis's *Letters*; Tytler, *Hist. Scot.*; *Rambles in Northumberland and on the Scottish Border*, by Stephen Oliver the Younger.

² The length of the sword blade is 3 feet $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, and of the hilt $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. On one side of the blade is inscribed "*Maestro Domingo*;" on the other apparently the words, "*ESPOIR CONFORTE LE GVEVAL*." The blade of the dagger is $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and the hilt $5\frac{1}{2}$ in length.—*Archæologia*, xxxiii. 335.

³ The whole of the letter, which is preserved among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, and printed in Sir Henry Ellis's *Collection*, is exceedingly interesting.

Scotland he stopped at Berwick, and having put some troops in garrison, he disbanded the rest of his army. The Scots prepared manfully for the defence of their country; and the queen, at the same time, wrote an affectionate letter to her brother Henry, requesting his forbearance for a widowed sister and an infant orphan. Henry was, perhaps, not incapable of generous sentiments; but it is not uncharitable to suppose that the determined attitude of the Scots, and the old recollections of the unprofitable nature of Scottish wars, had their weight in his council, which agreed to a peace.

A.D. 1514. Louis XII. pursued a course of diplomacy which broke up the coalition against him, and which would have left the English to make war by themselves, had Henry's military ardour tempted him to a renewal of the struggle. He completely reconciled himself with the court of Rome, and he not only prolonged his truce with Ferdinand, but won over the Emperor Maximilian—the volunteer of England—by proposing a treaty of marriage. Louis offered the hand of Renée, his second daughter, with his claim to the duchy of Milan, to Prince Charles, who was grandson both to Maximilian and to Ferdinand. Charles, it will be remembered, had been affianced during the lifetime of the late king to the Princess Mary of England, Henry's youngest sister. The bargain had been arranged with Charles' father, Philip, during his detention in Windsor Castle; but Henry did not consider it the less binding from the force and treachery which had been used on that occasion, and, as Charles was now approaching the age of puberty, he expected shortly to see the completion of the marriage. The first person to inform Henry of these negotiations was the French king himself, through the medium of the Duke of Longueville, who had been taken prisoner in the battle of the Spurs and conveyed into England. That accomplished courtier soon won the favour of the English king; and when Henry was almost frantic at the treachery of his allies, the duke adroitly proposed a family alliance with his master. Louis' wife, Anne of Brittany, had died in the month of January, just in time for the furthering of this sudden scheme. She had left no son, and her widower, notwithstanding his declining health, hoped that a new marriage might bless him with an heir. Negotiations in other quarters had been opened before Anne was buried; but the friendship of England was worth purchasing, even at the price of taking a disagreeable wife—and the Princess Mary, on the contrary, was a beautiful and charming person. Henry, whose mind was seldom startled by sudden changes, caught at the proposal. Louis anxiously urged

the treaty, and the private feelings of the princess were disregarded, as in all such cases. Louis was fifty-three years old, Mary was sixteen, and passionately enamoured of Charles Brandon, Viscount Lisle, one of her brother's favourites, and the handsomest and most accomplished nobleman in the English court. The treaty, which was to secure lasting peace and amity between the two nations, was concluded with the usual forms: Louis agreed to pay Henry a million of crowns, in ten yearly instalments, in discharge of arrears due on the old treaty of Etaples, and Henry agreed to give his sister, Mary, a dowry of 400,000 crowns. On the 7th of August a marriage ceremony was performed at Greenwich, the Duke of Longueville acting as proxy for his master. If Mary was in no haste to leave England, Louis was very impatient for her society, and he wrote more than once to hurry her departure. On the 2d of September he addressed Wolsey, now Bishop of Lincoln and the manager of all Henry's affairs, desiring that his queen might be sent over without delay. A month after this Henry and his court accompanied the young Queen of France to Dover, where she embarked for Boulogne, accompanied by a splendid retinue, among whom were Surrey, now Duke of Norfolk, her lover, the Viscount Lisle, who had been created Duke of Suffolk, and *Anne Boleyn*, then a pretty little girl and maid of honour.¹ On the 8th of October she made her public entrance into Abbeville. On the following day the marriage was re-solemnized by a French cardinal, Louis suffering grievously from the gout during the ceremony; and the day after, to the great vexation of the young queen, he dismissed the Lady Guildford, her governess, Sir Richard Blount, her chamberlain, with all the rest of her English attendants, except *Anne Boleyn*, and two or three mere menials. The accomplished Charles Brandon, however, remained with the Duke of Norfolk in quality of ambassador. On the 12th of October Mary addressed her brother, complaining bitterly of this treatment. "Would to God," she exclaims, "that my Lord of York had come with me in the room of Norfolk! for then I am sure I should have been left much more at my heart's ease than I am now!"² My Lord of York was none other than Wolsey, who ran through all the grades of church preferment with unprecedented rapidity, and who had been translated from Lincoln to the archbishopric of York on the preceding 5th of August. The gallant Brandon excited a great jealousy among the French courtiers; and, if we are to believe the majority of the French writers of the time,

¹ In the original list signed by King Louis, which is preserved among the Cottonian MSS., this personage is merely named as *Mademoiselle Boleyn*. ² Sir Henry Ellis' Collection.

the attachment between him and Queen Mary was apparent from the moment of their arrival in France, and excited suspicion, notwithstanding their great prudence and irreproachable conduct. In the month of December Louis wrote to his "good brother, cousin, and gossip," the King of England, to express his happiness in this marriage; and on the 1st of January following he expired at Paris, worn out with sickness and debility. Mary was not an inconsolable widow. It was generally rumoured that Francis I., who now ascended the throne of France in the twenty-first year of his age, was not insensible to her beauty and accomplishments; but he was provided with a queen, having recently married the Princess Claude, daughter of the late King Louis and Anne of Brittany. Henry sent the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Richard Wingfield, and Dr. West, with a "goodly band of yeomen, all in black," to bring the princess home again. Mary, who had been not quite three months a wife, and scarcely two months a widow, gave heart and hand to her lover, and was privately married at Paris to the captivating Brandon, almost as soon as he arrived at that capital. It had not been unusual for princesses of the blood to marry subjects, but the notion of the royal dignity was now wonderfully on the increase; and it had been set down as law, at least as far back as Henry VI., that no such marriages should be allowed without the express permission of the king; and for this it appears Mary did not ask. She wrote to implore pardon for the step she had taken to secure her own happiness, and then travelled with her husband to Calais, where a more public marriage was solemnized shortly after. Henry for a time was, or appeared to be, exceedingly wroth at the unequal match; and on their return to England, in the month of August, the duke and duchess went to their manor in Suffolk instead of joining the court. The king, however, had a warm affection both for his sister Mary and for the accomplished Brandon, who had been brought up with him from his childhood, and who delighted Henry by his cheerful humour, his gallant deportment, and his great address in tournaments and all martial exercises; and a perfect reconciliation soon took place, aided by the good-will of my "Lord-cardinal"—for Wolsey, still rising, got the cardinal's hat in the course of this summer.¹

It is time to say a word touching the history of this gorgeous churchman, who for nearly twenty years was more King of England than Henry himself. Thomas Wolsey was the son of a substantial butcher, or more probably grazier, of Ipswich. His father, who was rather wealthy for the time, procured him a good education,

and brought him up for the church. He studied at Oxford, where, on account of his precocity and early attainments, he was honoured with the name of the Boy Bachelor. For some time he taught the grammar-school adjoining to Magdalen College. Among other pupils, the sons of the Marquis of Dorset were committed to his care, and, by means of the marquis, the parsonage of Limington, in Somersetshire—"no very mean one"—was bestowed upon him. He was not distinguished at any period of his life by temperance and sobriety, and a command of his passions: in the hot season of youth he appears to have been guilty of sundry indiscretions. It is quite certain that the young parson soon grew weary of the obscurity of a country life; "bearing a mind that looked beyond this poor benefice," which he soon left to become domestic chaplain to the treasurer of Calais. The treasurer



CARDINAL WOLSEY.—From a picture by Holbein.

introduced him to the notice of Bishop Fox, the cunning minister and diplomatist—"a man that knew rightly how to judge of good wits." Fox warmly recommended him to his master Henry VII., whose particular talent it was to discover the abilities of other men, and who never employed a dull one. Henry presently employed Wolsey in certain secret affairs of great moment, and Wolsey justified the warm recommendation of his patron the bishop. "What need many words?" exclaims an episcopal historian; "he so far pleased the king, that in short time he became a great man, and was first preferred to the deanery of Lincoln, and then made the king's almoner."²

Upon the death of the old king there was a struggle for supremacy in the council between

¹ Ellis' *Letters*; Hall; Bishop Godwin; *Hist. de Bayard*; *Lettres de Principi*; Original Letters quoted by Fiddes.

² Bishop Godwin.

Bishop Fox and the Duke of Norfolk, then Earl of Surrey. The bishop was not slow in perceiving that the earl, whose military character and tastes pleased the young king, was getting the upper hand, and to counteract this influence, he introduced Wolsey to Henry VIII. It was the old story—the tool was too sharp for the hand that would have worked with it for its own purposes. Instead of propping the bishop against the weight of the earl, the chaplain supplanted them both, and soon acquired more power and influence at court than they had ever possessed between them. Though nearly twenty years his senior, Wolsey glided into all the tastes and habits of the young king, some of which, however, seem to have been natural to him; and though a churchman, he became a sort of model and a bosom friend to Henry, whose chief but not only ambition it was to figure as a warlike monarch and perfect knight. We have noticed his love of literature. Of the books he had read many were of the school divinity;¹ and his favourite author was the subtilizing St. Thomas Aquinas. Wolsey could entertain him on this subject, which he had studied professionally; and, with a happy facility, he could pass from St. Thomas to the ladies and affairs of gallantry. Henry, according to an old writer, had “as little inclination to trouble himself with business as a wild ox has to be yoked to the plough;” and it quite suited Wolsey’s views to encourage this feeling, and to take the whole business of government upon himself.

A few months after the return of the Princess Mary from France, Archbishop Warham, finding his authority reduced to nothing, resigned the seals, upon which Wolsey became chancellor of the kingdom. This high promotion was soon followed by another of an ecclesiastical description: in consequence of services rendered or promised, Leo X. appointed him to the important and lucrative post of Papal legate. He now became most gorgeous in his dress, retinue, house-keeping, and all other things; carrying pomp, and ceremony, and expense to a higher pitch than men had ever before seen in a subject. It was calculated at one time that his income, with the pensions and presents he received from foreign princes, equalled the revenue of the crown. But his taste was rather for spending than accumulating. He maintained a train of 800 persons, amongst whom were nine or ten lords, the beggared descendants of proud barons. He had fifteen knights, and forty squires. All his domestics were splendidly attired: his cook wore a satin or velvet jerkin, and a chain of gold round

his neck. Henry seems to have taken a pride in the splendour of his favourite, and jealousy was probably avoided by his considering all this glory as a mere reflection of his own. Even the nation was less jealous of the low-born minister than might have been expected; for Wolsey was an excellent paymaster, and constantly gave largesses to the people and alms to the poor. At the same time he encouraged men of learning, exerted himself for the revival of classical literature, and endowed colleges. Indeed, Wolsey, though the most absolute minister of an absolute king, was rather popular than otherwise, until Henry’s wants obliged him to overtax the people. As chancellor he dispensed strict justice, though his severity too often savoured of the system of Empson and Dudley; for he set round fines on the heads of rich offenders, without any very scrupulous attention to legal forms or the positive amount of their guilt. On the whole, and with reference to that age, his home-government was not a bad one. His faults and vices were of a gigantic growth; but Wolsey was no vulgar upstart—no sordid mind.²

Francis I., the new King of France, whose views were all directed beyond the Alps, gladly renewed the treaty which his predecessor Louis had concluded with Henry. Having secured peace with England, and resumed alliances with Venice, with Genoa, and some other states, Francis poured 60,000 men into the plains of Lombardy. The splendid victory of Marignano and the acquisition of Milan were the fruits of this invasion.

The military glory which the young French king acquired beyond the Alps excited the jealousy of Henry, and an outcry was raised in the English court against French ambition and encroachment. As Francis had given great offence to Wolsey, that powerful favourite encouraged the hostile feelings of his master, and recommended him to form a fresh alliance with the Emperor Maximilian, in order to expel the French from Italy. If there had been money in hand war would have been immediately declared against Francis, but Henry by this time had completely exhausted the treasures left to him by his father; and Maximilian, on his side, was still the “moneyless,” and could do nothing without English subsidies. He soon adopted an expedient which, by a very correct estimate of Henry’s character, he calculated would induce him to make greater exertions for the raising of money than the mere prospect of a doubtful war. Gradually he hinted that he was weary of the weight of the imperial crown, and might be easily persuaded to resign it, for a proper consideration in money, to the English king. Duped

¹ According to several accounts Henry’s father had at one time destined him for the church. Hence his knowledge of divinity, church music, &c.

² Cavendish; Fildes; Hall; Bishop Godwin.

as he had been by Maximilian already, Henry's greedy vanity took the bait; and the Earl of Worcester and Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards Bishop of Durham, were sent as ambassadors to the emperor's court to negotiate for this cession of a title. Tunstall, who was one of the most accomplished scholars in Europe, and a man of business besides, presently discovered the specious cheat. After begging his short-sighted master to pardon his frankness, he explained the trick in some admirable letters.¹ Henry was convinced; and he not only gave up his dream of being an emperor, but also his projected alliance with Maximilian, for the purpose of driving the French out of Italy. Nor did he stop at negatives. When once turned from a line of policy, it was his general custom to run for a time in a directly contrary direction. Francis, after securing himself in possession of the Milanese, went on to Bologna, where he held a long conference with the pope, whom he won over by his liberal treatment and the fascination of his manners. In the following spring the French monarch recrossed the Alps, leaving the Constable Bourbon to govern the duchy of Milan. He soon applied himself to arrange a reconciliation with Wolsey, and by means which are not explained, but at which it is not difficult to guess, my lord-cardinal was converted from an enemy into a zealous friend. A treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was then set on foot, and at length, on the 4th of October, 1518, it was solemnly ratified. Henry's biographer, Lord Herbert, holds up this treaty as a model for princes; but we see little in it that is new, either in matter or manner, and all its clauses were broken more rapidly even than usual. It was agreed, as a basis, that the infant dauphin, the son of Francis, should be contracted to Henry's *daughter*, the Princess Mary, who was then about a year and a half old; and that Henry should restore Tournai to Francis upon payment of 600,000 crowns, and under charge of an annual pension of 12,000 livres, which Wolsey was to receive in lieu of the revenues of the bishopric of that city. The cardinal, in the course of the negotiations, had not neglected his own interests, and he had a confidential agent attached to the embassy in France who received the presents of the French commissioners.

A.D. 1519. Henry's jealousy of Francis seemed now converted into a vehement admiration; and he proposed a personal interview, to take place in the month of July, 1519, between Calais and Boulogne. But this scene of parade was postponed in consequence of the occurrence of a great political crisis, which wholly occupied the attention of Europe for many months.

The Emperor Maximilian died suddenly in the month of January, 1519, and Francis proposed himself as candidate for the vacant dignity. Henry, in the month of March, when his head was full of the pageantry to be gotten up for their meeting, promised the French king his countenance and support; a little later (in the month of May) he sent the learned Richard Pace to the German electors, to announce himself as a candidate. But a greater than Henry or than Francis was now in the arena. This was the Archduke Charles, who had once been betrothed to the Princess Mary, Henry's sister. By the death of his maternal grandfather, old Ferdinand of Aragon, which happened in 1516, Charles had become possessor of the whole Spanish monarchy; and now, on the death of Maximilian, his paternal grandfather, he proposed himself as his successor in the empire. The claims of Charles were in all essentials preferable to those of Francis; he was of a German house (of the imperial house of Austria); he was born at Ghent, and was, by right of inheritance, sovereign of the Low Countries, which were held to be a subject part of the empire. The German electors had often been most corrupt, and Francis flattered himself that he could set aside all these advantages by intrigue and bribery.² But the Lord of the Netherlands, of Naples and Sicily, of Spain and the Indies, was a much richer sovereign than the French king; and as for political intrigue, Francis, though his senior in years, was a mere child to Charles, whose councils were directed by the most cunning diplomatists in Europe—men who had studied their craft in the school of his grandfather Ferdinand and Cardinal Ximenes. Henry soon found that, between two such competitors, there was no chance for him; and, either from that common desire men feel for being on the winning side, or from some new disgust against Francis, or in a lame attempt at manoeuvre, he wrote to assure Charles of his earnest wishes that he might prove the successful candidate.³ This young king went from Spain to the Netherlands; and while the electors were debating in the diet of Frankfort, he raised an army, which he kept sufficiently near to overawe the diet, and yet sufficiently distant to save appearances. After long deliberations, and a rapid circulation both of French and Spanish money, Charles was elected emperor on the 28th of June. Francis bore his disappointment and his heavy

² Francis told Sir Thomas Boleyn, who was one of Henry's ambassadors, that he would spend three millions of gold but he would succeed.

³ At the same time, however, Sir Thomas Boleyn conveyed to Francis the most solemn assurances of Henry's support, and also (at the same time, or very nearly so) Pace recommended his master to the electors. (*State Papers*, reign of Henry VIII., published by his Majesty's Record Commission, A.D. 1853.)

¹ *Ellis' Letters*. The originals are in the British Museum.

pecuniary losses with seeming lightness of heart, saying to the Spanish ambassadors that, in ambition as in love, a discarded suitor ought never to cherish resentment. But notwithstanding this *bon mot*, he was deeply mortified, and he felt that he and Charles must be rivals for life. This, however, in all probability would have happened even if there had been no imperial crown to contend for. Ever since Charles VIII. had carried his lances through the defiles of the Alps—for more than twenty years—there had been a struggle between the French and the Spaniards for the dominion of Italy: and it was not likely that this would be given up under two young, active, and warlike princes, at a moment when Charles held the whole of the south of that beautiful peninsula, and when Francis had obtained a firm footing on the north of it.

The eagerness with which each of these rivals attempted to secure to himself the friendship of the King of England, was flattering to the power and importance of the nation; but Henry was utterly incapable of benefiting either himself or his people, or the cause of humanity, by the advantages afforded him by his enviable position. On the 6th of July he ordered Wolsey to draw up, "as his politic wisdom should think best," letters of congratulation to Charles;¹ and on the 8th of the same month we find Wolsey stating, in a letter to his master, that De Hesdin, Charles' ambassador, complained that proper respect had not been paid in London to this grand occasion. It is quite clear that both king and minister wished to play a double game, and to keep on the best of terms, for the present, with both Charles and Francis. What advantages Henry proposed to himself are not so obvious; but Wolsey had recently touched the French king's money, and was probably expecting more, while, with the emperor, he was engaging for a still higher prize. When Francis requested the king to fulfil his former purpose, and pass over to the Continent to a personal interview, it was agreed to give him this great sign of friendship and confidence; and the meeting was fixed for the following summer. Upon learning this appointment, Charles was greatly alarmed, and his ambassadors in England did all that they could to break it. But Henry, who longed to display his magnificence, was firm to his purpose, and, as the time approached (towards the end of May), he removed, with his queen and court, from Greenwich to Canterbury. He had scarcely collected his finery for embarkation at Dover, when he received news that the emperor was in the Channel. According to the commonly

received account, Henry was taken by surprise, but not so was his minister. Wolsey had opened a secret negotiation with Spain, where the emperor was then residing, and had concerted this opportune visit; and Charles had granted his "most dear friend," the cardinal, a pension of 7000 ducats, secured upon two Spanish bishoprics. Wolsey was now detached from Canterbury with a splendid train to meet the imperial guest, who anchored at Hythe on the 26th of May. The illustrious strangers were lodged in Dover Castle, whither Henry repaired to pay his respects. He arrived by torch-light, and saluted and embraced the emperor very tenderly. They conferred together in private during a great part of the night; and on the morrow, being Whit Sunday, they rode together in great state to Canterbury, the emperor always keeping the right hand, and the Earl of Derby bearing the sword of state before them.² As they approached the cathedral they were met by Wolsey at the head of a procession of the clergy, and conducted into the church. The cathedral, the adjoining



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, West Front.

monastery, and the different buildings thereto attached, and which formed a little town in themselves, were then at the height of their glory, enriched by the accumulated donations of nearly 1000 years. The sovereigns, according to precedent, laid their offerings on the tomb of St. Thomas à Becket, and some time was spent there in devotions, not only by the emperor, but even by him who shortly after defaced the monument and seized upon that infinite treasure. From the church they proceeded to the palace of the Arch-

¹ This letter to Wolsey, in the hand-writing of Sir Thomas More, is preserved in the British Museum, and is printed in Sir Henry Ellis' *Collection*, and in the *State Papers* published by government.

² Derby, it appears, was one of Wolsey's retainers.

bishop of Canterbury where the emperor was joyfully welcomed by Queen Catherine, who was his aunt. Here, too, Charles saw, for the first time, Henry's sister, Mary, late Queen-dowager of France, and now Duchess of Suffolk. He gazed with unconcealed admiration on her exquisitely beautiful person; and it is said that, remembering how she had been affianced to him, he bitterly regretted the political views by which he had lost such a wife, and that these thoughts marred all the splendid festivities which were got up to do him honour. But if those tender feelings ever existed at all, they must have been of transient duration in such a mind; and Charles spent a good part of the time of his short visit in arranging fresh schemes of ambition, or in securing Wolsey to his interests. The cardinal, who considered every advancement but as a step to something higher, sighed for the triple crown of Rome; and the adroit emperor engaged to give him all the weight of his influence whenever the present pope should die. He also made Wolsey some magnificent presents, and conciliated his pride by treating him with great reverence, and affecting to submit to his superior judgment in state affairs. Three days were spent in this manner, and, on the fourth, Charles re-embarked at Sandwich, and set sail for his Netherland dominions, well satisfied that, by anticipating and by winning Wolsey, he had prevented any evil consequences that might otherwise have arisen out of the more formal interview with Francis. On the same day Henry, with the cardinal, the queen, and the whole court, sailed for Calais to keep that appointment. The place fixed upon, after deliberations of an interminable length, was within the English pale, between Guines and Ardres.¹

On the 4th of June (1520) the king's grace, with all the lords, and the queen with her train of ladies, removed from Calais to the lordship royal of Guines, where a temporary palace of wood had been built, and most gorgeously decorated by 1100 workmen, most of them cunning artificers from Flanders or from Holland. The outside was covered with sail-cloth, which was so painted as to look like squared stone; the inside was hung with the richest arras. The furniture and decorations of the temporary chapel and apartments of state were gorgeous in the extreme. The walls glittered with embroidery and jewels; the altar and the tables groaned under the weight of massive plate.² Francis, that he might not be outdone, had prepared an immense pavilion, which was chiefly sustained by a mighty mast, with ropes and tackle strained to steady it. But there arose a most impetuous and tempestu-

ous wind, which broke asunder the ropes and laid all this bravery in the dirt; and Francis was obliged to take up his lodging in an old castle near the town of Ardres. As soon as the two kings were settled in their respective residences, "the Reverend Father Lord Thomas Wolsey, cardinal and legate à Latere, as the king's high ambassador, rode with noble repair of lords, gentlemen, and prelates, to the French court at Ardres, where the same lord cardinal was highly entertained of the French king." The Frenchmen were so struck with Wolsey's pomp and splendour, that they afterwards "*made books*, showing the triumphant doings of the cardinal's *royalty*." At the same moment that Wolsey visited Francis, a deputation of French nobles waited upon Henry. The cardinal, who had "full power and authority to affirm and confirm, bind and unbind, whatsoever should be in question," even as if the king his master were there present, spent two whole days in arranging an additional treaty with the French sovereign. Francis, whose heart was beyond the Alps, readily agreed to pay a high price for the neutrality of England in the war which he saw was inevitable: he renewed the recent marriage treaty, and, in addition to the money there promised, bound himself and his successors to pay to Henry and his successors the yearly sum of 100,000 crowns, in the event of the said marriage between their children being solemnized, and the issue of that marriage seated on the English throne. To do away with the jealousy which had long existed between France and England on the subject of Scotland, he consented that the affairs of that country should be referred to the friendly arbitration of Cardinal Wolsey and his own mother, Louisa of Savoy.

When the business was over, Henry, apparelled in a garment of cloth of silver of damask, ribbed with cloth of gold, and with all his nobles gaudily dressed and mounted, went forth to meet his brother of France. They met at last (on the 7th of June) in the valley of Andren, where a gorgeous tent had been pitched for the occasion. As had been previously arranged, in order to get over a delicate point of precedence, the two kings saluted and embraced on horseback. Francis spoke first, saying, "My dear brother and cousin, thus far to my pain have I travelled to see you personally. I think, verily, that you esteem me as I am, and that I am not unworthy to be your aid. The realms and seignories in my possession demonstrate the extent of my power." To this Henry graciously replied, "Neither your realms nor other the places of your power are a matter of my regard, but the steadfastness and loyal keeping of promises comprised in charters between you and me. I never saw prince with

¹ Herbert; Hall; Stow; Godwin.² Hall.

my eyes that might of my heart be more beloved; and for your love have I passed the seas into the farthest frontier of my kingdoms to see you." The two monarchs dismounted together, and walked arm-in-arm into the tent, where they partook of

a costly banquet. After they had ended, and spice and wine had been served up in the tent, "ipocras was chief drink, of plenty to all that would drink outside." The kings then came out of the tent, when Henry's favoured historian ob-



MEETING OF HENRY VIII. AND FRANCIS I. ON THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.—From a bas-relief on the Hôtel de Bourgtheroude, Rouen.

tained a near view of the person and the clothes (which seemed to him of more importance) of the French monarch. "The said Francis," says he, "is a goodly prince, stately of countenance and merry of cheer; brown coloured, great eyes, high-nosed, big-lipped, fair-breasted and shouldered, with small legs and long feet."¹

Several months before this meeting it had been proclaimed, in all the principal cities of Europe, that the Kings of France and England, as brothers-in-arms, would hold solemn jousts and tournaments, and defend the field against all knights. On the 11th June the jousts were opened, the queens having taken their places. Catherine was most brilliantly equipped, her very foot-cloth being powdered with pearls. The kings rode together to the mound, Henry having for his aids Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Dorset, Sir William Kingston, Sir Richard Jerningham, Sir Giles Capell, Mr. Nicholas Carew, and Mr. Anthony Knevitt; and Francis having for his aids the Lords of St. Pol, Montmorency, Biron, and other noble gentlemen. Many illustrious knights, from different countries, entered the lists as challengers; and then the mock combats began. Such was the address of the two monarchs, or such the practical flattery of their opponents, that they fought five battles each day, and invariably came off victorious. Six days

were spent in tilting with lances, two in tournaments with the broadsword on horseback, and the two last in fighting on foot at the barriers. The feats of the combatants were registered in a book, wherein the heralds were not likely to permit the exploits of kings to lose by their modesty of expression.

No pageantry or outward show of friendship could reconcile the ancient jealousies of the two nations, or even remove their mutual suspicions. The English, as Comines has told us, had usually been very confiding in matters of conference; but the court of Henry was certainly not so on the present occasion. Francis, on the contrary, who had a certain generosity and nobleness of disposition, grew weary of these cautions, and made an effort to put an end to them, and break through the barriers of etiquette. This he did by a well-devised practical jest, through which mutual confidence was established. After this the intercourse between the two courts was more familiar. There were banquets and balls, masking and mumming, in which the ladies and the two kings played their parts, Henry being especially fond of masquerades and fantastic disguisings. "But," says an old historian, who moralizes his theme, "pleasures must have their intermission, and kings, if not by their greatness, are by their affairs severed." After consuming a fortnight, Henry returned to Calais, and Francis went towards Paris. The most lasting effect produced by the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," as the interview and the place where it was held were afterwards called, was the ruin of many of the nobility, both English and French, who, in their insatiable rivalry, contracted enormous debts.²

¹ Hall. Those who remember the spirited, intellectual-looking portrait of Francis, painted by Titian, will be inclined to think that this annalist has scarcely done the French king justice. But beyond pageants, and dresses, and feasts, Hall was wholly out of his depth. He was, notwithstanding, a proper historian for such a king as Henry VIII.; and there is no having a correct notion of the solemn trifles which filled up so large a part of this reign without referring to his ponderous sentences and elaborate descriptions.

² Hall: *Du Bellay*; *Polydore Virgil*; *Godwin*.

CHAPTER IV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1520—1526.

HENRY VIII.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1509—DEATH, A.D. 1547.

Mutual visits between Henry VIII. and Charles V.—Duke of Buckingham suspected—Accused of treason—Tried and executed—Henry becomes champion of the Romish church against the Reformation—His negotiations with Charles V. against France—Wolsey's intrigues for the popedom—League against the French king—Wolsey disappointed of the popedom—Charles V. visits England—Wolsey's oppressive measures to raise money—France unsuccessfully invaded—Ireland and Scotland stirred up by France against England—Regency of Margaret, Henry's sister, in Scotland—She is succeeded in the regency by the Duke of Albany—Margaret's flight into England—Henry espouses her cause—Insurrections in Scotland—The Duke of Albany leaves Scotland—Margaret returns thither—Tumults in Scotland—Albany returns, and resumes the regency—Intrigues of Henry VIII. and Wolsey to embroil Scottish affairs—Albany invades England—The invasion followed by a truce—Albany again leaves Scotland—Henry re-assembles his parliament to raise money—Independent conduct of parliament—The demanded supplies withheld—France invaded—Troubles in that country—The Duke of Bourbon driven to revolt—His treaty with Henry VIII. and Charles V.—He escapes from France—Unsuccessful campaign of the English in France—Wolsey's intrigues for the popedom—His failure—Wars in France—Francis I. besieges Pavia—He is defeated and taken prisoner—Intrigues of the English court on that event—Wolsey's unpopular proceedings—Henry concludes a peace with France—Francis I. liberated from captivity—Fruitless attempt of Luther to conciliate Henry VIII.



WHEN the gaudy play was over, the first thing Henry did was to go to Gravelines, and pay a visit to the more sober-minded emperor, who had prevented his noble subjects from attending the meeting, and ruining themselves in shows and tournaments. Charles accompanied him back to Calais, to pay, as was given out, his respects to his dear aunt Catherine, but, in reality, to concert measures with those who had so recently pledged themselves to his rival, Francis. After spending three days at Calais, the emperor rode back to his Flemish dominions "mounted on a brave horse covered with a cloth of gold, richly beset with stones, which the king had given him." Before he departed he flattered the vanity of his dear uncle by appointing him umpire to settle every difference that might arise between himself and Francis. After spending a few more days at Calais, Henry and his court embarked for Dover, and then returned "all safe in body, but empty in purse," to London.¹

Although, in these despotic times, it was dangerous to oppose or criticize the tastes of the king, there were not wanting men who expressed their disapprobation of the ruinous and useless expense into which the nobility of the kingdom had been led for the getting up of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Among these murmurers one of the loudest was Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the son of that weak and vacillating duke who, after helping Richard III. to seize the crown, raised an insurrection against him, in which he lost his head, like a fool and coward.²

But, though Buckingham was marked out for destruction immediately after Henry's return from the Continent, it was not solely on account of his criticism, for he had long been an object of jealousy and suspicion, though the king pretended a great affection for him, and had appointed him to several high offices about the court. The origin of the duke's misfortunes was his connection with royalty, and his descent from the ancient line of the Plantagenets.³ His next misfortune was his wealth, for he was one of the richest subjects in England. He kept a splendid and hospitable house,⁴ and was exceedingly popular, not only with his servants and retainers, but with the nation at large. He had several of those virtues which it was customary to consider as peculiarly English: he was open-handed and open-hearted; frank and free spoken, almost to bluntness; and, unlike his father, he was bold and firm, and not destitute of talent. His credulity in matters of prophecy was a folly common to his age. About eight years before, when the king was preparing that expedition which was to conquer France, and which ended in the taking of two useless towns, the duke became acquainted with one Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, who had gained reputation as a fortune-teller. The friar, it is said, predicted to him (which, considering the selfish caution of Henry, and the

³ Buckingham sprang from Anne Plantagenet, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, a son of Edward III., and also traced through John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. He was hereditary High-constable of England.

⁴ Henry, it appears, was at times his guest at his splendid seat of Penshurst. Richard Pace, in a letter to Wolsey, written from that place in 1519, says, "The Duke of Buckingham maketh unto the king, here, excellent cheer."—*State Papers*.

¹ Hall; *Godwin*; *Du Bellay*.

² See vol. i. p. 647.

rashness of James, he might have done without consulting the stars) that the King of England would return home safe from France, and that the King of Scots would surely perish if he crossed the Borders. The fulfilment of both prophecies raised the monk's fame, and with it the credulity of Buckingham, who, thereafter, had frequent and familiar intercourse with the prophet. The monk, seeing that the duke was mindful of his royal descent, and of the fact that the king had no sons, began to foresee that there was something wonderfully high in the destinies of young Stafford, the duke's heir. In other words, it seems he hinted that the duke's son would be Henry's successor on the throne. For so great an effect as the judicial murder of this popular nobleman, people naturally sought a variety of causes. "Being yet a child," says the Bishop of Hereford, "I have heard ancient men say that by his bravery of apparel and sumptuous feasts, he exasperated the king, with whom, in these things, he seemed to contend." Another cause assigned was the enmity of Wolsey, without whose advice, it was believed, the king never undertook anything; and, though the cardinal was not a man of blood, he *may* have contributed to the present execution, his dislike of the duke being notorious.

Buckingham, who was living
A.D. 1521. quietly on his estate at Thornbury, in Gloucestershire, was now suddenly invited to court. The duke, suspecting no mischief, obeyed the summons, and started on his journey, not observing for some time that he was closely followed by three knights of the king's body-guard, "and a secret power of servants-at-arms." His suspicions were first awakened at Windsor, where he lodged for the night, and where he saw the "same three knights lying close by." He was also treated with marked disrespect by a creature of the court, one Thomas Ward, "who was gentleman harbinger to the king;" and the next morning, at breakfast, "his meat would not down." The whole management of the arrest is marked with a detestable treachery worthy of the worst of times. Before inveigling the duke to court, Henry had thrown one Perk, that nobleman's chancellor, into the Tower, in the view of extorting from him confessions injurious to his master. From Windsor Buckingham rode slowly on to Westminster, and there took his barge, in order to row down to Greenwich, where the court then was. He stopped on his way at my lord-cardinal's bridge,¹ where he landed with four or five of his servants, and desired to speak with Wolsey; "but he was answered how my lord was diseased (indisposed)." "Well," said the duke,

"yet will I drink of my lord's wine as I pass;" and then a gentleman of my lord-cardinal's brought the duke with much reverence into the cellar, where the duke drank. But when he saw and perceived no cheer to him was made, he changed colour, and so departed."²

As he descended the Thames, and drew near the city, his barge was hailed and boarded by Sir Henry Marney, captain of the body-guard, who attached him as a traitor in the king's name. The duke was carried on shore, and conveyed through Thames Street to the Tower, to the great astonishment and regret of the people. This was on the 16th of April. On the 13th of May he was put upon his trial as a peer, but not before a full house assembled in a parliamentary manner. Seventeen peers chosen by the king, and the Duke of Norfolk, as high-steward, constituted the tribunal. He was charged with tempting Friar Hopkins to make traitorous prophecies, by means of messages and personal conferences; with having tampered with the king's servants and yeomen of the guard, by means of presents and promises; with having declared his determination, in the event of the king's death, to cut off the heads of the lord-cardinal and some others, and then to seize the government, &c., &c. At first Buckingham pleaded that nothing in the indictment amounted to an overt act, and that, therefore, even in the showing of the prosecution, there was no guilt of treason; but Fineux, the chief-justice, laid it down as good law, that there was treason in *imagining* the death of the king, and that words spoken without any overt act were evidence enough. The duke, then, with great force and eloquence, replied to the indictment, charge by charge, denied his guilt in every particular, and boldly demanded to be confronted with the witnesses. Hopkins the prophet, De la Court his confessor, Perk his chancellor, and Sir Charles Knevvitt, *his own cousin, and formerly his steward*, were brought into court. All these individuals had been thrown into the Tower, where, according to the dark practices of those days, they may have been tortured, or threatened with torture, or corrupted by money and promises. They all persisted in their story; but the most determined evidence against him was that of his cousin Knevvitt. The Duke of Norfolk rose to pronounce sentence, for the seventeen peers (as might have been expected) unanimously found him guilty; and the hardy soldier, the victor of Flodden Field, though he had not virtue enough to oppose a jealous tyrant, wept like a child as he spoke. Buckingham replied, with a manly voice, "My Lord of Norfolk, you have said to me as a traitor should be said unto; but I was never none. Still, my

¹ The quay, or jetty, at York House. The quays on the river-side were called bridges.

² Hall, *Chron.*

lords, I nothing malign you for that you have done unto me. May the eternal God forgive you my death, as I do! I shall never sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him than I desire. I desire you, my lords, and all my fellows, to pray for me." The edge of the axe was then turned towards him, and he was led to his barge. He persisted in his resolution not to implore the king's mercy, and on the 17th of May the sheriffs led him from his dungeon to the scaffold on Tower-hill. He was as undaunted in sight of the block as he had been before his judges; and he died as brave men die—firmly and meekly, without bravado. As his head fell on the scaffold, the people groaned and lamented, for they were not yet brutalized by the frequent spectacle of such executions. "God have mercy on his soul!" exclaims one who reported his trial; "for he was a most wise and noble prince, and the mirror of all courtesy."¹

It was while the blood of Buckingham was fresh upon him that Henry set himself up as the defender and champion of the holy (Roman) mother church. The Reformation was begun by Luther in earnest in the year 1517. The doctrines of the great Reformer had been eagerly received by many minds in England, where a respect for the Catholic clergy had long been on the decline, and where the seed scattered by Wyckliffe had never been entirely extirpated. On the 14th of May, 1521, Wolsey issued orders to all the bishops of England to seize all heretical book, or books containing Martin Luther's errors. On the 20th of the same month, three days after Buckingham's execution, Henry wrote, with his own hand, a fiery letter to Louis of Bavaria, denouncing "this fire which hath been kindled by Luther, and fanned by the arts of the devil;" and calling upon Louis, as a good Christian, to exterminate Luther, and burn both him and his books.²

But, as Henry had not the power to burn the Reformer, he took up the pen of controversy, being led thereto by a wish of showing his scholastic learning, and of pleasing the court of Rome, which, on a former occasion, when Louis XII. was lying under ban, had threatened to deprive the French kings of their title of "Most Christian," and to give it to Henry and his successors, the Kings of England. Another incentive was found in the fact that Luther had spoken disrespectfully of St. Thomas Aquinas, Henry's favourite author. Thus animated, and with plenty of priests and able scholars to supply fuel to his zeal, and give polemical point to his pen, Henry wrote his celebrated defence of the Seven Sacra-

ments, which, as he fondly conceived, smashed Luther and all his doctrines. In the month of October, Clark, the English ambassador at Rome, presented this book to the pope in full consistory; and Leo X., after giving himself leisure to read the treatise, was pleased to declare, in an express bull, that he found it sprinkled with the dew of ecclesiastical grace, and that he rendered thanks to God for having inspired the king to write it for the defence of the blessed faith. In the same bull he formally conferred upon Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith," as a glorious and christianly addition to his other styles.³

While Henry was thus seeking distinction by the pen, Francis I. and Charles V. were fighting for worldly dominion. The French king was the first to draw the sword. Encouraged by a formidable revolt of the Spaniards against the despotic government of Charles, he marched an army to the crest of the Pyrenees, and, in fifteen days, overran the kingdom of Navarre. Thus far the insurgents of Spain looked on with indifference; but when the French rashly crossed the frontiers of Castile the Spaniard of all parties flew to arms, and not only drove them back, but also recovered Navarre in less than a fortnight. At the same time Francis and his auxiliaries threatened the emperor with an invasion of the Netherlands. But the French king was not more successful in the north than in the south; and, to increase his embarrassments, Leo X. threw up his alliance, and contracted a new one with the emperor. At this crisis Francis applied for the friendly mediation of Henry, who immediately engaged to act as a most impartial umpire, and then sent Wolsey, not to negotiate a peaceful and honourable arrangement, but to concert measures with Charles for the dismemberment of the French monarchy. The cardinal arbitrator—for the whole business was intrusted to him—embarked at Dover on the 30th of July, and landed on the same day at Calais with a magnificent train, including lords, bishops, doctors learned in the law, and knights and squires out of number. At Calais he was met by ambassadors from Charles and by ambassadors from Francis, and of course he found the pretensions of these diplomatists irreconcilable. Upon this, with the alleged design of disposing the emperor to more pacific measures, but with the real intention of completing the hostile league against France, he repaired in all his pomp to the city of Bruges, where Charles received him with wonderful respect.⁴ "He spent a huge mass of money in that embassy, not against his will; for he by all means sought the emperor's favour, hoping that Leo X., although much younger than he, either

¹ *State Trials; Herbert; Hall; Stow; Holinshed.*

² *Geddes, Hist. Reform.*

³ *Wilkins, Concilia; Fiddes, Life of Wolsey; Capeëgue, Hist. de la Reforme.*

⁴ *Tytler.*

cut off by treachery or his own intemperance, might leave the world before him; and then were it no hard matter for him, being underpropped by the emperor and our king, to be advanced to the Papacy.¹

On the 19th of August this impartial arbitrator wrote from Bruges to his master Henry, telling him that the emperor earnestly required his



BRUGES, THE PRINCIPAL SQUARE AND TOUR DES HALLES.
From Delepriere, *Album Pittoresque de Bruges*.

grace forthwith to declare war against France, and that he, Wolsey, had finally convinced the emperor, upon good reasons and grounds, that it would be better to defer the declaration of hostilities against France till Charles should pay Henry a visit in England.² In the same letter Wolsey told his master that he had discussed and debated with the emperor the articles devised at Calais with the emperor's ambassadors for the marriage of the Princess Mary (Henry's infant daughter) with Charles, and that he and Charles had finally concluded upon that marriage, and settled the date and all other particulars, all which treaties were to be kept strictly secret till such time as the emperor should speak with his grace in his realm of England.³

¹ Bishop Godwin.

² *State Papers*.

³ One of Henry's reasons for wishing to keep this treaty secret was, that he might continue to draw his pension from Francis till the last month. Even so late as the 28th of September, we find Wolsey advising the king to send his ships and subjects to Bordeaux to load with wine as usual, "in order to exclude such suspicions and jealousies from the French king's mind as he might take by your keeping your subjects at home more this year than at any other vintage heretofore, whereby not only the payment of your pension might be stopped, but an inclination towards the wars might be in appearance on your part, whereof many inconveniences might ensue."—Letter from Wolsey to Henry in the British Museum, and printed in *State Papers*.

Towards the end of August the lord-cardinal returned to Calais and resumed the farce of the pacification with the French ministers. It would be doing great injustice to the diplomatic abilities of the French to suppose that they could be wholly blind to what was passing, or ignorant of the blandishments of Charles at Bruges. They, however, kept their countenances, and even received with respect a plan of pacification, which Wolsey drew up in a manner that he knew the pride of Francis would never accept. The cardinal affected to lament his obstinacy, and then, taking advantage of a good opportunity, he pronounced, as his award, that Francis had been the aggressor in the war, and that Henry was bound by treaty to assist his ally the emperor. The mask was now dropped, and the result of Wolsey's negotiations was disclosed in a league, signed at Calais in the month of October, between the pope, the emperor, and the King of England. It was agreed that, in order to check the wicked ambition of France, and to expedite an European crusade against the Turks, who were gaining ground beyond the Danube, each of these contracting powers should fall upon Francis from different quarters at the same time; and that, "for the common good of Christendom," the marriage between the dauphin and the Princess Mary should be set aside, and that princess be married to the emperor.⁴

Hostilities had not been interrupted during Wolsey's negotiations, and the results of the campaign were most adverse to Francis. Beyond the Alps the Italian league, headed by the pope, and assisted by the emperor, had driven the French out of Milan, and taken possession of nearly all their conquests. In the north of France the Imperialists had taken Tournai, for which Francis had recently paid so great a price to Henry; and all that the French had to set off against these losses was the capture of Hesdin and Fuenterrabia. The brilliant success of Leo X. was, however, closely followed by his death. This illustrious member of the great Medici family was only forty-six years old. He died at the height of glory and felicity, having freed himself, as was thought, by the victory of Milan, from all danger, and from those incalculable expenses which had exhausted his treasury, and forced him to adopt all sorts of measures to get money. "He was a prince," says the great Italian historian, who knew him intimately, "in whom there was much to praise and much to blame."⁵

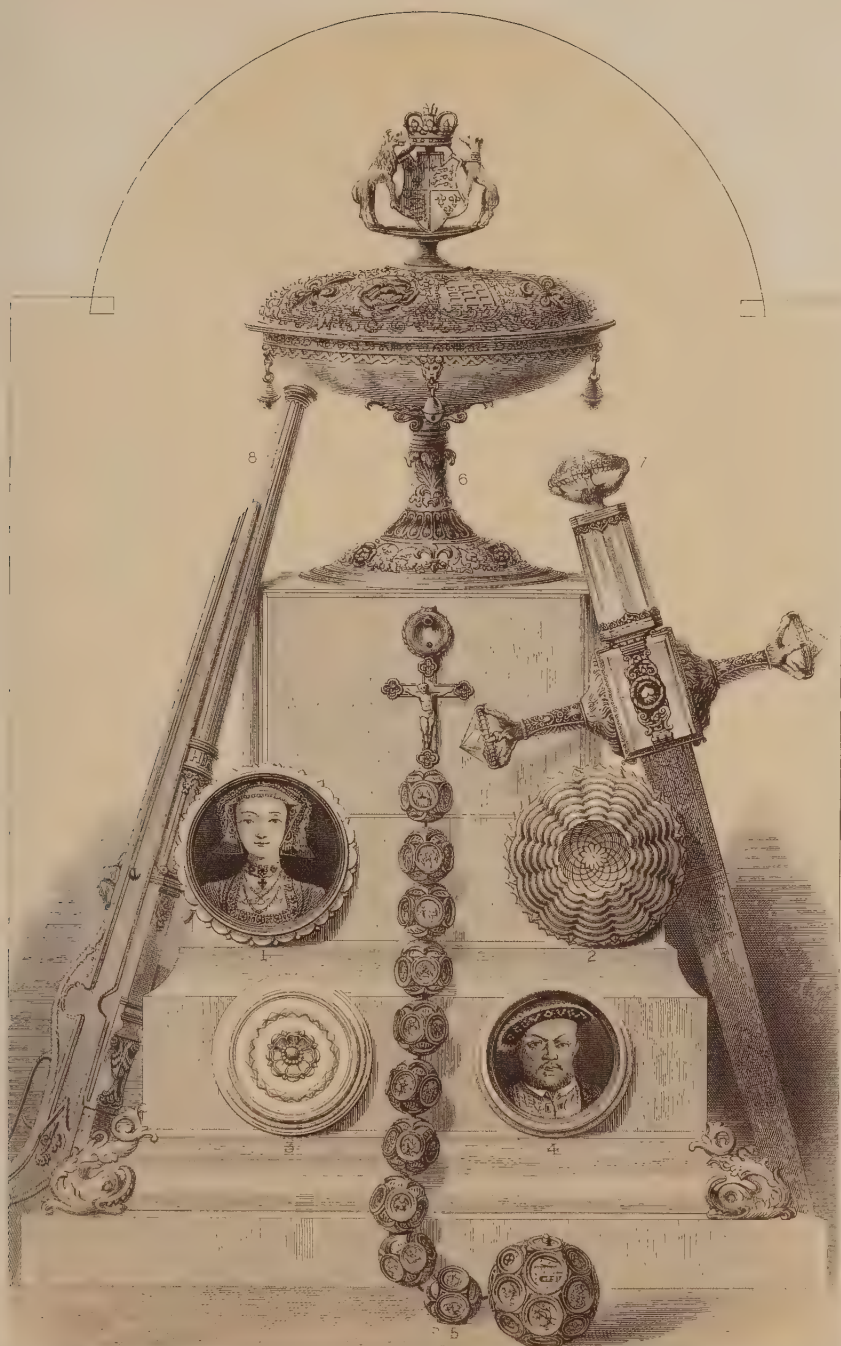
Nobody was more interested in the death of

⁴ *State Papers*; Lord Herbert; Hall; Guicciardini.

⁵ Guicciardini.

RELICS ASSOCIATED WITH HENRY VIII.

1. Miniature of Anne of Cleves, painted by Holbein.
2. Lid of the Ivory Box containing the miniature of Anne of Cleves.
3. Lid of the Ivory Box containing the miniature of Henry VIII. by Holbein.
4. Miniature of Henry VIII., painted by Holbein.
5. Rosary, exquisitely carved in box-wood. In possession of the Duke of Devonshire.
6. Cup of Silver, gilt, presented by Henry VIII. to the Barber Surgeons' Company of London.
7. Sword, the hilt of crystals mounted in silver. This sword was given (as also a cap of maintenance) with great pomp, May 19th, 1514, by Pope Julius II. to Henry VIII. in St. Paul's Cathedral. It is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
8. Birding Piece, the lock wanting ; in the Tower of London.



Printed by W. Woodcut.

Engraved by H. Adelson and J. Shaw.

RELICS ASSOCIATED WITH HENRY VIII.

Leo than Cardinal Wolsey, who was informed of the event in a wonderfully short space of time, and who instantly sent messengers to remind the emperor of his promises, and despatched Secretary Pace to Rome to manage his interests with the conclave. As the conclave began its close sittings on the 27th of December, there was not much time for intrigue. Thirty-nine¹ cardinals deliberated for twenty-three days on the choice of the head of the Catholic world, and their deliberations were as stormy as if they had met to elect the captain of a band of robbers. The candidate that started with the most advantages was Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who had recently distinguished himself in the war in Lombardy. Giulio, indeed, obtained more than a third part of the votes, and as nobody could be elected without having two-thirds of the suffrages, it was clear that he could exclude any rival if he could not secure his own election. He and his partizans tried hard to weary out the old cardinals, whose infirmities made them feel sensibly the close imprisonment and other privations attendant on a conclave; but the old men were not easily beaten, and, as they were resolved not to elect him, and as they could not agree among themselves in proposing another candidate—nearly every one of them hoping that he might be chosen himself—the affair was drawn out to such a length that Giulio became uneasy as to business out of doors, well knowing that the interests of his family required his presence with an army in Tuscany. One morning at the scrutiny, which, according to form, was made every day, the Medici party most unexpectedly proposed Adrian, Cardinal of Tortosa, a Fleming by birth, who had been tutor to the emperor, and who was now Charles' confidential minister, and Viceroy of Spain. He was named without any notion of his being elected, and merely to consume time, but a vote or two were tendered for him, and then Cajetano, Cardinal of San Sisto, made what seemed an interminable oration in his favour, lauding his great learning and his many virtues, upon which a few of the cardinals began to yield, and then the rest, with extraordinary rapidity, as if rather from impulse than from deliberation, voted on the same side; and, in fine, that same morning Adrian was unanimously elected supreme pontiff. Those who elected him seemed themselves astonished at what they had done, and not being able to give any other reason to the Italians, who murmured at this election of an unknown foreigner, they attributed the event to the sudden inspiration of the Holy Ghost, who, as they said, always acted directly upon the hearts of the cardinals in their

elections of popes—"as if that pure Spirit would deign to occupy souls full of ambition and incredible cupidity, and almost all the slaves of luxurious, not to say dishonest pleasures."² The Italian historians do not intimate that the emperor had influenced this election of his preceptor; but when the thoughts of the conclave were once turned in that direction, there were no doubt many who paid respect to the growing power of the Imperialists in Italy and in the rest of Europe; and as the name of Wolsey seems never to have been mentioned as that of a candidate, it is quite certain that Charles had not kept his promises with the English favourite. Wolsey, however, showed no ill-humour at the time; and he, in common with several of his scarlet brothers, probably consoled himself for his present disappointment by the thought that Adrian was an infirm old man, not likely to wear the tiara long. At his order Secretary Pace remained at Rome, to await the arrival of the new pope, to congratulate the holy father in his name, and to solicit from him the necessary confirmation or renewal of his high authority as Legate of England.

Francis, who knew the volatile temper of the English cabinet, did not despair of making Henry turn once more. He administered the most copious doses to his vanity—he humbled himself in a painful manner—he spoke of paying more money; but, finding that all this had no effect, he stopped the payment of Henry's pension, laid an embargo on the English shipping in his ports, and seized the goods of the English merchants.³ This brought on a declaration of hostilities at an awkward time, and some two months sooner than Wolsey had calculated. As soon as Henry learned the seizure of his wine-ships he flew into a paroxysm of rage, as if Francis had betrayed him: he confined the French ambassador to his house, ordered the instant arrest of all Frenchmen in London, and sent his defiance to Francis by Clarenceux king-at-arms. Henry was now in the humour which the emperor wished for; and on the 26th of May Charles V. landed at Dover, to pay his promised visit. Wolsey met him at the landing-place, and, after a loving embrace, conducted him by the arm to Dover Castle, where the king, in his usual state, soon waited upon him. In the war they were to make together the emperor counted much upon the naval forces of England; and Henry now took great pride in showing him over the fleet which lay in the Downs. On the following day the emperor proceeded to the palace of Greenwich, where he reverently asked a blessing of his

¹ The deceased pope (Leo X.) had greatly augmented the Sacred College. At his own election only twenty-four cardinals had voted.

² *Guicciardini*.

³ All the ships which Henry, by Wolsey's advice, had sent or allowed to go to Bordeaux, were seized.

aunt Catherine, and where he saw her infant daughter, his destined wife. "Henry, being a noble prince, and one that scorned money as much as any one breathing, was glad of the emperor's coming; yet was his treasury very bare, and so great a guest could not be entertained without a great expense." But not even the prospect of empty coffers and embarrassment could cure this gorgeous king of his passion for display, and finery, and feasting. By his orders the most expensive preparations were made in London, and he conducted the emperor into the city in triumph. Amidst the pomps and pageantries of this entrance, it is only worthy of notice that Sir Thomas More welcomed the emperor in a choice oration, in which he congratulated the two mighty monarchs upon the love and amity which was between them. From London Henry conducted his guest to Windsor Castle, where Charles, with great pomp, was installed knight of the Garter; and upon Corpus Christi Day these two princes, having on the robes of the order, heard mass in their stalls, and then, after receiving the sacrament, solemnly swore, at the foot of the altar, to observe the conditions of their new league. Eight days were spent, more in pleasure than in business, at Windsor, and then the sovereigns went to Winchester, and from Winchester to Southampton, where the emperor's fleet of 180 sail, of all sizes, had come to anchor. In every town which the emperor visited some costly pageant was exhibited, and for every day of the six weeks he spent in England some feast or other entertainment was devised. The business transacted lies in a very small compass: Charles still further pledged himself to marry the Lady Mary, the king's only child, and agreed to indemnify Henry for the loss of the pension from the French king; but, while he made this promise, he managed to procure a present payment or loan in hard cash from his impoverished and thoughtless ally—for Charles, with all his dominions, was poor at this time. It was mutually agreed that each power should begin a war with an army of 40,000 men; and that, while the English invaded the north of France, the emperor should fall upon the devoted kingdom both on the east and the south, where he promised to conquer the old English province of Guienne for his ally. On the 6th of July Charles embarked, and sailed for Spain.¹

The Earl of Surrey had been for some time in Ireland, where his government was very popular among the Anglo-Irish. He was now recalled, and put in command of all the king's navy, as High-admiral of England. Surrey escorted Charles to the coast of Spain,² and on his return

ravaged the French coast, and burned the town of Morlaix, in Brittany, together with "some right fair castles, goodly houses, and proper piles." This was a paltry way of commencing what was intended to be such a great war; but, owing to the state of his treasury, Henry encountered many difficulties in raising an army, and at last, instead of sending 40,000 men to France, he only sent 15,000 or 16,000. Now was Wolsey thrown upon those rocks which made a wreck of his remaining popularity. He raised a forced loan of £20,000 from the merchants of London, and after very short respite, in order to get more money, he called the citizens before him. On the 20th day of August the mayor, aldermen, and the most substantial commoners of the city of London, stood trembling before the lord-cardinal, who declared to them that the king had appointed commissioners through the whole realm to make inquest into the state of men's private property, and "to swear every man of what value he was in moveables, the more to be in readiness *for the defence of this realm.*" "Wherefore, in convenient time," continued Wolsey to the Londoners, "certify to me the number of all such as be worth £100 and upwards, to the intent I may swear them of their values: for, first, the king asketh of you your loving hearts and due obedience, and, when the value is taken, he desireth *only* the tenth part of goods and lands, which is the least reasonable thing that you can aid your prince with. I think every one of you will offer no less." The aldermen returned to their wards, and named such as were esteemed merchants and dealers of substance, who thereupon waited on the lord-cardinal, and humbly besought him not to exact an oath as to the amount of their property—"because the true valuation to them was unknown, as many an honest man's credit was better than his substance," and therefore they dreaded the peril of perjury. "Well," said the cardinal, "since you dread the crime of perjury, it is a sign of grace; and therefore I will, for you, borrow of the king a little. Make you your bills of your own value, according to what you esteem your credit, and then more business needeth not; for you see what two costly armies the king hath already both against France and Scotland; therefore, now show yourselves like loving subjects, for you be able enough. I dare swear the substance of London is no less worth than two millions of gold." "Then," said the citizens, "we would to God that it were so; and the city is sore afflicted by the great occupying of strangers." "Well," said the cardinal, "it shall be redressed if I live; but, on Saturday next, I shall appoint one to receive your bills, and he that is of credit more than substance, let him come to me, and I

¹ Hall; Lord Herbert; Godwin; Rymer; State Papers.

² In compliment to his uncle Henry, the emperor had given Surrey the nominal command of his own fleet.

• State Papers published by government.

will be secret and good to him." "Thus," concludes the chronicler, "the citizens departed in great agony, saying that, at the last loan, some lent the fifth part, and now, to have the tenth part taken, was too much. Great was the mourning of the common people, as it is ever in such cases of payments. But, in the end, one Dr. Tonnyns, a secretary to the cardinal, came to the chapter-house of St. Paul's, and to him the citizens brought in their bills, and on their honesty they were received, which values afterwards turned them to displeasure. The spirituality made suit to my lord-cardinal, that no temporal man should sit to examine them, or be privy to their possessions and goods. Wherefore, bishops and abbots were appointed to take the value of their substance."¹ Wolsey, however, promised that the lenders of money should be paid soon, out of the first subsidy voted by parliament, which it was intended to summon.

At the end of August, Surrey put himself at the head of the army of invasion, which had been collected at Calais, and which consisted of about 11,000 men paid by the king, 3000 volunteers, and 1000 horse, composed of Germans, Flemings, Walloons, and Spaniards. The season was far advanced, and the army was none of the best. They marched through Artois to the banks of the Somme, carefully avoiding the fortified towns, and burning all the defenceless places, villages, farm-houses, and cottages. The French, commanded by the Duke of Vendôme, would not hazard a battle, but they harassed the English incessantly, and frequently cut off their supplies. The weather fought for the French; incessant rains fell; and these, with cold and bad provisions, brought a dysentery into Surrey's camp. Hereupon the foreign horse took their leave, and retired to Bethune; and about the middle of October the earl was compelled to retreat to Calais, having done worse than nothing.²

In the meantime Francis had exerted himself to keep the English at home. He opened a correspondence in Ireland with the members of the powerful house of Desmond, who were still, in a great measure, independent of the English, and induced the earl to sign a treaty and to take up arms, under a promise of an annual pension and the assistance of a French army.³ The earl kept his part of the engagement, and greatly embarrassed Henry's Irish government, but Francis failed in his, and, in the end, the Desmonds were

left to the tender mercies of the English court. At the same time Francis negotiated with his old allies the Scots, whose last truce with England had recently expired, and who were incensed at the intermeddling in their affairs and the treacherous policy of Henry's ministers. Margaret, the queen-dowager and regent, had some good qualities, but she too closely resembled her brother Henry to make a wise ruler. Being, like him, of a very amorous disposition, she cast her eyes about her for a second husband immediately after the tragedy of Flodden Field; and as soon as she recovered from giving birth to a child, of which James had left her *enceinte*, she married the Earl of Angus, who was now the head of the powerful house of Douglas, but who was young, inexperienced, and weak-headed, with little to recommend him beyond a handsome, showy person, and a few courtly accomplishments. By the will of her late husband James—which provided for the case of her remarrying—Margaret now forfeited the post of regent; and a party of the nobility and clergy, opposed to her and the Earl of Angus, had the keeping of the young King James, and his infant brother, who was named Alexander, and created Duke of Ross. From this moment Scotland was split into two furious factions—the English party, at the head of which were Margaret and Angus; and the French party, which embraced the mass of the nobility, and was supported by the sympathies of the people.⁴ An irregular kind of civil war broke out, in which the queen-mother and her new husband Angus were hard pressed; and thus Margaret was compelled more than ever to consult with her brother, who, apparently caring very little for what befel her, made use of the favourable opportunity in acquiring, by the most crooked means, an influence over the whole kingdom of Scotland. Henry's principal agent in these dark transactions was Lord Dacre, one of the English heroes of Flodden, and a man of, at least, as much craft and cunning as bravery.

At this crisis the Scottish nobility pressed for the immediate return from France of the Duke of Albany; and in the month of May, 1515, the duke arrived in the Clyde, to the great joy of the people, who looked up to him as the only person likely to tranquillize the country, and preserve its threatened independence.

Shortly after his arrival Albany, with the consent of a large majority of the nobility and clergy, took upon himself the trying office of regent. He soon showed that he was ready to carry his devotion to France to an excess almost as dangerous as that with which the opposite faction prostrated themselves to England. Nor was he long in showing that he was deficient in talents for

¹ Hall. ² Lord Herbert; Hall; State Papers; Villaret.

³ According to this wild treaty Ireland was to be divided between the Desmonds, and Richard de la Pole, brother to the unfortunate duke beheaded in the Tower in 1513, and male representative of the house of York. This Richard de la Pole was in the French service. In 1525, about three years after the Irish treaty, he was killed in Italy, fighting gallantly in the battle of Pavia, where Francis was taken prisoner.

⁴ Pinkerton; Tytler.

government—if not actually wanting in courage. At the same time, every corner of the kingdom was filled with spies and agents in the pay of England, who penetrated, by means of money, all the secrets of the council-table; and the faction in the scale of which the Douglasses and the Homes threw their entire weight was heavy enough to crush a king. Notwithstanding the decisions of the parliament, who knew in what dangerous keeping they were likely to be, Margaret had got possession of the young king and his brother; and one of Albany's first measures was to make sure of their not being carried off to England. He summoned a parliament, which met at Edinburgh, and named eight lords, out of which number four were to be chosen by lot; and from these four the queen-mother was to select three to have charge of the princes. It was quite certain that Margaret was not to be trusted, but it seemed an odious thing to separate the mother from her children; and though this was not, in strictness, the intention of the government, it was easy for the queen to assert that it was, and to take up a position where she was pretty sure to be backed, at least for a time, by the sympathy of the people.

The queen-dowager, however, thinking it impossible to hold Edinburgh Castle, suddenly removed with her children to Stirling, where her party was strong. After some fruitless negotiations, the Regent Albany ordered Ruthven and Borthwick to blockade Stirling Castle. The powerful Lord Home now fled from the capital to Newark Castle, upon the Borders; and the Earl of Angus, Margaret's husband, retired within his estates and armed his vassals. Albany, accompanied by all the Scottish peers, with three or four exceptions, and by an army, proceeded in person to Stirling, where the queen was soon obliged to surrender; for none of her adherents seemed disposed to stand a siege for her sake. The regent was respectful and moderate; but he declared that Angus and Home were proved traitors, who had opened a correspondence with the enemies of the country, and were then actually in arms. Home presently threw himself openly into the arms of England, and concerted measures with Lord Dacre. Having committed the two princes to the safe keeping of the earl-marshal and the Lords Fleming and Borthwick, Albany proceeded against the insurgents, and took the castle of Home. Margaret applied to Lord Dacre; and Home requested the assistance of an English army, telling the lord-warden that Scotland lay open to invasion, and that King Henry might easily destroy his enemies there, and remodel the government according to his own interests and wishes. Assured of speedy assistance, Home seized the strong tower of Blac-

ater, situated a little within the Scottish frontier, at the distance of about five miles from Berwick, where the English had a strong garrison. The object of this move was presently seen—for Margaret absconded from Edinburgh, and threw herself into the Border tower. The regent soon followed her with a considerable army, offering, however, liberal terms of accommodation, which Margaret arrogantly rejected. Meanwhile, though Dacre had strongly recommended an invasion, no English army made its appearance, and, after a few vicissitudes, the queen and her husband Angus, and her prime ally Home, were obliged to flee across the frontiers to seek refuge in the court of Henry. The king, for honour of his sister, on the 19th and 20th of May, kept solemn jousts, wherein he himself, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Essex, and Nicholas Carew, answered all comers. But Margaret, at the time, was sadly in want of money, and for this she applied to my lord-cardinal in a very humble tone indeed.¹ Before her public reception in the English court, Angus, her husband, to whom she had recently borne a daughter,² deserted her, and returned into Scotland; and Home either accompanied him or followed soon after. They both made their peace with the Regent Albany, who restored them to all their estates and honours. Margaret now inveighed as bitterly against Angus as against Albany, whom, however, a short time before, she had accused of poisoning her second son, the Duke of Ross, who appears to have died of one of the many diseases incident to childhood. Henry and Wolsey had been prevented from proceeding to extremities by the startling successes of Francis in Italy. But things were now somewhat changed in this most changeable of cabinets; and Henry dictated an insolent letter to the three estates of Scotland, commanding rather than recommending them to drive the Regent Albany out of the kingdom, as one, by nearness of blood, suspicious and dangerous to the young king, his very dear nephew. The Scottish parliament told the arrogant dictator that they would do nothing of the sort, and that they were resolved manfully to resist any attempt to disturb the peace of their country, or to overthrow their existing government.³ This passed in the month of July, 1516. But the English warden was at his dirty work, and his intrigues were but too successful in re-animating the spirit of faction. On the 23d of August, Dacre wrote from Kirkoswald to my lord-cardinal, telling Wolsey of his great doings. "I labour and

¹ See her letter in Sir Henry Ellis' *Collection*.

² She was delivered only seven days after her flight from Blacater into England, and was lying dangerously ill at Morpeth when Angus forsook her to return to Scotland. The child was the Lady Margaret Douglas, afterwards mother of Darnley, the hapless husband of Mary Queen of Scots.

³ *Kymer*.

studies," says this noble lord, "all that I can, to make division and debate; . . . and, for that intended purpose, in that behalf I have the master of Kilmaurs kept in my house secretly, which is one of the greatest parties in Scotland, as the queen can declare unto your grace; . . . and also I have secret messages from the Earl of Angus and others, which I trust shall be to the pleasure of the king's grace if the said duke submit not himself; and also I hath 400 outlaws (and giveth them rewards) that burneth and destroyeth daily in Scotland—all being Scotsmen, which should be under the obedience of Scotland."¹

A new insurrection soon broke out, headed by the Earl of Arran, who was closely connected with the royal family, and by Lennox, Glencairn, and Mure of Caldwell; and Home, whom no kindness could conciliate, renewed his correspondence with Dacre, whose hired traitors—many of them Home's retainers—made continual forays across the Border, committing unusual excesses. The Regent Albany put down the rising of Arran, Lennox, and Glencairn, and pardoned those turbulent barons; but when he got possession of the persons of Home and his brother, he immediately brought them to trial as manifold traitors, and sent them to execution. On the 8th of October their heads were stuck above the toll-booth of Edinburgh, and the regent then succeeded in tranquillizing the Borders. But seeing that Dacre continued his system, and that Henry was inclined to raise an army, Albany thought his case hopeless unless he could procure assistance from France; and being at the same time anxious to revisit his foreign estates, he requested the permission of parliament to go over to the French court for four months. This permission was reluctantly granted, and in the month of June, 1517, Albany embarked at Dumbarton, intrusting the government to a council, consisting of the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Angus, and Arran, and taking with him as hostages the eldest sons of many of the great barons. Previously to his departure, it had been settled in parliament that the queen-mother should be allowed to return to Scotland, upon the condition of submitting and enjoying her dower in tranquillity. As soon as Margaret heard of Albany's arrival in France, and not before, she set out for Edinburgh, where she arrived in a very poor condition. She had not been long in Scotland when she was suspected of a fresh attempt to carry off the young king; and when the Borderers, the vassals of the late Earl of Home, surprised and murdered De la Bastie, a brave and accomplished French officer, to whom Albany had intrusted the command of the marches, Home of Wedderburn (whose wife

was the sister of Margaret's husband, Angus) galloped into the town of Dunse with the head of the unfortunate Frenchman tied to his saddle-bow. In this universal confusion the council of regency, divided among themselves, pursued no imposing or consistent course; and Albany, despairing, wrote to his old enemy Margaret, recommending her, if she could unite the factions, to take the regency once more into her own hands. But Margaret, who had been reconciled to her handsome husband, insisted that Angus should be regent; and, as this was resolutely opposed by a large majority of the nobles, the government continued in the hands of the council. Angus, disappointed and irritated, soon quarrelled with his wife: he forsook the court, retiring with a mistress into Douglasdale. Margaret set no bounds to her wrath; she added the high tone of a queen to the bitterness of a betrayed wife; she heaped reproach upon reproach, reminding him that she had pawned her jewels to support him in his misfortunes, and expressing her determination to sue for a divorce. Her brother Henry at this time had no taste for such proceedings, and knowing the great power possessed by the house of Douglas, and that Angus was a tool most likely to work for his purpose, he despatched a learned friar to bring Margaret to a more orthodox way of thinking, and to threaten her with the serious effects of his displeasure. The monk threatened her with punishment in the next world as well as in this; telling her that she was labouring under some damnable delusion, and hinting very broadly that her own conjugal behaviour had not been irreproachable, and that Angus might retort her charge of adultery. Margaret trembled, and, at the command of her brother, submitted to a hollow reconciliation with her husband in the summer of 1518. Angus, not satisfied with his share in the council of regency, soon attempted to monopolize the entire power, and hence arose a fierce contest between him and the Earl of Arran, in which blood was spilt, and nearly every kind of injustice committed. Archibald Douglas, one of the uncles of Angus, expelled Arran from his post of provost of Edinburgh, which was then considered a very important addition to the earl's other employments. When Arran attempted to enter Edinburgh he was set upon by an armed mob, who killed and wounded some of his attendants; and then Sir James Hamilton, commonly called the Bastard of Arran, slew one Gawin, a carpenter, a friend of Angus and a leader of the mob. About the same time Home of Wedderburn, who had recently killed De la Bastie, cut off the prior of Coldingham with six of his family; upon which his brother-in-law, William Douglas, the brother of Angus, took possession of the said priory. There was nothing

¹ *Ellis*.

in Scotland deserving of the name of a government; but in 1520 the Earl of Arran, and Beaton, the Archbishop of Glasgow, made a bold attempt to restore the authority of the council of regency. At a moment when they fancied that Angus had not many of his partizans with him in Edinburgh, they assembled their friends in the church of the Blackfriars. Gavin Douglas, the celebrated Bishop of Dunkeld, an uncle of Angus, presented himself at this meeting as a peace-maker, and remonstrated against their intention of arresting Angus—for this, he soon saw, was the real object of the meeting. Beaton struck his breast with his right hand, declaring, on his conscience, that they had no evil intentions against the earl; but the archbishop wore armour under his rochet, and the steel plates rattled as he struck his breast. "Ha! my lord!" cried the Bishop of Dunkeld, "your conscience is not sound; did you not hear it clatter?" While the meeting in the church of the Blackfriars were deliberating, Angus appeared upon the causeway with a formidable body of 400 spearmen, and a band of Borderers led by his brother-in-law, the fierce Home of Wedderburn. At this sight Sir Patrick Hamilton, the brother of the Earl of Arran, rushed into the street, and, with an inconsiderable number of retainers, fell like a madman upon the Douglasses. Angus pressed forward and slew Sir Patrick on the causeway with his own hand, intending also to have killed his brother the earl. The party of Arran collected to the rescue, and, after many lives had been sacrificed, the earl was driven out of the city, and his friend, Archbishop Beaton, was fain to seek refuge behind the high altar of St. Giles' Church.¹

Angus and his party now remained for a time absolute masters of the capital, where they speedily removed the heads of Lord Home and his brother from the toll-booth. Arran and his friends, with the young king and the queen-mother, occupied Stirling Castle. In the following year (1521) Margaret, incensed almost as much against her overbearing brother Henry, as against her husband Angus, wrote with her own hand to entreat Albany to return to Scotland, and to take upon himself the whole government. Albany, who was probably urged by the French court, which was most anxious to embarrass Henry, sailed from France, and landed in the Gareloch on the 19th of November. He proceeded forthwith to Stirling, where Margaret, very change-

ful in her affections, received him with transports of joy, and with such familiarity as excited scandalous rumours. The busy Lord Dacre told the king, his master, that, not satisfied with the day, she was closeted the greater part of the night with Albany, taking no heed of appearances.²

The restored regent summoned a parliament, and cited Angus and the Douglasses before it; but the now discarded husband of Margaret, with several of his adherents, fled for refuge to the Kirk of Steyle, near the Borders, whence they opened a negotiation with Henry by means of Angus' uncle, Bishop Gavin Douglas, who was a better poet than politician, and who had more genius than morality or patriotism. At the same time they raised a loud outcry against Margaret's immoralities, accusing her, among other things, of a design to put aside her son, to marry her lover Albany, and to make him king. A great deal of this was the raving of a desperate faction, or the artful misrepresentations of the English agent; but there can be little doubt as to the nature of the intimacy between the regent and the queen-mother. In other respects the conduct of Albany was neither immoral nor imprudent: he tried to reconcile the factions, and to stop the dangerous venality of the nobles; and his feelings for France did not prevent him from seeking to secure peace with England. But the restoration of good order in Scotland would have been fatal to the projects of the English court; and Wolsey and Henry persisted in their plan of treachery and disorganization, encouraging the Homes and all other rebels, and, by means of the indefatigable Lord Dacre, distributing money among the factions.³ In fact, Dacre soon saw matters in such a state that he earnestly recommended Henry to invade Scotland. The king, however, was not prepared for this open hostility; and Angus, with the Homes and other rebels, was glad to flee into England from the growing power and vigour of Albany's government. Margaret wrote to her brother. But Henry did not wish that there should be peace: he openly accused his sister of living in shameful adultery⁴ with the regent; and he offered to the Scottish estates the alternative of the immediate dismissal of Albany, or an immediate rupture with England. Many traitors as there were among the nobles, and base and bought as were many of its members, the Scottish parliament replied with proper spirit.⁵ Upon this Henry, with his usual moderation, ordered

¹ *Lesley: Pinkerton; Tytler*; Letter from Wolsey to the Duke of Norfolk, quoted by Mr. Tytler.

² Letter in the British Museum, quoted by Mr. Tytler.

³ *State Papers*.

⁴ Henry, who did not as yet foresee how he was shortly to vex the ear of Rome with a suit of that kind, felt or pretended great horror at his sister's applying for a divorce. The following passage from a letter of Wolsey's was meant to comfort him on

this head:—"I signify unto your grace that I have not only written unto your orator (ambassador) at the court of Rome to impech (oppose) and let (stop) the suit made in that court by the Queen of Scots, for a divorce betwixt her and her husband, the Earl of Anguise (Angus), but also have caused the pope's orator, here being, to write in most effectual manner to his holiness, for stopping of the same."—*State Papers*.

⁵ *Rymer*

that all Scottish subjects found in England should be driven ignominiously across the Borders on foot, with a white cross marked on their backs; and shortly after (in the spring of 1522), without declaring war, he sent the Earl of Shrewsbury, with the forces of the northern counties, across the Tweed. Shrewsbury, whose movement was sudden and unexpected, penetrated as far as Kelso, and gave that beautiful district to the flames; but he was presently driven back into England with considerable loss, by the Borderers of Merse and Teviotdale.

The Duke of Albany, with consent of parliament, now declared war. Eighty thousand men joined his standard at Annan, and he was flattered with the hopes of assistance from France; but the fickle and unscrupulous Margaret had already grown tired of the regent, and she not only intrigued with a party of the Scottish nobles, but also betrayed his secrets and plans to Lord Dacre. There are doubts and contradictions in all the narratives of these transactions; but it appears that, without being fully aware of the double-dealing of the queen-mother, or of the determination of a large portion of the Scottish leaders (of whom some had Dacre's money in their pockets) not to prosecute the war with vigour, the regent, with his large army and forty-five pieces of brass ordnance, crossed the Borders and advanced upon Carlisle.¹ Henry's attention had been wholly drawn to the side of France, and Dacre, who was in the marches, had but few troops, and an exhausted money-chest; but this lord-warden well knew the slackness and want of preparation in the Scottish camp, and he always had wit and cunning at command. When the invaders were within five miles of the city of Carlisle, he opened communications with Albany. We can only guess at some of the arguments and arts employed, but the result was correctly and frankly told by Wolsey in a letter to the king, wherein, after mentioning the defenceless state of the northern counties, he says, that "by the great wisdom and policy of my Lord Dacre, and by means of the safe-conduct lately sent at the desire and contemplation of the Queen of Scots," the Duke of Albany had consented to "an abstinence of war for one month," in order that ambassadors might treat for peace. "And the said Duke of Albany," continues the cardinal, "hath not only, our Lord be thanked, forborne his invasion, but also dissolved his army; which being dispersed, neither shall, nor can, for this year, be gathered or assembled again."² The singular truce which put an end to this grand expedition was con-

cluded on the 11th of September; and in the month of October Albany again went to France, leaving the Earls of Huntly, Arran, and Argyll to manage affairs during his absence.

Henry had now governed eight years without a parliament, following the precedent of his father; and, notwithstanding the obsequiousness displayed when they last met, it seems pretty certain that he would never have summoned the representatives of the people again had he not been forced to it by his poverty. But Henry had exhausted all other means of raising money, and so he met his parliament once more on the 15th of April, with Wolsey sitting as chancellor at his feet.³ The commons chose for their speaker the celebrated Sir Thomas More, who, against



SIR THOMAS MORE.—From a rare print after Holbein.

his inclination, had been drawn into the service of the court about four years before, and who was now thought to be devoted to the interests of the king, who courted his society, and took singular delight in his wit and humour. But More, though a somewhat timid, was an honest man. The commons presently showed infinitely more spirit than was expected; and, finding a ready echo out of doors, particularly among the merchants and citizens of London, their sayings and doings became the great subject of conversation. Henry testified his royal disdain "that people should talk about *his* affairs;" and Wolsey was heard to complain, that no sooner was anything said or done in the House of Commons, than it was blown abroad in every alehouse. The lord-cardinal thought that he could overawe the members by presenting himself in

¹ Cardinal Wolsey says that Albany was also furnished with "one thousand hagbuschis carted upon tressels, with a marvellous great number of hand-guns, and was plentifully stored with victuals."—*State Papers*.

² *State Papers*.

³ This parliament was not held at Westminster, the usual place, but at the Blackfriars, London.

person; and though this was a breach of privilege, he sent to tell the house that they must receive him, and hear from his lips what were the wishes of the king. His business was to tell them how necessary the war was, and what a fair opportunity was offered for the recovery of all the English had once held in France; provided only that the house had regard to the weakness of the sinews of war, and would instantly raise £800,000, by passing a property-tax, at the moderate rate of twenty per cent. The house, in agreeing to receive the cardinal, had also agreed among themselves not to commit their privileges by entering upon any debate in his presence; and this extraordinary demand was not likely to change their purpose. Every man remained as still and motionless as a statue, gazing on the glowing cardinal. Soon tired of this dramatic scene, Wolsey addressed one of the members by name: this gentleman, after rising from his seat, sat down again without speaking: he then turned to another member, but his authoritative tone elicited no answer. He then lost his temper, and exclaimed, "Masters, as I am sent here immediately from the king, it is not unreasonable to expect an answer; yet here is, without doubt, a surprising and most obstinate silence, unless, indeed, it may be the manner of your house to express your mind by your speaker only." More, upon whom the angry eyes of the cardinal were fixed, rose, and, after bending the knee, said that the members were abashed at the sight of so great a personage, whose presence was sufficient to overwhelm the wisest and most learned men in the realm; but *that* presence, he observed, was neither expedient, nor in accordance with the ancient liberties of that house. More added, that they were not bound to return any answer; and that, as to requiring a reply from him individually, the thing was simply impossible; for he, as speaker, could only act upon the instructions received from the house. The lord-cardinal retired sorely disconcerted; and the debate on the supplies was adjourned day after day. At length the commons agreed to send a deputation to solicit a diminution of the tax. The cardinal, notwithstanding More's courteous reproof, again went to the house, and endeavoured to draw them into debate. But the commons, as firm as ever, said that they would reason only among themselves, and not in his presence. He went away as he had come; but, soon after, the house agreed to a property-tax of about ten per cent., or half what Wolsey had asked. He had boasted of the readiness of the spirituality, but he now found the clergy almost as refractory as the commons; and, after being defeated in rather a humiliating manner in several of his manoeuvres, and high assumptions of authority over the

church, as pope's legate, instead of succeeding in his enormous demand of fifty per cent., at once, he only obtained a grant of ten per cent. each year for five years. During the debates the Londoners frequently caught the members of the commons by the sleeve as they passed through the streets, and cried out to them, "Sirs, will ye grant four shillings in the pound? Do it, and take our threats and curses home with you to your households." But in many parts of the kingdom the people were dissatisfied even at the ten per cent.; and Wolsey, urged on by his master, who was now almost penniless, made matters still worse by attempting to accelerate the mode of payment. In many places the poorer people, driven to desperation, refused to pay the tax-gatherers anything. The blame of all fell upon the cardinal; and Henry did not scruple at condemning the proceedings of his ministers, in order to recover his own popularity.

The money that was wrung from the people was immediately spent in reinforcing the garrisons near the Scottish borders, in assistance lent to the allies in Italy, and in a new expedition into France. On the 24th of August (1523) the Duke of Suffolk took the command of the army at Calais; and on the 4th of September he commenced the campaign with about 12,000 English troops, and nearly an equal number of Flemings and Germans. The season again was late; the combined movements contemplated by the allies were difficult to execute with precision in point of time; and Charles Brandon was expert in all military exercises, without having any of the qualities of a great general. This time, however, as plainly appears from a letter of the lord-cardinal,¹ and from the dark conspiracy which broke out in France, the commencement of the campaign had been purposely delayed. Francis, intent on the recovery of the duchy of Milan, had collected an army at Lyons, and was actually on the point of crossing the Alps, when he learned that his enemies had intrigued with the most powerful of his subjects, who had engaged to declare himself as soon as the king should be in Italy. The story of Prince Charles, Duke of Bourbon and Constable of France, is one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of the sixteenth century. By birth, wealth, connections, ability, and bravery, he was the most distinguished subject in the kingdom; and his loyalty and affection to the king had never been doubted. But, in an evil season, Louisa of Savoy, the king's mother, became enamoured of his beautiful person, and proposed that he should marry her. The gallant constable was not disposed to unite himself to a woman who was old enough to be his mother, and who, on former occasions, had

¹ *State Papers.*

been the declared enemy of his house; and in rejecting or evading the suit of the amorous matron, he made use of some personal reflections, which a woman, and one who *had been* a beauty, was not likely to forgive. Louisa's revenge was as ample as were her means of gratifying it; and her influence over her affectionate son was almost boundless. Urged on by his mother, Francis insulted the fiery Bourbon, refused to pay him large sums which he had advanced for the war in Italy, stopped his salaries, and took from him the baton of constable, which he had wielded with great glory. These, and the indignities put upon him by the whole court, drove Bourbon almost to madness; and when the slavish parliament of Paris pronounced an iniquitous sentence, which virtually sequestrated all his fiefs and estates, he vowed revenge, and turned to the enemies of his country. Both the emperor and the King of England received his overtures with infinite satisfaction, and sent the Lord of Beaumain and Sir John Russell, as secret emissaries, to treat with him. A private treaty was soon concluded; the principal articles were—that Provence and Dauphny should be united with his appanage, the Bourbonnais and Auvergne, and erected into a separate kingdom for the constable; that the constable should marry Eleonora, a sister of the emperor; that the emperor should occupy Languedoc, Burgundy, Champagne, and Picardy, while the King of England overran the rest of France; and that the constable should hold himself ready, with 1000 horse and 6000 foot, to co-operate with the allies as soon as the French king should be on the other side of the Alps.¹

Either Bourbon betrayed himself by too open preparations, or the secret was betrayed by some of the agents engaged in the business. Of a sudden Francis presented himself at his castle, and commanded him to join the army of Italy. The constable pretended to be dangerously ill; but Francis, who understood this feint, left spies to watch him. This strange interview took place about the time that the Duke of Suffolk landed in France. The French king, instead of marching into Italy, stopped at Lyons for the defence of his own dominions; but so confident was he, that he sent the army he had raised across the Alps, under the command of the Admiral de Bonnivet, and then applied himself to the raising of fresh forces for the defence of his kingdom, which was threatened on three of its frontiers. The constable eluded the vigilance of the spies, and, by pursuing by-roads and travelling in disguise, he traversed Auvergne and Dauphny, and, after many dangers, got safely out of France and joined the emperor's army in Italy. Many of his friends were arrested, and no insur-

rection, such as the allies counted upon, broke out in the centre of France.

Instead of advancing at once, when the country was comparatively open, to form a junction with the German army of the emperor which invaded Burgundy, the Duke of Suffolk and the Imperialist general De Bure lost nearly a whole month under the walls of St. Omer, debating what they should do. Then, giving up the notion of besieging Boulogne, they marched in the direction of Burgundy. But they had thrown away their chance, and even now they stopped to besiege Bray, Montdidier, and one or two other insignificant places. Having crossed the Somme and the Oise, they pitched their tents within twenty miles of Paris, expecting, as it appears, that the Germans would join them there. But by this time these Germans were in full retreat before the Duke of Guise: and now the Duke of Vendôme advanced in front of the English, while Tremoille manoeuvred on their flank, and threatened their rear by drawing out troops from the garrisons in Picardy. At length the position of the Duke of Suffolk became most critical, for the French kept constantly gathering round him. The weather, also, was dreadful, and this, with scanty or bad provisions, brought sickness into the army. Thus situated he ordered a retreat. The French even now respected the valour of the English troops, and would not risk an engagement; but the men perished of sickness daily, and in great numbers; the Flemish auxiliaries, as they drew near their own country, deserted in troops, and Suffolk had but the shadow of an army when he reached Calais. This failure nearly cost Brandon his head. In the south the Spanish army, commanded by the emperor in person, instead of conquering Guienne, merely recovered from the French their own town of Fuenterrabia.

On the 14th of September, while Suffolk was advancing towards Paris, an event occurred in Italy which revived the former high hopes of Wolsey: this was the death of Pope Adrian, whose severe economy was so distasteful to the Romans, that they styled the physician who had attended him in his last sickness—"The Saviour of his country." His pontificate had lasted only twenty months and six days. As soon as the English cardinal got the news he wrote a curious letter to Henry, telling him how reluctant he was to quit the service of so good a master—how unfit to assume the high responsibility of head of the Christian world. The king, who knew what this meant, applied to the Emperor Charles for the fulfilment of the promises which he had made to his favourite, and instructed his ministers at Rome to spare no money and no exertion to secure the election of Wolsey. This time Wolsey

¹ Du Bellay; Henault; Guicciardini; State Papers.
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was not only named among the candidates, but he even obtained a considerable number of votes; but the turbulent people of Rome, and the Italians generally, were furious at the notion of having any more ultramontane (they called them *barbarian*) popes; the French interest in the conclave was considerable, and wholly opposed to Wolsey; and the interest of the emperor—if exercised at all—was not for him, but against him, notwithstanding the long promises of Charles. When the conclave had debated and voted for many days, and some of the ancients were worn out with the long confinement, it was seen that the chance lay between Jacovaccio Romano and Giulio de' Medici, who had so nearly obtained the tiara at the death of Leo X., and who had decided the last election in favour of Adrian. The hand that trimmed the scales was that of the Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, who was a most bitter enemy of the Medici, and who was inclined to give his whole weight to Cardinal Jacovaccio. But, irritated at the opposition he encountered from some members of the Sacred College, he set aside his old animosities, and suddenly engaged to support the Cardinal de' Medici, upon condition of receiving the lucrative post of vice-chancellor, and the sumptuous palace of San Giorgio at Rome. That very night Giulio de' Medici was unanimously saluted and adored as pontiff, and, on the following morning, the 19th of November, his election was publicly announced, to the great joy of the Italians. He took the name and style of Clement VII.¹

Again, to all appearance, Wolsey bore his disappointment with equanimity, though this time he could hardly flatter himself with another chance, for the successful candidate was both young and vigorous. Henry's agents at Rome were instructed to press for the election of Giulio in case that of Wolsey should be found impracticable; and now while they felicitated him on his elevation, they bespoke his active co-operation with the emperor and the King of England, and requested that he would renew Wolsey's legatine commission. The new pope immediately appointed the cardinal his legate for life, enlarged his authority, and gave him a commission to reform and suppress certain religious houses in England. The latter was an unusual concession, tending to establish a dangerous precedent with a needy sovereign. Wolsey, however, is said to have acted conscientiously in this matter, for when he suppressed certain monasteries (which he did early in the year 1525) he employed the money thus gained for ecclesiastical purposes, particularly for the foundation of colleges, in which—as both he and his master Henry as-

serted—learned divines were to be reared and fostered for the better combating of the pernicious and fast-spreading heresies of that “monster” Martin Luther.

Bonnivet, who took the command
A.D. 1524. of the Italian war in lieu of his master Francis, was at first very successful. But he lost time manœuvring on the river Ticino, and when he made his approach Milan had been put into so good a state of defence by Prospero Colonna that he durst not assault it, and, after making a vain attempt to reduce it by famine, he was obliged to seek winter-quarters, where he and his troops were half starved. Towards the close of the year the Emperor Charles appointed the Constable Bourbon his lieutenant in Italy. It was soon found that Bonnivet was no match for this bold and skilful general, who took the field early in the spring, and, by the month of May, drove his countrymen the French across the Alps, and recovered all the places they had taken. Bourbon, still inflamed with vengeance, and bent on the acquisition of the kingdom which had been promised him by the allies, out of the dismemberment of his native country, now prevailed upon Charles to invade France with his army of Italy. Henry was applied to in the hope that he would make a diversion by invading the north of France from Calais; but the English king excused himself, and merely promised to assist with some money. In the month of July the constable descended from the Alps into France, but the command of the imperial army was divided between him and the Marquis of Pescara, who had different views, and who had received conflicting instructions from the emperor. Bourbon would have pushed forward at once to Lyons, but the marquis insisted upon turning into Provence, and laying siege to Marseilles. Accordingly, on the 19th of August, this army of invasion, amounting to little more than 16,000 men, sat down before the city. After spending forty days in mining and bombarding, Pescara and Bourbon were obliged to beat a rapid retreat, for Francis had collected an army at Avignon, and Henry, instead of sending money, betrayed an inclination to abandon the league altogether. In an unlucky hour Francis determined to carry the war once more into Italy, and, while Bourbon retreated by the Maritime Alps, he made a dash across the Graian Alps. For three entire months Francis lay before the well-defended walls of Pavia, and in the interval he detached the Duke of Albany, the late Regent of Scotland, with 6000 men, to march through nearly the whole of Italy, in order to threaten the kingdom of Naples.²

¹ Guicciardini.

² Guicciardini; Giannone; Du Bellay.

A.D. 1525. Early in February Francis was roused by news that the Imperialists were concentrating in great force; but even then, out of a ridiculous point of honour, he would not relinquish the siege which he had begun. On the 24th of February he was attacked in his intrenchments by Pescara, Bourbon, and Lannoy, the Viceroy of Naples, and thoroughly defeated. After fighting most valiantly, Francis attempted to save himself by making a rush across the Ticino, but he found the bridge broken down, and the Spaniards closed upon him on the steep bank. His horse was killed under him; his bravest captains and dearest friends had fallen around him; he himself had received three wounds, but still he would not surrender to the Spaniards, who would have killed him had he not been recognized by Pomperant, a French gentleman in the service of the Constable Bourbon. This Frenchman rode up to the Viceroy of Naples, and told him what was passing. Lannoy calmed the fury of the Spanish soldiery, threw himself upon his knees before Francis, kissed his royal hand, and at last received his sword in token of surrender. To his mother, Louisa, whom he had left Regent of France in his absence, he wrote that he had lost everything except his honour.¹ The day after the battle of Pavia he was conveyed to the strong fortress of Pizzichitone, where he was most vigilantly guarded, but otherwise treated with kindness and respect.²

The news of this great victory, which, at first sight, seemed to lay France as well as Italy at the feet of the emperor, was received in the English court with demonstrations of joy. The king ordered a day of public thanksgiving; and Wolsey officiated at St. Paul's in the presence of the court, and the ambassadors of the emperor and of the other allies. Some months before, both the king and the cardinal had thought seriously of a reconciliation with France, and had treated secretly with Giovanni Giovachino Passano, a Genoese merchant, who had undertaken a mission from Louisa, the mother of Francis, in the view of making Henry break altogether with the emperor. But now turning again—hoping to be allowed a present share of the victor's spoils, and careless of the future—he despatched Tonstal, Bishop of London, and Wyngfield, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, to the emperor's court, to propose that he and Charles should invade France instantly, from different points, and that they should meet in Paris, there amicably to divide the French kingdom between them. Henry forthwith set his ministers to work to raise money. As he was determined not to assemble

a parliament, ministers could only proceed by stretching the royal prerogative; and, with Wolsey still at their head, they demanded a fourth from the clergy, and a sixth from the laity. To levy this money, they appointed commissioners in the different counties of England, and resorted to all the means which seemed likely to win or terrify people into a ready parting with their cash without authority of parliament. But clergy and laity—people of all classes and conditions—most firmly opposed this most illegal attempt. "How the great men took it, was marvel; the poor cursed; the rich repugned; the lighter sort railed; and, in conclusion, all men execrated the cardinal as subverter of the laws and liberty of England. For, they said, if men should give their goods by a commission, then were it worse than the taxes of France; and so England would be bond, and not free."³ Archbishop Warham, the old minister of Henry VII., and formerly chancellor to his son, addressed a striking, warning letter to Wolsey at this crisis. At the same time handbills, containing bitter reflections on the king and his government, were printed and circulated in London and other places; the churchmen protested that they would only pay money when voted by the convocation; and the people began to take up arms against the commissioners. The priests even encouraged the people in their discourses from the pulpit. The king took the alarm, recalled the commissioners, and declared, by proclamation, that he wanted nothing from his subjects but "by way of benevolence." But the people, who abhorred the name of benevolence, in this sense, said the thing was as illegal as the arbitrary commission; and a lawyer in the city quoted the statute passed under Richard III., by which benevolences were for ever abolished. Upon this Henry consulted the judges, who did not blush to affirm that the king might tax his people by commission, or by any other way which seemed to him best; and they agreed with the privy council in holding that, as Richard III. was an usurper, and his parliament a factious assembly, the laws passed by them were not binding on a legitimate and *absolute* king, who held the crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace. It was in vain, however, that Wolsey endeavoured to impress these maxims on the mayor and aldermen of London; and in the country the odious doctrine encountered a still sterner opposition. In Kent the people expelled all the tax-gatherers and fiscal agents of the court; and in Suffolk 4000 men flew to arms, and threatened Charles Brandon, their duke, who was on the commission, with death. The insurrection was checked by the wise moderation of Surrey, son of the Duke

¹ The well-known words were, "*Tout est perdu hors l'honneur.*"

² *Guicciardini; La Guerra di Pavia; Du Delay.*

³ *Hall.*

of Norfolk; but Henry, who was always bolder in words than in deeds, was so much alarmed, that he issued a fresh proclamation to set aside and annul all the demands he had made.

We do not believe that so wild a scheme of conquest and partition, and one in which such volatile characters as Henry and Wolsey were to be principal actors, could, under any circumstances, have been successful; but still it was fortunate for France, at this crisis, that the emperor was as poor as the King of England, and that the seeds of discord were sown between the two unscrupulous sovereigns. Such, indeed, was the state of Charles' finances, that he could not pay the long arrears due to his army in Italy; and the victorious troops mutinied, seized and kept the city of Pavia, and even threatened to take forcible possession of the person of the French king, to hold as security for the money due to them. As the emperor had counted upon Henry for large subsidies, he seems to have considered him as the principal cause of these troubles, which at one moment were most alarming. We believe that it was from this consideration, and from irritation at the secret negotiations with France, and not from any feeling of conceit and inflation, that Charles changed his tone with Henry after the battle of Pavia. He no longer wrote to his loving uncle with his own hand, nor lavished his expressions of reverence and submission; and his letters to the English king were thenceforth merely signed "Charles,"¹—a trifle that was likely to produce a great effect on the vain-glorious king. Before the arrival of the English ambassadors, the council of Charles had decided (or rather poverty decided for them) that the invasion of France was not to be thought of. They had even consented to a truce for six months, hoping to turn the captive Francis to good account, and to make their profits by negotiation. There was a great deal of diplomatizing, which deceived neither party; and Henry presently adopted the course which was most likely to bring him in an immediate supply of money. He renewed his separate negotiation with France, concluded a truce for four months, and then an alliance offensive and defensive. The price paid by France was high: Henry got for himself the sum of 2,000,000 crowns, to be paid by half-yearly instalments of 50,000 crowns each; and, after liquidation of this, an annual pension of 100,000 crowns. The cardinal got 30,000 crowns on account of his former resignation of the

bishopric of Tournai, and 100,000 more for his kind services to the royal family of France; the whole to be paid by instalments in the course of seven years and a half. The French court also agreed to allow to Mary, their queen-dowager, Henry's sister, and now Duchess of Suffolk, the enjoyment of her dower, with the discharge of all arrears thereon. The only clause which was not a money one was an engagement that they would never permit Henry's enemy, the Duke of Albany, to return into Scotland during the minority of the present king, James V. The English court was not more suspicious than were the French unscrupulous as to the means by which they lulled its suspicions. Louisa, the regent, swore to the articles; Francis ratified them; and the principal of the French nobility, with the great cities of Toulouse, Lyons, Amiens, Rheims, Paris, Bordeaux, Tours, and Rouen, bound themselves, under the penalty of forfeiting all their property, to observe the treaty themselves, and compel their king to observe it. At the same time, however, the attorney-general and solicitor-general of the parliament of Paris secretly entered a solemn protest against the whole treaty, in order that Francis, who was rather delicate on the point of honour, might find thereon a reason for not fulfilling these onerous engagements.² But, notwithstanding the treaty with England, Francis encountered great difficulties in freeing himself from the hands of the emperor, and was obliged himself to plunge deep in perjury. At his own earnest request he was transferred from the castle of Pizzighitona to the Alcazar of Madrid; but, as the ministers insisted that Charles ought not to trust his feelings in a personal interview with the gallant and engaging prisoner, he never obtained the advantages he had counted upon from a personal interview with the young emperor. Negotiations were opened by cool-headed and cunning diplomatists. Francis offered to give up all his pretensions to Milan, Naples, and Flanders—to restore the Constable Bourbon—and to pay a large sum of money for the possession of Burgundy, which he said he could not dis sever from his kingdom without ruining the monarchy for ever. It was replied, for Charles, that Burgundy had been robbed from his family, and that Francis must either restore it or remain a prisoner for life. At last, on the 14th of January, 1526, the treaty, or, as it was called, the concord of Madrid, was concluded and signed. As the price of his liberty Francis agreed to surrender Burgundy to Charles within six weeks after his return to France—to place his two eldest sons as hostages in the hands of Charles—to resign all claims to the Italian states, and to the suzerainty of Flan

¹ Guicciardini. This great writer adds that Charles was already averse to the marriage with the Princess Mary of England, and was in treaty for the hand of the Princess Isabella of Portugal, whom he married in March, 1526. It appears, however, that even in this matter Henry's sincerity was equal to that of Charles', and that he had secretly offered his daughter Mary in marriage both to the king of Scotland and the King of France!

² Rymer; *Père d'Orleans*.

ders—to marry Eleanora, the sister of Charles, who had been promised by treaty to the Constable Bourbon—to replace the said constable in all his honours and states in France—and to guarantee the emperor against certain pecuniary demands of the king. An article was inserted binding Francis to place himself again as a captive if he should find himself unable to fulfil his agreements. On the very morning on which he made up his mind to sign these hard conditions, he caused a secret protest against the validity of the act to be prepared, and then he swore and signed. He set foot in France a little more than a year after the battle of Pavia.

Henry immediately despatched Sir Thomas Cheney and Dr. Taylor, a jurist of high repute, to congratulate the French king on his delivery, and to urge him to break every article of his treaty with the emperor—the latter being a most unnecessary precaution, for Francis never intended to do otherwise. The French king received the two ambassadors at Bayonne with the most flattering speeches, telling them that, after God, he thanked his kind brother of England for his liberty. Francis very soon told Charles that the surrender of Burgundy was impossible, it being contrary to the solemn oaths administered to him at his coronation and equally contrary to the will of the people of Burgundy, which was quite true; and he offered money in compensation, which he knew Charles would refuse. He then prepared for war; and he and his new ally Henry pledged their honour never to make peace with Charles except by mutual consent. The pope was soon induced to absolve Francis from the oaths he had taken at Madrid; and Clement, Sforza, the Duke of Milan, the Florentines, the Venetians, and some minor Italian states, entered into the league with the Kings of France and England.¹

¹ It is natural for Romanist historians to trace the great English schism which ended in the English Reformation, to Henry's disappointment in not obtaining his divorce so soon as he expected from the pope, and this has long been the common popular view of the case. Such, however, is not the view of Ranké, in his admirable *History of the Popes*. Speaking of the early Reformation period, he says:—"The Popedom was in a false and untenable position throughout. Its secular tendencies had brought upon it a decline, from which there had arisen innumerable opponents and deserters; but the continuance of the same symptoms, the still farther complication of spiritual and

In the preceding year, 1525, the first misunderstanding occurred between Henry and Wolsey. According to the cardinal's showing, the subject of this difference was a mere trifle, "consisting in two things—the one concerning the office of clerk of the market within the liberties of the monastery of St. Alban's; and the other touching certain misorder supposed to be used by Dr. Allen, and other his (the cardinal's) officers," in the suppression of certain small monasteries, "wherein neither God was served nor religion kept;" which he intended, "with the gracious aid and assistance of the king," to convert to a far better use, by annexing their revenues to the new college intended to be founded at Oxford "for the increase of good letters and virtue." Martin Luther chose this moment for addressing Henry, whom he fancied to be wholly estranged from Wolsey—"the monster"—"the nuisance to God and man"—"the pest of the kingdom and caterpillar of England." He said he understood that his grace had now begun to loathe that wicked sort of men, and in his mind to favour the true doctrine. The Reformer, in excuse for the violence of the language he had used in replying to the king's book in defence of the Romish church, averred that he had believed the said book was not in reality the production of the royal pen. In his present attempt, however, Luther was premature; the quarrel between king and cardinal was made up; and Henry told the Reformer that "that reverend father," Wolsey, was the best, the most faithful, the most religious of men; that, whereas he loved him very well before, he would now, in consequence of Luther's impious railing, favour him more than ever; that he would never cease to reckon it amongst his good deeds that none that were infected with German leprosy, contagion, and heresies, could cleave to his kingdom or take root in it.²

secular interests, completed its downfall. *The schism in England may in reality be traced to the same cause.* It is well worth noting that Henry VIII., with all his declared hostility to Luther, and intimately, too, as he was united with the Roman See, yet at the time of the first difference, in matters purely political, as early as the year 1525, threatened the Roman See with ecclesiastical innovations." The historian refers in a note to a letter addressed to Rome, in a threatening way, by Wolsey, as indicating the first movement in the English civil government's secession from Rome.

² *Bishop Godwin; Herbert.*

CHAPTER V.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1526—1533.

HENRY VIII.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1509—DEATH, A.D. 1547.

Difficulties of Pope Clement—Rome assailed by an army of mercenaries—Is stormed and plundered—Indifference of Henry VIII. to the fate of Rome—Commencement of his love for Anne Boleyn—Her early history—Her reception of the king's addresses—Henry's scruples about his marriage to Catherine—Wolsey's conduct on the occasion—His mission to France to negotiate a royal union—Terms of the treaty with France—Henry resolves to divorce Catherine and marry Anne—His negotiation with the pope to that effect—The pope's cautious and equivocal dealing—The sweating sickness visits London—Arrival of Cardinal Campeggio—Proceedings of Wolsey and Campeggio in the divorce of Catherine—They bring it to a trial—Catherine's defence—The trial adjourned by Campeggio—Wolsey declines in the royal favour—Is visited with confiscation and bereavement of office—Persecuted by Anne Boleyn and her party—He is arrested on a charge of high treason—Wolsey's last illness and death—Thomas Cranmer's first appearance—He is sent to collect the opinions of the universities on Henry's divorce—Their sentiments on the subject—Thomas Cromwell—His previous career—His rise after the fall of Wolsey—He advises Henry to renounce the Papal authority—The clergy of England accused as abettors of Wolsey—Henry's demand to be recognized as head of the church in England—Commencement of Henry's persecution of the Reformers—His secret marriage with Anne Boleyn.



ALTHOUGH flattered by the pope with the offer of the title of "Protector" of the new Italian league against the emperor, the main object of which was to preserve the independence of Italy, Henry made no exertion in his favour, nor did Francis keep any of his liberal promises to the pope. Beset on all sides—by the Spaniards from the kingdom of Naples, and by the Germans and Spaniards from Lombardy, Parma, and Piacenza—Clement was obliged to throw himself on the emperor's mercy, and implore for peace. Moncada, the Spanish Governor of Naples, signed a treaty, and a month after, in alliance with the great Roman family of Colonna, advanced secretly to the Eternal City, surprised one of the gates, plundered the rich palace of the Vatican, and obliged the pope to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. A day or two after this exploit (on the 21st of September, 1526) Clement obtained a new treaty of peace, and the Colonnese left Rome, and Moncada returned to Naples. As soon as the pope was freed from these foes, he resolved not to observe any of the articles which had been extorted from him; and the more effectually to disturb the emperor's possession of Naples, he invited from France the Count of Vaudemont, who, as heir of the house of Anjou, advanced claims to that kingdom, in which there was a powerful faction quite ready to take up arms against the Spaniards. The Viceroy Lannoy heard of this invitation, and, in the month of December, marched out of the kingdom of Naples and fell upon the Roman states. But Clement was not unprovided with troops; his Italian allies had sent him reinforcements; and the Romans, the Florentines, and the Venetians not only kept in check the veteran

forces of Lannoy, but gained some brilliant advantages over them. But this was only a gleam of success for Italy, and the year 1527 came on, —a year full of most atrocious, and, for many centuries, unheard-of incidents—a year marked with the imprisonment of the pontiff, the sack of Rome, famine, and the plague, which ravaged that beautiful peninsula from the foot of the Alps to the Faro of Messina.¹

In the still wretched state of his finances, the Emperor Charles could raise no regular army, and, in order to keep his grasp on Italy, he employed all sorts of mercenaries and partizan leaders, who undertook the war with the tacit understanding that they were to make the invaded country pay its expenses, or, in other words, that they were to live and enrich themselves on the plunder of the poor Italians, whether friends or enemies, or neutrals in the pending contest. Their ranks were swelled by the vagabonds and marauders of nearly every country in Europe, but the more numerous divisions were Spaniards, Germans, and Swiss. Freundsberg, a German partizan, and thorough-paced soldier of fortune, was at the head of 14,000 of these adventurers; and the Constable Bourbon, who had been ill-used by all parties, until he was utterly reckless and ferocious, led another body of 10,000. The two desperate hordes formed a junction at Fiorenzuola, whence they marched to plunder the rich and beautiful city of Florence. The Italian Athens was saved by the rapid advance of the confederate army; but this movement exposed Rome, and the robbers precipitated their march in that direction. At the same time Lannoy, the viceroy, hemmed in the capital of the Christian world on the south.

¹ Guicciardini; Summonte; Giannone.

Reduced to despair, Pope Clement, in the end of March, submitted to a fresh peace, the articles of which were dictated by the viceroy, who, on his side, however, bound himself to stop the march of Bourbon and Freundsberg. Clement dismissed his troops, and Lannoy went northward to meet the invaders. Freundsberg had fallen sick, and lay with the rear at Ferrara; and Bourbon could not be prevailed upon to return, telling the viceroy that it was out of his power to control the troops, as he owed them money, and had no means of paying them except by sacking Rome.

On the 5th of May Bourbon encamped in the meadows on the north of Rome, and sent a trumpeter to the pope to demand a free passage. On the following morning, at early dawn, he led his ferocious rabble to the assault, and he was among the first to mount the walls. While his foot was still on the scaling-ladder he was struck by a ball from an arquebuse, and fell dead at the foot of the wall. The loss of their daring leader only increased the fury of the soldiery, who,

fold corruptions of Rome, and the long-standing vices and debaucheries of the Roman hierarchy, a thrill of horror and indignation was felt from one extremity of Europe to the other. The news reached England at the end of May. On the 2d of June, Wolsey wrote a letter to Henry to inform him of the "most detestable, cruel, and maledict tyranny of the Imperials, committed at Rome," and calling upon him, as "Defender of the Faith," to relieve and succour the pope and the cardinals who were pressed by siege in the castle of St. Angelo.¹ But Henry, being engaged in certain amorous matters which were soon to work an entire change in his devotion to Rome, did not respond to the zeal of the cardinal.

Although Henry had long been a most inconstant husband, setting no bounds to his intrigues, he had hitherto treated Queen Catherine with that respect to which she appears to have been entitled by her many excellent qualities. But at last he encountered—what seems to have been a rarity in his court—a beauty so moral or so proud, that she would not listen to the illicit suit even of a great sovereign. This was Anne Boleyn. The father of this important beauty was Thomas Boleyn, or Bullen, descended from a lord-mayor of London; but the family of traders had been aggrandized by intermarriages with the high nobility; and the wife of this Thomas, and the mother of Anne, was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Sir Thomas Boleyn had long been employed about Henry's court, and had executed several important missions and embassies to foreign powers, greatly to the satisfaction of the king and the lord-cardinal. Anne was born in or about the year 1507; and in



THE BRIDGE AND CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO, ROME.—From a drawing by Parke.

after two hours' hard fighting, hand-to-hand (for they had no artillery), carried the borgo or suburb, having lost about 1000 men in the attack. In the afternoon they crossed the Sistine bridge and entered the city, which, for the five following days, was abandoned to pillage, massacre, and all the atrocious excesses of which human nature is capable. Nothing was heard in the streets of the Christian city but the cries of "Blood! blood!" "Bourbon! Bourbon!" The pope escaped in time into the castle of St. Angelo; but some of the cardinals were not so fortunate, and these, with a number of bishops, were treated with infamous barbarity. In spite of the mani-

1514, when only seven years old, she was appointed maid of honour to the king's sister, who had just been married to Louis XII. We have seen her appearing in France with the Princess Mary, who was allowed to retain her when the other English attendants were so unceremoniously sent out of the country. Mary, on the occasion of her second marriage with Charles Brandon, was glad to leave the young Anne under the powerful protection of the new Queen of France—Claude, wife of Francis I. Anne was brought up in the French court—then, as at later periods, a good place for acquiring certain accomplishments and

¹ *State Papers.*

graces of manner, and which had not yet sunk to the extreme profligacy by which it was corrupted during the closing years of the reign of



ANNE BOLEYN, after Holbein.

Francis I. After the second marriage of her royal mistress to the Duke of Suffolk, she was installed in an honourable office in the court of Claude, queen of Francis I., and, in that school, was unlikely to acquire those indecorous habits which Popish writers have endeavoured to fasten upon her early history. The time of her return to England is rather doubtful; but it is probable that those historians are correct who fix it in 1522, when war was proclaimed against France, on which occasion she was brought home by her father, who was ambassador at the French court. Young, beautiful, and accomplished, Anne Boleyn, soon after her arrival in England, was appointed one of Queen Catherine's maids of honour, and, when little more than sixteen years old, a romantic attachment sprung up between her and Lord Percy, son and heir of the Earl of Northumberland, who made her an offer of marriage. But Henry had already turned his admiring eyes in the same direction, and, jealous of the rivalry of a subject, he caused the lovers to be parted through the agency of Cardinal Wolsey, in whose household Percy had been educated, and that young nobleman, probably under the same compulsion, married a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury,

soon after in 1523. Anne, on being separated from her lover, was conveyed to Hever Castle, in Kent, the seat of her father, and thither the king, at a later period, repaired on a visit; but probably suspecting the cause of his arrival, she kept her chamber under the pretext of sickness, and did not leave it till his departure. But this reserve was more likely to animate than daunt a royal lover, and Henry, for the purpose of restoring the reluctant lady to court, and bringing her within the sphere of his solicitations, created Sir Thomas Boleyn Viscount Rochford on the 18th of June, 1525, and made him treasurer of the royal household. Even yet, however, his suit was unprosperous when it was made in due form; and she is said, by an old writer inclined to the side of her enemies, to have thus repelled it—"Your wife I cannot be, both in respect of my own unworthiness, and also because you have a queen already; and your mistress I will not be."

The king now began to talk of religious scruples regarding his marriage with Catherine, the widow of his own brother. Nor were there wanting other grounds of complaint. Though she had been his wife seventeen years, Catherine had only one child living, and this was a daughter—the Princess Mary. Besides, she was now in the forty-third year of her age, and retained little of her former beauty. There was still something of a political prejudice against female reigns, and many men regretted, upon public grounds, that there should be no male heir to the crown. There were other circumstances strongly tending to encourage the king in a plan wherein his own main, if not sole object, was



HEVER CASTLE, Kent.¹

the gratification of his passions: notwithstanding

¹ This castle was erected in the time of Edward III. It is surrounded by a moat, and the inner buildings form a quadrangle inclosing a court.

Henry's recent boast that the Lutheran doctrine could not cleave to his kingdom of England, that doctrine had already struck its roots deep into the soil; and while those who secretly favoured its growth knew that Catherine was a devout Catholic, they had reasons for believing that Anne Boleyn inclined to the Reformation. At the same time Wolsey, upon very different motives, was ready to promote the divorce from Catherine, for he was now incensed against her nephew the emperor, and he ardently wished to strengthen the new alliance with France, by marrying his master to Renée, daughter of the late king, Louis XII. It is said, indeed, that the cardinal, who during many years had professed the greatest friendship and devotion to Catherine, first suggested the divorce; but this point, though probable, is not proved, and Wolsey sometimes denied it, and at others admitted it, as best suited the purposes he had in hand at the time. It appears certain, however, that the cardinal never for a moment contemplated the possibility of the king's marrying Anne Boleyn. The usage of such marriages—though once common enough—between sovereign and subject, was now generally exploded, and the cardinal promised many advantages to himself from the French alliance. The Bishop of Tarbes, who was in England settling the other marriage proposed in the late treaty, between Henry's daughter Mary and Francis, or the Duke of Orleans, the son of Francis (a delicate specimen of royal matrimonial negotiation!) suddenly asked whether the legitimacy of the Princess Mary, as daughter of Catherine, was beyond the reach of all legal and canonical doubt. It was generally believed that this question was put at the suggestion of Wolsey, as a pretext for the king, as something likely to make a great impression on the public mind.¹ In the course of the summer Wolsey went over to France to negotiate in person. The cardinal was received as if he had been a king. Upon reaching Boulogne the artillery fired a royal salute; but hereby an accident well nigh befell the gorgeous churchman, "through the obstinacy of his mule," which took fright at the noise of the great guns. By the French king's orders he was permitted, in all such places as he passed through on his journey, "to release, pardon, and put at liberty all such transgressors as be detained in prison, of whatsoever quality their offence." On the 4th of August Francis himself welcomed the cardinal, having advanced a mile and a half from the city of Amiens to meet him on the road.²

The great ostensible object of Wolsey's splendid embassy was, to concert measures with Francis for the rescue of the pope, who was still besieged in the castle of St. Angelo by the Germans and Spaniards. This object, indeed, was loudly proclaimed on the journey; and wherever the cardinal stopped for Divine worship, the litany which was chanted included a "Santa Maria, ora pro Papa nostro Clemente." On one of these occasions Cavendish, the attached servant and minute biographer of Wolsey, says—"I saw the lord-cardinal weep very tenderly, which was, as we supposed, for heaviness that the pope was at that present time in such calamity and great danger of the lance-knights." But in the consultations which now took place, the pope and the interests of the Catholic church were secondary subjects, the primary ones being the treaties of close alliance and intermarriages between the courts of England and France, and the establishing of Wolsey as a sort of pro-pope during the restraint of Clement. The emperor, by means of his ambassador, remonstrated with Wolsey on his master's divorce from Queen Catherine, whispers of which had already got abroad, and which was considered by Charles as a grievous family insult, to obviate which he was ready to make many concessions. The emperor was also alarmed at the prospect of the close alliance between Henry and Francis; and he did his best to outbid the French king, offering, among other things, to give the hand of the Princess of Portugal, his wife's sister, to the Duke of Richmond, Henry's natural son, now a boy about eight or nine years old. Wolsey, by his master's orders, listened to all these proposals, and even treated the report of the divorce as an idle rumour. The cardinal, however, concluded four separate treaties with Francis. The first confirmed the recent engagements of perpetual alliance between England and France; the second stipulated that Henry's daughter should be married to the Duke of Orleans, the son, if she were not married to Francis, the father; the third fixed the subsidies to be furnished by England for the war in Italy, that was to be conducted by Francis in aid of the pope; and the last declared that, till the pope should resume the government of the church, whatever should be determined in France by the clergy of the Gallican church, and in England by the cardinal-legate (Wolsey) and the principal members of the English church, called together by the king's authority, should be held good and valid, even as if the pope had decreed and spoken it. It has been plausibly supposed—and

¹ Cardinal Pole, *Apologia*; *Hist. Divorce de Henri VIII.* par Le Grand, who quotes original letters.

² Letters from Wolsey to the king, in *State Papers*, published by order of government. The learned and accurate editor of

this invaluable collection of historical materials remarks, that this appears to be the first occasion of Wolsey's adopting the style of "majesty," in addressing Henry VIII. Our kings had, till now, been satisfied with "your highness," or "your grace."

the supposition is in much seeming accordance with extracts from letters written by Wolsey at the time, to his master—that the object of the last clause was to invest the cardinal with full power to manage “the great and secret affair,” or the divorce of Catherine. But this throwing open of ecclesiastical authority had another effect, which Wolsey probably did not foresee; “for here,” says a noble contemporary, “*began the reckless our king took of governing the church himself!*”¹

When the treaties were signed, Henry expressed his entire satisfaction at them; and Wolsey told Louisa, the mother of Francis, that within a year she would see a princess of her own blood Queen of England, and wife of his master, in lieu of the emperor's aunt Catherine. The cardinal returned to England rejoicing in his success; but, while he had been engaged for a French princess, Henry had been assiduously courting his fair English subject—*Mistress Anne Boleyn*.

As soon as Wolsey returned from France, Henry announced to him his fixed determination of making Anne Boleyn his wife and Queen of England. The astounded cardinal fell upon his knees and implored the king to renounce this project; but soon seeing, in Henry's wrath, that opposition and remonstrance would only be dangerous to himself, he adroitly changed his tack, fell in with the hard-set current, and soon engaged to perform whatever service the king might require of him in this matter. By Henry's orders his treatise on the divorce was submitted to the consideration of the learned Sir Thomas More, who, feeling the danger of acting as a reviewer in such a case, tried to excuse himself by saying that he was not a theologian. But Henry urged him to confer with some of the bishops, and so get up an approval of his writing. Sir Thomas, who was himself against the divorce, found but few ready to embrace the royal doctrines, and, in an ingenious speech, he recommended Henry to see what St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and the other fathers of the church, had said upon such subjects. When Wolsey attempted to win over the bishops and great divines, they said they thought it a matter to be referred to the supreme arbitrament of the pope.

After long hesitation, Henry's agents in Italy were instructed to refer the cause to the pontiff. But this application was provided against by the emperor. Long before it was definitively made, or any succour sent to his Holiness, Clement had been obliged by famine to capitulate and deliver up the castle of St. Angelo to the Imperialists, who continued to keep him and some thirteen of

the cardinals in a kind of imprisonment at Rome; and in settling a treaty with the pontiff, who was made to pay 400,000 ducats, Charles did not neglect to bind him to oppose the divorce of his aunt Catherine. Clement, however, escaped from Rome, disguised as a gardener, and took refuge in the strong town of Orvieto; and a French army, under the command of Lautrec, which at last crossed the Alps, advanced through Lombardy to his relief. But Lautrec loitered at Piacenza, and, instead of his army, the first who waited upon the pope were Henry's matrimonial agents, who had been recently reinforced by the arrival of Dr. Knight, the king's secretary. The pope was in a distressing dilemma. If he refused to grant what Henry required he had to apprehend that the French army, partly supported by English money, would do nothing for him, and if he complied he drew down upon himself the vengeance of the Imperialists, who were still masters of Rome, and likely for some time to remain so, seeing the dilatory movements of Lautrec. He seems naturally to have wished to gain time, but the envoys, knowing the amorous impatience of their master, induced him to sign two papers which had been drawn up in England, empowering Wolsey to decide the divorce, and granting Henry a dispensation to marry any other woman whatsoever, without regard to certain canonical restrictions. He hoped that these papers might be kept secret, at least till the French army was near enough to support him, and this, it should appear, was promised to him by the English diplomatists; but scarcely had Clement signed the two authorizations when Gregorio Cassali, a friend of Wolsey, who seems to have dreaded the responsibility of acting alone, “presented himself, and requested that an Italian cardinal, a legate from Rome, should be sent into England, and joined in the delicate commission with the English cardinal.” Clement remarked that this was likely to lengthen and embarrass the proceedings; but he complied with this request also, and offered Henry his choice of any one out of six cardinals whom he named. These transactions with the pope took place at the end of the year 1527.

A.D. 1528. As yet neither Henry nor Francis had openly declared war against Charles, but now, in the month of January, Clarenceux and Guienne, kings-at-arms, defied him, in the forms of chivalry, upon the same day. To the Frenchman Charles merely said that his defiance was uncalled for, as he and Francis had long been engaged in hostilities; but to Clarenceux he justified his conduct, protested he had done nothing to merit the resentment of his master, and delivered a long and well-written paper, which cast the whole blame upon Henry. The

¹ Lord Herbert; letters quoted in Burnet's *History of the Reformation*; Le Grand; Guicciardini; Dr. Lingard.

affair of Queen Catherine was made very prominent. "Can I," said the emperor, "overlook the indignity with which he threatens my aunt, by applying for a divorce, or the insult which he has offered to me, by soliciting me to marry his daughter Mary, whom he now pronounces a bastard? . . . But I well know who has suggested all this. I would not gratify the rapacity of the Cardinal of York, nor employ my armies to make him pope; and he has sworn vengeance against me, and now seeks to work out his purposes."¹ But, in reality, there was no war at all, except what was carried on by the French in Italy, Henry having neither money nor time to spare from his other grand pursuit. He had not thought it wise to make his selection of a second legate, and he doubted whether the pope might not consider himself at liberty to revise any sentence of divorce pronounced by Wolsey, or by any other delegate; and he now despatched Dr. Gardiner and Dr. Edward Fox to demand a fresh and more ample dispensation, and a new instrument, called a decretal bull, in which the pope was not only to promise an entire confirmation of the judgment which Wolsey and his other legate might pronounce, but also to declare that the prohibition in Leviticus, notwithstanding the permission in Deuteronomy, was imperative, and a fundamental law of the Christian church, and consequently that Henry's treatise upon the divorce was a correct piece of polemical reasoning. The two learned English doctors were instructed not to rely wholly upon their own eloquence, but to promise the pope possession of Ravenna and Cervia, which, by some means or other, he (Henry) was to obtain from the Venetians, a people by no means remarkable for a lack of tenacity in keeping what they had got. Clement readily enough signed the dispensation in the form prescribed; but he was more scrupulous as to granting the decretal bull, which went to destroy the dogma of infallibility, as his predecessor, Julius II., had fully sanctioned the marriage of Catherine, notwithstanding the fact of her previous union with Henry's own brother, Prince Arthur. But the doctor's reasoning, and the flattering promises made to him, shook the resolution of Clement, who consented to refer the original dispensation of Julius, which allowed the marriage, to a commission, and to authorize Wolsey, with the aid of any one of the English bishops, to pronounce thereon, and to dissolve the marriage, if the instrument had been obtained unfairly. In consideration to the Princess Mary, a clause was added to legitimatize her in case of her mother being divorced. The compliance of the pope filled Henry with joy and Wolsey with misgiving, for the cardinal saw that Clement was

throwing the responsibility upon him. He sent to implore that Cardinal Campeggio should be joined with him in the commission, and he explained to the king some doubts and difficulties which he had encountered among the English canonists. Henry answered him with "terrible terms," forgetting the long services of his minister in his absorbing passion. He probably saw that since Wolsey had been disappointed in his expectations of marrying him to the French princess, he was not over eager for the divorce; and there was already a feud between the cardinal and the family and friends of Anne Boleyn. But the fury of Henry now made Wolsey tremble, and in great haste he supplicated the pope to sign the decretal bull, which he considered as the only security that his judgment would never be revoked, and that the court of Rome would never listen to any appeal on the part of the divorced queen. Clement at last signed the instrument, and appointed Campeggio to act with the English cardinal, instructing him not to let the said bull out of his hands, but merely to show it in the English court, if absolutely obliged thereto.²

In the month of May, the city of London and the court were thrown into great consternation by the sudden appearance of the sweating sickness. The disease soon showed itself among the female servants of Anne Boleyn. By the orders of the anxious lover, Anne was instantly conducted into Kent, to Hever Castle, the seat of her father, Lord Rochford; but she carried the infection with her, and communicated it to her parent. Both father and daughter, however, were soon out of danger. Some noble retainers of the lord-cardinal died in his palace, and several gentlemen of the privy chamber were in great danger. Upon this, the king fled, and sought to escape the contagion by locking himself up and frequently changing his place of residence.³ His love was all forgotten, and he thought very seriously about his soul, confessing himself every day, and taking the sacrament, in company with his wife Catherine, every Sunday and every saint's day. People began to think that he would give up the project of the divorce, and lead a chaste and religious life; but, as soon as the sweating sickness was over, he recalled Anne to court, and ordered the degraded nobles to attend her levees as if she were their queen. Soon after this Cardinal Campeggio, who had loitered as long as he could on his journey, arrived at the English court, where he was received by Henry with exceeding great joy, and with tempting offers of bishoprics for himself, and lay honours for his son—by the un-

² Letters of the Bishop of Bayonne, quoted by Le Grand; *Lord Herbert*; *Burnet*.

³ Wolsey was not more courageous than the king—he fled from his own sumptuous palace, and for some days concealed himself from everybody in the country.

¹ *Le Grand*.

fortunate Queen Catherine with tears and remonstrances. Campeggio exhorted her, in the name of the pope, and for the sake of peace, to retire into a convent. The queen replied that it was not for herself, but for her child, that she would struggle; and protested that she would never do anything to prejudice the rights of the Princess Mary, the presumptive heir to the throne of England. The king now expected that the legates would proceed with their commission, but such was not the intention of Campeggio, who consulted the interests of his superior, the pope, and who saw that the Emperor Charles was again acquiring that ascendancy in Italy which would enable him to wreak his vengeance on the pontiff, if he should concur in degrading his aunt. We may believe that Clement would in no circumstances have been anxious for despatch in this unpleasant business; but it is certain that the unmarrying and remarrying of the English king were made to depend upon the chances of war beyond the Alps. When Pope Clement signed the decretal bull, and commissioned Campeggio to go to England, the Imperialists seemed defeated at all points; and Lautrec, the French general, after victoriously traversing nearly the whole of Italy, was laying siege to the city of Naples, with the good hope that the people within the walls would soon rise upon the Spaniards, and open the gates to the French. Nor could Lautrec have failed in this enterprise, even by force of arms, had he been properly seconded by his master; but Francis was as busily engaged with many mistresses as his brother Henry was with one, and he sent neither money nor reinforcements into Italy. He had also the lamentable imprudence to quarrel with the great family of the Dorias, upon which Andrea joined the Emperor Charles with the whole power of Genoa; and Filippino Doria, who was co-operating in the siege by sea, sailed away with all the Genoese galleys, leaving Lautrec to take Naples by himself. But Doria had scarcely sailed out of the gulf when a malaria fever broke out in the French camp, and this was soon accompanied by that more fearful scourge the plague. Men and officers died by heaps; and from besiegers the French became besieged in their intrenchments between Mount Vesuvius and Naples. Lautrec fell a victim to disease and grief on the 15th of August; and having fought their way with great loss as far as the town of Aversa, only six miles off, the wretched remnant of his army capitulated to the Imperialists in the beginning of September.¹ From this moment the pope, finding himself at the mercy of Charles, began to negotiate for a peace without informing Francis or Henry, who had both proved themselves bad allies.

¹ Giunnone; Guicciardini.

A.D. 1529. A bright gleam of hope now broke both upon the king and Wolsey, for, in the month of February, Clement was not only dangerously ill, but reported to be dead. Francis engaged to make Wolsey pope in his stead; and in this elevation Henry saw the removal of all difficulties. But Clement recovered; and shortly after Henry learned, to his unspeakable wrath, that Francis himself was negotiating for peace with the emperor. As his imprecations could have no effect in changing the policy, either of the French or of the Papal court, he determined to hurry on the process as best he could, without waiting for any further concessions from Rome, whence he had recalled his learned ambassador Gardiner, to be his leading counsel; and, on the 30th of May, Henry issued a license under the broad seal to the two cardinal-legates, who were requested to proceed with all despatch. But Campeggio, though he had been already nearly eight months in England, was in no hurry; and not being able to prevent the assembling of the court, he resolved to prolong its deliberations as much as possible, and then, in the end (unless the affairs of Italy took a very different turn), to render them nugatory.

The court met on the 31st of May in the great hall of the Blackfriars, where Wolsey and Campeggio took their seats with much solemnity, and summoned the king and queen to appear before them. Henry appeared by proxy, the queen in person; and, protesting at once against the judgment of the two cardinals, appealed to the pope. Campeggio then adjourned the court, nor did they meet again till the 21st of June. On that day Henry sat in state on the right hand of the cardinals, and when his name was called, he answered "Here!" Catherine, who sat on the left hand of the cardinals, attended by four friendly bishops, would not answer to her name or plead in any way. On the citation being repeated, she rose from her chair, crossed herself very devoutly, and then, throwing herself at the king's feet, thus addressed him:—"Sir, I beseech you, for all the loves that hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have justice and right; take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor woman and a stranger, born out of your dominions. I have here no assured friend, much less impartial counsel, and I flee to you as to the head of justice within this realm. Alas, sir! wherein have I offended you, or on what occasion given you displeasure? Have I ever designed against your will and pleasure, that you should put me from you? I take God and all the world to witness that I have been to you a true, humble, and obedient wife; ever conformable to your will and pleasure. Never have I said or done aught contrary thereto, being always well-pleased and

contented with all things wherein you had delight or dalliance, whether it were in little or much; neither did I ever grudge in word or countenance, or show a visage or spark of discontent. I loved all those whom you loved, only for your sake, whether I had cause or no, whether they were my friends or mine enemies." After reminding him that she had been his true wife these twenty years, and had borne him divers children, although it had pleased God to call them out of the world; denying that her previous marriage with his brother had been more than a form, on which point she appealed to his own conscience whether she spoke true or no; and declaring that, if there were any just cause why their marriage should be dissolved, she was contented to depart, "albeit in great shame and dishonour:" she continued—"The king, your father, was, in the time of his reign, of such estimation through the world for his excellent wisdom, that he was accounted and called of all men the second Solomon; and my father Ferdinand, King of Spain, was esteemed one of the wisest princes: both, indeed, were excellent princes, full of wisdom, and princely behaviour. . . . Also, as me seemeth, there were in those days as wise, as learned, and as judicious men as be at the present, who thought then the marriage good and lawful; therefore it is a wonder to hear what new inventions are brought up against me. . . . Ye cause me to stand to the order and judgment of this new court, wherein ye may do me much wrong; for ye may condemn me for lack of sufficient answer, having no impartial advisers, but only such as ye assign me. . . . Ye must consider that they who be your subjects cannot be impartial counsellors for me: they have been chosen out of your own council, and they dare not, for fear of you, disobey your will, or frustrate your intentions. Therefore, most humbly do I require you, in the way of charity, and for the love of God, who is the just Judge, to spare me the extremity of this new court until I be advertised what way my friends in Spain may advise me to take; and if ye will not extend to me so much impartial favour, your will then be fulfilled—unto God I commit my cause."¹

She then rose; and after a low obeisance to the king, and when every one expected she would return to her seat, she walked hastily out of the court, in which she would never again be persuaded to make her appearance, either personally or by proxy. To counteract the effect of her eloquent appeal, Henry made a most hypocritical speech, telling all present that, in truth, she had always been a dutiful and loving wife, and that his present proceedings arose solely from the de-

licacy of his own conscience and his Christian fear of God's wrath.

As Catherine would not appear in court, she was pronounced contumacious, and the trial was carried on without her. The king's counsel, who had it all their own way, maintained the three following points as justifying and imperiously calling for the divorce:—1st. That the marriage between her and Prince Arthur had been consummated, which fact made her subsequent marriage with Henry unlawful and unnatural; 2d. That the dispensatory bull of Pope Julius II. had been obtained under false pretences, and a concealment of facts; and 3d. That a Papal breve which had been procured to prop the bull was a manifest forgery. Holding all this to be proved, Henry urged Wolsey, and Wolsey urged Campeggio, to pronounce judgment. But the Italian legate had no such intention: his master, the pope, had concluded his favourable treaty with the Emperor Charles on the 29th of June, and no longer stood in dread of the wrath of Henry. On the 23d of July, Henry's counsel called for judgment in peremptory language. Campeggio said, "I have not come so far to please any man for fear, meed, or favour, be he king or any other potentate. I am an old man, sick, decayed, and looking daily for death. What should it, then, avail me to put my soul in the danger of God's displeasure, to my utter damnation, for the favour of any prince or high estate in this world? Forasmuch, then, that I understand the truth in this case is very difficult to be known, that the defendant will make no answer thereunto, but hath appealed from our judgment; therefore, to avoid all injustice and obscure doubts, I intend to proceed no further in this matter until I have the opinion of the pope, and such others of his council as have more experience and learning. For this purpose (he concluded, rising from his chair), I adjourn the cause till the commencement of the next term, in the beginning of October."²

As Campeggio finished speaking, Henry's brother-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk, struck the table with his fist, and exclaimed, in real or affected rage, that the old proverb was verified—"Never did cardinal bring good to England." The remark was especially meant for Wolsey. The court did not meet again; and in a few days after, it was known in London that the pope had revoked the legatine commission on the 15th of July, or eight days before this scene took place, and had entertained the appeal of Queen Catherine. Campeggio, who had skillfully drawn out the business to the proper moment, now took his leave of the English court. Henry, who could check the violence of his temper when he thought it expe-

¹ Cavendish.² Cavendish.

dient, behaved decently with the Italian cardinal, and even gave him some presents, as usual on such occasions; but as Campeggio lay at Dover, previous to his embarkation, his chamber was broken open by armed men, who searched his trunks, pretending that he was carrying out of the kingdom a great treasure belonging to Wolsey. The real object of this rough usage seems to have been to get possession of the decretal bull; though others think that the men were in search of Henry's letters to Anne Boleyn, which the cardinal had cautiously despatched beforehand to Rome.

But the English cardinal was more at the mercy of a vindictive court; and Wolsey soon found that "Mistress Anne," who had often expressed her gratitude and affection, and in the preceding year had vowed an eternal friendship to him, was bent heart and soul on his destruction. Suffolk, whom Wolsey had stung at the trial, and the great Duke of Norfolk, and others of the highest nobility, made common cause with her who was plainly about to become their queen. They represented that the cardinal had never wished for the divorce, except in favour of his French scheme; that he had constantly been bribed and bought by France. Henry turned a ready ear to all this, and to more, and already, in conceit, devoured Wolsey's immense wealth; and his courtiers began to talk at dinner-time, that, when once the cardinal was dead or ruined, they would relieve the church of its superfluous treasure.¹ The amorous king set out on a progress: Anne Boleyn was with him, and Wolsey was not. The cardinal, however, soon rode after the court, and joined it at Grafton, in Northamptonshire, where, to the great dismay of Anne and her party, the king received him with his old familiarity and affection. But either Henry was acting a part, or had changed his mind very speedily, for on the morrow Wolsey was ordered back to London, and he never saw his master's face again.²

A few weeks after the commencement of the Michaelmas term, when Wolsey proceeded to the Court of Chancery, it was observed that none of the king's servants paid him any honour; and on the same day Hales, the attorney-general, filed two bills against him in the Court of King's Bench, charging him with having transgressed the law of the land in exercising the functions of pope's legate. Wolsey's long courtier life seems to have deprived him of the spirit of a man, and the sudden loss of the royal favour was to him like the removal of the bright sun from the heavens. The gorgeous creature fell prostrate at once, and

crawled in the dirt like a vile worm. Without an effort he submitted himself to the scourge, and, ordering his counsel to admit his guilt, where he was innocent, he threw himself on the king's mercy, whining and saying he knew not how he had offended. On condition of being allowed to retain his rank and property in the church, he drew up a deed, transferring his entire personal estate to his gracious master. The property thus surrendered was valued at 500,000 crowns—an immense sum; but Henry had need of it all, and of more, and the cardinal's promptitude could not disarm persecution. Shortly afterwards the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk waited upon him at York Palace, to tell him, from the king, who meant to live there himself, that he must quit that splendid palace, and confine himself to his house at Esher. Wolsey submissively prepared to depart. But he showed some little spirit when his sworn enemies, with an air of triumph, requested him to deliver up the great seal. "My lords," said he, "the great seal of England was delivered to me by the hands of my sovereign; I hold it by his majesty's letters-patent, which, along with it, have conferred on me the office of chancellor, to be enjoyed during my life; and I may not deliver it at the simple word of any lord, unless you can show me your commission." The great lords were mean enough to taunt and insult the fallen minister; and the next day, when Wolsey was ready for a short journey to Esher, they returned to him with an order under the sign-manual. The cardinal read the paper, immediately resigned the seal, and gave an inventory of his jewels, plate, cloth of gold, silks, satins, velvets, tapestries, and all other precious commodities. He then issued from his most sumptuous palace, and entered his barge. The news had got wing, and the Thames was covered with boats full of men and women, who hooted and shouted, and told him how happy they were to see him sent to the Tower. They were fools for their pains; for the words of Wolsey's faithful attendant were fully verified, and there came "another hungry and lean officer in his place, that bit nearer the bone than the old one." They were also disappointed as to the lord-cardinal's present journey, for, instead of descending the river to the Tower, he ascended it to Putney.

As he was travelling by land from Putney to Esher, one of the royal chamberlains (Sir John Norris) spurred after him, and overtaking him on the rise of a hill, presented him with a ring which the king, who had taken it from his own finger, sent him, with a very comfortable message. "Therefore," added Sir John, "take patience, for I trust to see you yet in better estate than ever." Hereupon the lord-cardinal alighted from his

¹ Letters written at the moment from the English court by the French ambassador, the Bishop of Bayonne.

² Cavendish; Bishop of Bayonne; Hall.

mule, fell upon his knees, pulled off his cap, and humbly thanked God for such happy intelligence from his lord the king. He told the chamberlain that his tidings were worth half a kingdom; but, and he not only said that he would lose £20,000 rather than he should die, but he also sent his physicians, and some presents and tokens of friendship, to the cardinal. This seems to have

had a wonderful effect upon Wolsey. And when the Court of King's Bench pronounced sentence against him, the king took him into his protection.

At this crisis the king had thought fit once more to summon a parliament. On the 1st of December a bill of impeachment against the cardinal, containing forty-four articles, mostly of a vague and ridiculous description, and signed by fourteen peers and all the law officers, was presented to the commons, who, after an eloquent speech from Thomas Cromwell, formerly secretary to Wolsey, but now in the king's service, threw it out. The cardinal



ESHER—GATEWAY OF WOLSEY'S PALACE. 1.—From a view by Havell.

as he had nothing left except the clothes on his back, he could make him no suitable reward. He, however, gave Sir John a small gold chain and crucifix. "As for my sovereign," he added, "sorry am I that I have no worthy token to send him; but stay, here is my fool that rides beside me. I beseech thee take him to court, and give him to his majesty. I assure you, for any nobleman's pleasure, he is worth a thousand pound."²

But the beautiful solitudes of Esher were gloomy and horrid without the smiles of the king, and Wolsey soon sank in despondency and sickness. He wrote the most abject letters to his "most gracious, and merciful, and most pious sovereign lord," calling himself a poor, heavy, and wretched priest, that was dying for want of the light of his countenance; but Henry gave him no further comfort till he heard that a slow fever had fixed upon him, and that it was generally believed that he was dying. Then the king somewhat relented towards the man who had been his dearest friend for almost twenty years;

now mended rapidly. If he had been allowed to retain his numerous church preferments he would still have been a very rich man; but he soon found that Henry had no intention of keeping this promise. In the beginning of the following year he was deprived of everything except the bishoprics of York and Winchester, and the far greater part of the revenue of the latter was appropriated by the king, who divided it among the Viscount Rochford, Anne Boleyn's father, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Sandis, Sir John Russell, and other laymen. In return, however, Wolsey received a free pardon and some plate, furniture, and a little money for present expenses. He was now permitted to come nearer to the court, and he removed from Esher to Richmond. But the party of Anne took the alarm, and he was presently ordered to reside in the north of England, within his archbishopric. Lingered at every stage, in the fond hope of being recalled to court. Wolsey travelled to York. Yet, when once there, his mind seemed reconciled to the change, and he devoted himself with wonderful zeal to his ecclesiastical duties. At the same time, casting off his courtly pride and arrogance, he became meek and mild as a primitive apostle—courteous and affable to all men. The gentlemen of Yorkshire he entertained at a plain but hospitable table; to the poor he gave liberal alms and (what was better) abundant employment to 300 of them in repairing the churches and houses of the see. His popularity in the course of a few months

¹ Esher Palace belonged to the see of Winchester, and is supposed to have been erected by Archbishop Wainfleet, who preceded Wolsey in that see about eighty years. It was a stately mansion, built of brick. The only part now remaining is an elegant gatehouse. The interior of the tower comprises three stories, the apartments in which are small and greatly dilapidated.

² *Cavendish*. The fool, it appears, was so much attached to his old master, the cardinal, that he would not leave him until forcibly carried off by six stout yeomen, who delivered him to the king. But other men, besides his poor buffoon, loved Wolsey dearly.

waxed great all over that county. But this winning of men's hearts did not suit the party who now ruled at court, and who were alarmed, not only at the cardinal's popularity, but also at a correspondence he was carrying on with the French king and with the pope.

The clergy of York, delighted with their metropolitan, waited upon Wolsey in a body, and begged that he would be installed in his cathedral according to the custom of his predecessors. Wolsey consented, on condition that the thing should be done with as little pomp as possible; and the first Monday after All-Saints was fixed for the ceremony. On the 4th of November, three days before that fixed for the ceremony, as the lord-cardinal was sitting at dinner in his house at Cawood, near York, he was told that the Earl of Northumberland had arrived from court, and was dismounting in the yard. He expressed regret that he had not arrived before dinner began, for the earl had been brought up in his household, and he did not doubt that he had been chosen as the bearer of good news from the king. He arose with a cheerful countenance to welcome him as he came into the hall. Northumberland, according to an eye-witness, was

shoulder, and said, in a faltering voice, "My lord, I arrest you of high treason." For a season Wolsey stood rooted to the ground, mute as well as motionless; and when he recovered speech, it was only to utter unmanly and unavailing lamentations, accompanied by wretched tears. Passive as a doomed victim of an Eastern sultan, he followed Northumberland. When he reached Sheffield Park, the seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, steward of the king's household, he was sick and faint, and soon after his arrival he was seized with a dysentery, which confined him to his bed for a fortnight. On resuming his slow journey he was so weak as scarcely to be able to sit on his mule. On the third evening he reached Leicester Abbey, where he was received at the gate by the monks, holding lighted torches, the hour being late. "Father," said he to the abbot, as he dismounted, "I am come to lay my bones among you." The monks carried him to his bed, from which he never rose again. In the course of the following day and night he swooned repeatedly; and on the second morning his servants, whose warm affection proves that there must have been good and amiable qualities in him, saw that he was dying. He called to him Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, who had been sent down to take charge of his person, and said, "Master Kingston, I pray you have me commended most humbly to his majesty, and beseech him, on my behalf, to call to his gracious remembrance all matters that have passed between us from the beginning, especially respecting Queen Catherine and himself, and then shall his conscience know whether I have offended him or not. He is a prince of most royal courage, and hath a princely heart—for, rather than miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger one half of his kingdom. And I do assure you, I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber, sometimes for three hours together, to persuade him from his appetite, and could not prevail. And, Master Kingston, this I will say—had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs." The cardinal expired as the clock was striking eight, on the morning of the 29th of November, in the sixtieth year of his age; and was at midnight, without any solemnity, buried in our Lady's Chapel, in the church of the monastery.²

The faithful Cavendish, his chamberlain, who witnessed his last moments, went on from Leicester to announce the event at court. He found the king amusing himself with archery in the park of Hampton, that stately pile which Wol-



GATEWAY OF CAWOOD PALACE.—From a view by Whittock.

much affected, and hesitated for awhile, but at length he laid a trembling hand on the old man's

¹ Cawood is a small town ten miles south of York, where the Archbishops of York had a palace or castle as early as the tenth century. The castle was dismantled and in great part demolished

at the conclusion of the war between Charles I. and the parliament. The gateway, the only part now remaining, was built by Archbishop Kemp.

² Cavendish: Grotwin: Fiddes.

sey had built and richly furnished, and had presented as a free gift to his sovereign. When his sport was done Henry listened to the mournful

was still wanting, and this honour was thrust upon the unwilling shoulders of Sir Thomas More. More was a conscientious and zealous



RUINS OF LEICESTER ABBEY.—From a view by Sargent.

messenger. At first he showed some feeling, but this lasted a very little while, and then, with great eagerness, he questioned Cavendish touching a sum of £1500, which, as he had been told, the cardinal had concealed in some secret place. This was all the solicitude he showed about the death of so devoted a servant.

Nearly a year before the cardinal's death, and immediately after his surrender of the great seal, Henry had formed a new cabinet, from which churchmen were carefully excluded. The Duke of Norfolk, Anne Boleyn's uncle, became president of the council; but a still greater share of power fell to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk and lord-marshal, and to the father of Anne Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, who soon afterwards was created Earl of Wiltshire. But a chancellor

Word of God, without any further reference to the pope. When this conversation was reported to Henry, he said, "that the man who spoke thus had the right sow by the ear."³ This man was Thomas Cranmer, who was immediately summoned to court, and ordered to draw up his opinions in writing. He was soon named chaplain to the king, and sent to reside in the house of the Earl of Wiltshire, Anne Boleyn's father, where a stimulus to exertion could hardly be wanting. But Cranmer had already a higher incentive; and there can be little doubt that many of his friends and associates, as well as he himself, saw the vantage-ground they might gain for the new doctrines. His main argument was sufficiently simple—it was, that the laws of God, as laid down in the Bible, and confirmed by the

¹ Leicester possessed several religious establishments, the principal of which was the Abbey of St. Mary Pré or de Pratis, founded for Black or Augustinian canons, by Robert Bessu, Earl of Leicester, A.D. 1143. Its revenue at the dissolution was £1062, 0s. 4d. gross, or £951, 14s. 5d. clear. Masses of its ruins still remain.

² Mr. Froude has no doubt of Sir Thomas More's having been a bitter persecutor, and of his presenting in this respect a very unfavourable contrast to Wolsey. "The Protestants," he says, "although from the date of the meeting of the parliament and Wolsey's fall, their ultimate triumph was certain, gained nothing in its immediate consequences. They suffered rather from the eagerness of the political reformers to clear themselves from complicity with heterodoxy; and the bishops were even taunted with the spiritual dissensions of the realm, as an evidence of their indolence and misconduct. Language of this kind boded ill for the 'Christian brethren;' and the choice of Wolsey's successor for the office of chancellor soon confirmed their apprehensions. Wolsey had chastised them with whips; Sir Thomas

More would chastise them with scorpions. And the philosopher of the *Utopia*, the friend of Erasmus, whose life was of blameless beauty, whose genius was cultivated to the holiest attainable perfection, was to prove to the world that the spirit of persecution is no peculiar attribute of the pedant, the bigot, or the fanatic, but may co-exist with the fairest graces of the human character. The lives of remarkable men usually illustrate some emphatic truth. Sir Thomas More may be said to have lived to illustrate the necessary tendencies of Romanism in an honest mind convinced of its truth; to show that the test of sincerity in a man who professes to regard orthodoxy as an essential of salvation, is not the readiness to endure persecution, but the courage that will venture to inflict it." (By orthodoxy the author must mean Roman Catholic orthodoxy, not what is held to be orthodoxy by religious communions which hold all persecution for conscience sake to be the veriest heterodoxy.)—See Froude's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 73.

³ Todd's *Life of Cranmer*; *Le Bas*; *Biography Brit.* article "Cranmer."

ancient fathers, did not permit a man to marry his brother's widow; and his treatise was soon finished and committed to the press—that mighty engine whose infant activity was stimulated by this controversy. By the advice of Wolsey, Henry had already sent agents to consult some of the foreign universities, but without any notion of making their decision final, or subversive of the pope's authority. He now consulted Oxford and Cambridge, judging that his own universities would not dare to offer any opposition to his absolute will; but he was mistaken. At Oxford the subject was debated with the utmost violence, and a convocation dissolved in confusion and uproar, without coming to any conclusion. The doctors and seniors, "in hopes of reward, or out of fear, gave their opinions concerning the matter such as they thought would please the king; but the juniors disputed it very eagerly, and could not be drawn to their minds." Upon this the king addressed a remonstrance to Oxford, recommending the more discreet and aged men to bring their juniors to greater order and conformity; and admonishing the young gentlemen,

to manage the question in their own way, and to decide impartially. Lord Herbert and the minute Anthony à Wood both stated the facts correctly, but their evidence has been overlooked by our historians. At Cambridge the same kind of opposition was overcome by the same arts and threats, and the seal of each university was, at last, affixed to a long paper declaring the marriage of Queen Catherine to be illegal.

The foreign universities, which could not be threatened, were bribed; and Henry's active agents, who were now numerous, scattered money in all directions. In Italy the faculties of Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara, and some hundreds of learned men, declared for Henry. In Germany the power of the emperor was more prevalent than English money, and not a single university would justify the divorce. Whether Protestants or Catholics, all the German doctors, with a few exceptions, loudly condemned the project. Luther himself told Barnes, one of the agents in those parts, that it would be more lawful for Henry to have two wives at the same time, than to divorce Catherine for the purpose of marrying another woman; and the mild Melancthon seems to have entertained the same opinion. In France it was determined by the court to make a good bargain. Francis represented how dangerous it would be at that moment to irritate Charles, who still held his two sons as hostages; but, upon Henry munificently giving up a claim of 500,000 crowns and the lily of diamonds, and advancing the sum of 50,000 crowns, he consented that his universities should entertain the great subject. But still the learned of France were very dilatory in the cause, and the leading churchmen kept their eyes fixed upon the proceedings of the pope.

In the month of March, Clement, yielding to the personal application of Charles, who was then in Italy, published a breve forbidding Henry to contract a new marriage, under pain of excommunication. A few days after this the Earl of Wiltshire arrived at the head of a new embassy, which was instructed to use all kinds of means to prevail upon both pope and emperor to consent to the divorce. Clement received them in a mild, conciliating manner, but Charles was disgusted and irritated at the sight of the father of Anne Boleyn, whose employment in this mission showed a want both of tact and of delicacy. "Stop, sir," said the emperor to the Earl of Wiltshire, "let your colleagues speak—you are a party in this cause." The earl replied, smartly, that he was there as the representative of his sovereign, not as father of Anne Boleyn: but neither his self-possession, nor his liberal promises of money, produced any favourable effect upon Charles, who said that he would never sell the honour of



THOMAS CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury.—After Holbein.

that if they went on to play the masters as they were beginning to do, they would find that it is not good to provoke hornets.¹

John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln and master of All-Souls College, the principal champion for the divorce in this Oxford controversy, was a prelate after the king's own heart. He manoeuvred and threatened, and carried his point. But his letter to the king,² which was unknown to earlier historians, completely upsets the assertion that the university of Oxford was allowed

¹ *Irritare crabrones* is the royal expression, borrowed from the *Amphitruo* of Plautus, act ii. sc. 2, v. 77.

² *State Papers*.

his good aunt Catherine. Cranmer remained at Rome to convince the pope; the Earl of Wiltshire and the rest returned homeward through France, where the earl remained some time to urge on the unwilling universities. After many intrigues, the universities of Paris, Orleans, Toulouse, Angers, and Bourges, voted that the marriage of Catherine was contrary to the laws of God; the other French universities were not consulted, or, if they were, their answers were suppressed as unfavourable to Henry. But all these opinions rested upon the supposition that the marriage between Prince Arthur and Catherine had been consummated. The queen persisted in her solemn assertion that it had not, and the king could not prove the contrary.¹

Cranmer, finding that he could do no good at Rome, went into Germany, where, some time after, he committed himself to the Reformed doctrines, by the decided step of marrying the niece of his friend Osiander, the Protestant pastor of Nürnberg. He kept the match a secret, however, for the time was not yet come in which he could advantageously break with the Church of Rome. There was wanting, to carry forward in England the important changes that had already begun on the Continent, a spirit more resolute than that of Cranmer, and this spirit had been already found in Thomas Cromwell.

Cromwell was the son of a blacksmith at Putney. As his father rose in wealth or condition, and became a brewer or a fuller, he was enabled



THOMAS CROMWELL, Earl of Essex.—After Holbein.

to give his son a tolerable education, including a little Latin. In his youth Thomas went to the Continent, where he learned several foreign languages. His first occupation seems to have been that of a clerk in the English factory at Antwerp; he afterwards served as a trooper under the Con-

stable Bourbon, and followed that desperate leader to the sack of Rome. When peace was restored to Italy he returned to his commercial pursuits, and worked in the counting-house of a merchant at Venice. After this strange career, in which he acquired a deep knowledge of the world, he bent his steps towards England, where he took up the study and profession of the law. He soon attracted the notice of the great Wolsey, who took him into his household, appointed him his solicitor, and employed him in the dissolution of the monasteries, and as chief agent in the foundation of his colleges. In these offices he acquired wealth, and the hatred of the monastic bodies. He was soon returned as a member to the House of Commons, where his ready address and talent for business were conspicuous. As far as comported with an ambitious nature, he seems to have been attached to his old master, and when Wolsey was disgraced he followed him to Esher. This retirement was ill suited to such a mind; and he soon rode back to London and to court, saying that there he would "either make or mar." It is quite certain, however, that Wolsey, who had a great reliance upon his talents and his fidelity, and who, a few days after, wrote to implore him to "employ all his wit, good-will, and policy, in all places where he should think good might be done for his unfortunate friend,"² did not consider that Cromwell was deserting him, but saw his departure for court with pleasure and with hope. Indeed, it was at this juncture, and a very few days after his leaving his patron, that Cromwell made the eloquent speech in parliament in his defence. It is assumed, and very reasonably, that both Cromwell and the parliament, in rejecting the bill of impeachment, had received orders from the king to that effect, but it is not quite so fair to assume that Cromwell, who showed a grateful heart in other respects, did not use his newly-acquired influence over Henry's mind to the advantage of his old master. Cromwell played his part so well at court, that he was confirmed in the stewardship of the lands of the monasteries which had been dissolved under Wolsey, and was admitted frequently to personal conference with the king. At the critical moment when the weaker minds of Henry and his courtiers were wavering and half alarmed at the firm opposition of the pope, he asked for an audience, in which, after some necessary circumlocution, he said "that the chief embarrassment was owing to the timidity of the king's ministers, who stood too much in awe of vulgar opinion, and that the best way to decide the question of the divorce was, to deny the

² Letter from Wolsey to Cromwell, dated Esher, 18th December, 1529, published in *State Papers*. The original holograph is in the Cottonian Collection of MSS., British Museum.

¹ *Le Grand; Herbert; Hall; Godwin.*

authority of the pope altogether—to rest upon the opinions already received from the universities, and the confirmation of the English parliament, which it was easy to obtain. Going further than this, Cromwell even recommended the king to follow the example of the German princes who had received the new religion, and declare himself the supreme head of his own church. He demonstrated that, by the present division of the spiritual and temporal powers, Henry was only half a king; and that, to have the full exercise of authority, the bishops and clergy ought to be made wholly dependent upon the crown, and not allowed to hold anything from the pope. No doctrine could be more palatable to the king, whose greedy imagination already fattened on the wealth of the ecclesiastical estate; and, without pretending to turn Protestant (which he never did), he resolved to follow the advice of Cromwell, who was forthwith sworn of his privy council.

It was not likely that the great churchmen would concur in this grand project, but it was presently seen that the clergy of England were now powerless.¹ By the advice of Cromwell the whole body were involved in a præmunire, or accused as fautors and abettors of Wolsey, in having acknowledged his authority as legate, which authority, as we have mentioned, had been confirmed by the king himself. At the same time, Henry and Cromwell took care to hint to the clergy, who, in great alarm, had assembled in convocation, that the royal wrath might be assuaged by a round sum of money. The convocation offered a present of £100,000. The king did not complain of the amount, but he refused to accept it or give any pardon unless, in the preamble to their grant, they formally acknowledged him to be “the protector and only supreme head of the church and clergy of Eng-

land.” For three whole days the clergy debated on this unexpected proposition. Many were averse to any such clause, but the majority dreading the king’s violence of temper, inclined to admit it, with the limitation, *quantum per legem Christi liceat* (as far as may be by the law of Christ). “Mother of God!” roared Henry to Cromwell, and the others whom he had appointed to manage this matter, “you have played me a shrewd turn. I thought to have made fools of those prelates, and now you have so ordered the business that they are likely to make a fool of me, as they have done of you already. Go to them again, and let me have the business passed without any quants or tantums: I will have no quantum nor no tantum in the matter, but let it be done out of hand.”² In the end, however, Henry yielded, pocketed the £100,000, and let the limitation stand. Shortly after Sir Thomas More, as chancellor, attended by twelve peers, spiritual and temporal, went down to the House of Commons, where the chancellor declared all that the king had done touching his marriage with Catherine, “who before time had been wedded and bedded to his own brother;” and showed how the king, like a virtuous prince, for the safety of his conscience and for the peace of his kingdom, had consulted divers universities, not only at home but also abroad, even in the pope’s dominions. Then Sir Bryan Tuke took out of a box twelve writings sealed (the answers of the universities), and read them to the house word by word. He also produced many other papers, and divers books written by doctors of foreign nations, but, as they were long, and the day was already spent, they were not read; and, after a severe trial of patience, the members were dismissed, with strict orders to tell all their neighbours in the country how just and righteous was the king’s cause.³

¹ This was largely owing to their loss of moral influence. Speaking of the ecclesiastical courts in 1529, Mr. Froude says:—“The people might have endured better to submit to so enormous a tyranny, if the conduct of the clergy themselves had given them a title to respect, or if equal justice had been distributed to lay and spiritual offenders. ‘Benefit of clergy,’ unhappily, as at this time interpreted, was little else than a privilege to commit sins with impunity. The grossest moral profligacy in a priest was passed over with indifference; and so far from exacting obedience in her ministers to a higher standard than she required of ordinary persons, the church extended her limits under fictitious pretexs as a sanctuary for lettered villainy. Every person who could read was claimed by prescriptive usage as a clerk, and shielded under her protecting mantle; nor was any clerk amenable for the worst crimes to the secular jurisdiction, until he had been first tried and degraded by the ecclesiastical judges. So far was this preposterous exemption carried, that previous to the first of the 23d of Henry VIII., those who were within the degrees, might commit murder with impunity, the forms which it was necessary to observe in degrading a priest or deacon being so complicated as to amount to absolute protection.

“Among the clergy, properly so called, however, the prevailing offence was not crime, but licentiousness. A doubt has

recently crept in amongst our historians, as to the credibility of the extreme language in which the contemporary writers spoke upon this painful topic. It will scarcely be supposed that the picture has been overdrawn in the act books of the consistory courts; and, as we see it there, it is almost too deplorable for belief, as well in its own intrinsic hideousness, and in the unconscious connivance of the authorities. Brothels were kept in London for the especial use of priests; the ‘confessional’ was abused in the most open and profligate manner. Cases occurred of the same frightful profanity, in the service of the mass, which at Rome startled Luther into Protestantism; and acts of incest between nuns and monks were too frequently exposed, to incite us to regard the detected instances. It may be said that the proceedings upon these charges prove, at least, that efforts were made to repress them.” The author then relates cases showing that such priestly offenders compounded for absolution by payment of trifling fines.—See *Froude*, vol. i. p. 177.

² *Bailey, Life of Bishop Fisher.*

³ *Herbert, Hall; Stow.* During this session of parliament one Richard Rose, cook to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, put poison into the soup, with the intent of killing his master. The bishop escaped, but no fewer than sixteen of his servants were poisoned. The cook was thrown into a cauldron of hot water, and boiled alive at Smithfield!

Soon after prorogation of parliament, the king sent several lords of his council to Queen Catherine at Greenwich, to terrify her into submission, and to make her agree to abide by the decision of four of the bishops and four of the lay peers of England. The high-minded Spaniard was still firm, upon which she was removed to Windsor. In the month of July she was ordered to quit that royal residence. "I go," said she: "but, go where I may, I shall still be his lawful wife." She went to the Moor in Hertfordshire, a beautiful manor with a park, which had belonged to the see of York. From the Moor she soon went to Easthamstead, and thence to Ampthill, where she finally fixed her residence.

About the same time, to prove the orthodoxy of the king and court, Thomas Bilney, a learned and amiable man, was burned at Smithfield as an accursed heretic, for having attempted to expose the errors of Popery. This was a beginning to the atrocious system pursued during the rest of this reign, in which the Catholic clergy were plundered and hanged on the one side, and the professors of the Reformed religion were burned on the other, in pretty equal proportions. Sir Thomas More, whose great learning and wit did not exempt him from the persecuting spirit of the times,¹ took a melancholy part in some of the prosecutions against Protestants, but he had no taste for those instituted against his own church: he disapproved of the plan pursued with regard to the unfortunate queen; and, in other respects, seeing nothing but danger and disgrace in the retaining of office, he represented to the king that he was growing old, and had need of repose. After making many efforts to retain him, Henry accepted his resignation; and More withdrew to solitude and poverty on the 16th of May, 1532. On the 4th of June following, the seals were given to Sir Thomas Audley.²

Notwithstanding all that had passed, the pope made overtures for a reconciliation; but Henry, acting upon the grand plan of Cromwell, who was now the most influential person in his council, rejected the proposals with wrath and disgust, for an indispensable condition was that he should take back his wife and put away "a certain Lady Anne." Under the absolute guidance of Cromwell, the parliament—which was now frequently assembled, because in all matters, except money-bills, it did precisely what the court wished—passed an act for the abolition of the annates or first-fruits, which formed a very considerable item in the fees or taxes paid yearly to the pope; and at the same time they abrogated the authority of the clergy in convocation, and annexed that authority to the crown. On the

15th of November Clement signed a breve, declaring both Henry and Anne Boleyn excommunicated, unless they should separate: but this deed was laid by for some time.³

Henry was now exceedingly anxious to strengthen his alliance with the French king, and, in the course of the summer, he had induced Francis to agree to a meeting. His grace of England, who could move nowhere without Lady Anne, whom he had recently created Marchioness of Pembroke, proposed as an equitable arrangement, that his grace of France should also bring his favourite lady to the meeting; but Francis, though no great moralist, declined the proposal. But this circumstance did not make the Marchioness of Pembroke stay at home, and she went with the king and a most splendid retinue to Calais. On the 21st of October Henry went to Boulogne, where Francis received him, and entertained him for four days. The two kings then repaired lovingly together to Calais, and there Henry requited the hospitality of his royal brother with balls and masks, in which the marchioness was the principal personage. There was an idle talk of a coalition to oppose the victorious Turks on the frontiers of Christendom; but the only business done was, the making of an agreement by which Francis bound himself to invite the pope to a conference at Marseilles, and to take part with Henry in case Clement should not cease his opposition.

It was altogether improbable that Francis should carry his point with the pope; but Henry did not wait the result of his application. "Much about St. Paul's Day," that is, either the 4th, or more probably the 25th, of January, 1533, between night and morning, Dr. Lee, one of the royal chaplains, was summoned to celebrate mass in a remote garret of the palace of Whitehall. On going there the astounded priest found the king attended only by Norris and Heneage, two of the grooms of his bed-chamber, and Anne Boleyn, with her train-bearer, Mrs. Savage, afterwards the Lady Berkeley,⁴ from which he understood that more was meant than a mass. A court chaplain—and in such a court—was not likely to have many scruples, or the courage necessary to face the wrath of such a king; but it is said that Lee did not perform the marriage ceremony until Henry told him that the Church of Rome had at length decided in his favour, and that he had the pope's instrument under lock and key in his closet. This strange marriage party separated in silence and secrecy before it was daylight; and some of Henry's most confidential advisers knew not what had passed until several

³ Herbert; *Le Grand*; Burnet, *Hist. Reform.*

¹ More, however, denied that he had ever been cruel to the heretics. We believe that *willingly* he never was.

² Roper.

⁴ Another account makes her father and mother, and her uncle the Duke of Norfolk, to have been present.

weeks after. Feeling, however, that this clandestine measure would embarrass the French, who had sent ambassadors to the pope, he despatched Anne's father to explain matters to Francis, and to request the immediate presence

in England of a confidential French agent. To this agent Henry promised that he would keep the marriage a secret till the month of May, by which time it was calculated the interview between Francis and Clement would be over.¹

CHAPTER VI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1533-1537.

HENRY VIII.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1509—DEATH, A.D. 1547.

Cranmer appointed Archbishop of Canterbury—The divorce of Queen Catherine effected—Henry's attempts to be reconciled to the pope—Birth of Elizabeth, afterwards queen—Injurious treatment of Catherine—Power of the Popedom abolished in England—Henry declared head of the church—The "Holy Maid of Kent"—Her visions and prophecies—She and her adherents executed—Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher tried and imprisoned—Henry persecutes Papists and Protestants—Cruel execution of certain monks—Execution of Bishop Fisher—Sir Thomas More refuses the oath of supremacy—His cruel treatment in prison—His execution—Cromwell appointed the king's vice-gerent in ecclesiastical matters—His severe proceedings against those who denied the king's supremacy—Death of Queen Catherine—Anne Boleyn arrested on a charge of adultery—Imprisoned in the Tower—Her conduct in prison—Her trial before the council—Her execution—Cranmer's conduct and letter on the occasion—Henry marries Jane Seymour—His treatment of his daughter Mary—Dissolution of the monasteries—Hardships of the monks and nuns—Henry's tyrannical proceedings as head of the English church—They occasion discontent and revolt—Insurrections in several counties—Rebellion called the "Pilgrimage of Grace"—Demands of the rebels—Henry's answer—The rebellion suppressed—Cardinal Pole—His birth and early history—His writings against Henry—Death of Jane Seymour.

IN the meantime Cranmer had returned from Germany, and again taken up his residence with the family of Anne Boleyn. The see of Canterbury had been vacant several months by the death of Archbishop Warham, and the king now offered it to Cranmer, who, notwithstanding his being privately a married man, and now an entire convert to the doctrines of Luther, agreed to accept it as a Catholic. As Henry had still a lurking respect for the Church of Rome in spiritual matters, he insisted, notwithstanding his assumption of supremacy, that Cranmer should obtain the bull and pallium from the pope, and take the usual oaths. How Clement agreed to ratify the election is difficult to understand; but, taking less than the ordinary fees, he signed the bull on the 22d of February, and Cranmer was consecrated in the usual manner on the 30th of March, taking the oaths of canonical obedience

to the pope, whom he was resolved to disobey, and having been named to the vacant see by his master upon the express understanding that he should so act. Before swearing, Cranmer *protested* that he did not intend by these oaths to the pope to restrain himself from anything that he was bound to, either by his duty to God or his king.² His obedience to the king was soon put to the test—he was immediately ordered to proceed with "the great cause of matrimony." On the 11th of April he wrote a letter to the king containing a formal request that, for the good of the realm and the security of the succession, that matter might be proceeded with. This letter, which was intended by them both to be submitted to the privy council, was not quite to Henry's taste; it was therefore sent back, and the archbishop wrote a second letter, on the same day, in which he styled himself "a poor wretch and much unworthy," and pressed on the royal mind the

¹ "Fallen on evil times, which greater wisdom and greater courage than had for many a century been found in the successors of St. Peter, would have failed to encounter successfully, Clement VII. remained, with all his cowardice, a true Italian; his errors were the errors of his age and nation, and were softened by the presence, in more than usual measure, of Italian genius and grace. Benevuto Cellini, who describes his character with much minuteness, has left us a picture of a hot-tempered but genuine and kind-hearted man, whose taste was elegant, and whose wit, from the playful spirit with which it was pervaded, and from a certain tendency to innocent levity, approached to humour. He was liable to violent bursts of feeling; and his inability to control himself, his gesticulations, his exclamations, and his tears, all represent to us a person who was an indifferent

master of the tricks of dissimulation to which he was reduced, and whose weakness entitles him to pity, if not to respect. The Papacy had fallen to him at the crisis of its deepest degradation. It existed as a politically organized institution, which it was convenient to maintain, but from which the private hearts of all men had fallen away; and it depended for its very life on the support which the courts of Europe would condescend to extend to it. Among these governments, therefore, distracted as they were by mutual hostility, the pope was compelled to make his choice; and the fatality of his position condemned him to quarrel with the only prince on whom, at the outset of these complications, he had a right to depend."—*Froude*.

² There was, besides, the vow of chastity, and Cranmer was a married man!

necessity of stopping the tongues of the rude and ignorant people, and of licensing him, the archbishop, to proceed to the examination, final determination, and judgment of the great cause. This second letter, which fully admitted the king's rightful superiority to all law, whether ecclesiastical or civil, gave entire satisfaction to Henry, who forthwith submitted it to the council, and wrote a loving answer to the archbishop, authorizing him to proceed—always in due subordination and submission.¹

The said cause now proceeded roundly. Parliament, receiving their impulse from Cromwell, passed an act prohibiting for ever all appeals to the court of Rome; and another, declaring that Queen Catherine should no longer be called queen, but Princess dowager of Wales, as widow to Prince Arthur, her first and only lawful husband. Thus backed by the authority of parliament, and by a fresh decision of the intimidated clergy assembled in convocation, who voted, by a large majority, that there was canonical proof of the consummation of Catherine's first marriage, Cranmer, on the 8th of May, travelled to Dunstable,

chester, the Bishops of London, Bath, and Lincoln, and three others, as counsel for the king, Cranmer sent Dr. Lee, who had so recently married Henry to Anne, to cite Catherine to appear. The queen refused; but great pains were taken to conceal from her the fact that this court intended to proceed to a final judgment. Cranmer and the rest wrote every day to the king or to Cromwell, to report progress. The citation having been repeated fifteen times in as many days, and Catherine not appearing, judgment was given against her on the 23d of May, by Cranmer, who pronounced her marriage to be null and invalid; and on the same day the archbishop announced his sentence to the king, asking for further instructions concerning the "second matrimony;" adding, "for the time of the coronation is so near at hand, that the matter requireth good expedition."² Having received the royal orders to that effect, Cranmer hurried from Dunstable back to Lambeth, where he held another ecclesiastical court; and on the 28th of May, to complete his job, he declared that his master had already been lawfully married to the Lady Anne; that their

marriage was and had been public and manifest; and that he now confirmed it by his judicial and pastoral authority. On the 1st of June, 1533, only four days after the confirmation of her marriage at Lambeth, Anne, "being somewhat big with child," was crowned and anointed at Westminster. "with as great pomp and solemnity as ever was queen," Cranmer officiating and setting the crown upon her head.³

These doings were soon noised all over Europe, and on the 11th of July the pope annulled the judgment given by Cranmer, and published his bull of excommunication against Henry and Anne. A few days before this was done at Rome, Lord Mountjoy made a report to Henry's council of a conference he had had on the 3d of July, with the princess-dowager (Catherine) in her residence

at Amptill. He had found her grace there, "lying upon her pallet because she had pricked her foot with a spyne (thorn), so that she might not well stand nor go, and also sore annoyed with a cough." But her spirit was as resolute as ever; she would not submit to be called princess-dowager, saying that she was still a



DUNSTABLE PRIORY CHURCH.—Britton's Architectural Antiquities.

about four miles from Amptill, where the discarded queen was then residing. Having constituted a court, in which the Bishop of Lincoln acted as assessor, and Gardiner, Bishop of Win-

¹ *State Papers*. The original letters are preserved in the British Museum, and in the State Paper Office.

² The most interesting architectural remains in Dunstable is the priory church, founded by Henry I. in 1131. It is a good specimen of a mixed Norman and Early English structure, and is still used as the parish church. Several parts of it have been renewed.

³ *State Papers*.

⁴ *State Papers*; Sir Henry Ellis' *Collection of Original Letters*; Burnet, *Hist. Reform.*; Le Grand; Herriot; Stow; Godwin.

queen, and the king's true wife; that she came to the king "a clean maid, and thereupon was crowned and anointed queen, and had by the king lawful issue, and no bastard; wherefore the name of queen she would vindicate, challenge, and so call herself during her life." When Mountjoy told her that she had been separated and divorced, and that, by consent of all the lords spiritual and temporal, and of all the commons of the realm, the Lady Anne was anointed and crowned Queen of England, she replied that bribery and unfair means had been used; that universities, and convocations, and parliaments had no faculty to divorce; and that she still appealed to the court of Rome.¹

Popular opinion (whatever was its worth) set full on the side of Catherine, and nothing was heard from one end of the kingdom to the other, but virulent abuse of "Nan Bullen." The monastic orders, who were smarting under past grievances, and who foresaw more serious ones, set no limits to their clamour, and some of them were bold enough to reprehend the king to his face.

In the meantime, Henry, at intervals, showed an earnest desire to be reconciled to the pope; and Francis, who had his own views of political advantage² therein, more constantly laboured to bring this about. He sent the French fleet to convey his holiness, and, after many delays, Clement kept his appointment, and arrived in the city of Marseilles in the month of October. When the meeting took place, Henry regretted his having promoted it, and did what he could to render it of no effect. The Duke of Norfolk, who was a zealous Catholic, and seems to have hoped for a reconciliation with the church, was suddenly recalled from France, and the Bishop of Winchester and Bryan were left to attend the conference at Marseilles. Francis refused to proceed with any other business until the pope had promised him to stretch his authority to the utmost in order to satisfy the King of England: but the surprise and displeasure of both were great, upon learning that the two English ambassadors had no authority from their court to treat or to enter into any definitive arrangement. Apparently at the suggestion of Francis, they spoke of referring the matter to a consistory, from which all the cardinals holding preferments under the emperor, were to be excluded as partial judges; but early in November,

before Clement could give an answer to this proposition, Bonner arrived from England, and appealed, in the name of his master, from the pope to a general council of the church. This was rudely putting an end to the solemn conference at Marseilles, and the pope returned into Italy; but, before he went, he arranged a marriage (which afterwards proved a great curse to France) between his niece, Catherine of Medici, and the Duke of Orleans, the second son of the French monarch. The young lady had no money, and the unlucky match was otherwise considered very unequal. Francis told Henry that he had consented to it *solely* on his account, and to make up his quarrel with Rome; but this was not quite true, though such considerations may have had some weight. Such, however, was the power of England, that the French king and the pope were alike eager to overlook the insults they had received from Henry, and to renew negotiations with him. The witty Bishop of Bayonne, now Bishop of Paris, who had resided so long at the English court, was sent from Paris to London, from London to Paris, whence, in the middle of winter, he was hurried to Rome with letters and verbal messages to the pope from Henry, who appears to have been once more disposed to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See, upon condition that Clement should approve of, and solemnly sanction all that he had done. The vivacious bishop wrote to England to say that all was going on well, and to implore Henry to stop all proceedings in parliament of a religious nature. But Henry was vacillating and impatient, and Cromwell and others of his council had fully made up their minds to prevent any reconciliation with Rome; some of them acting from a sincere conviction of a spiritual kind, and some, it must be admitted, from a mere longing after the property and power of the church.³

On the 7th of September, while the pope was preparing for his voyage to Marseilles, Anne Boleyn was brought to bed. Whether it was that the king pretended to some knowledge in these occult matters, or whether it was that he had consulted the astrologers, he had made quite certain that the child would be a son and heir; and not only his disappointment, but also his wrath, was great when it proved to be a girl. Yet this ill-received child—the lion-hearted Eli-

¹ *State Papers*. There are two other very long letters on the same harrowing subject, written within a few weeks by the same Lord Mountjoy, who was or had been chamberlain to Catherine. In his first report, which is preserved in the British Museum, the words *princess-dowager* are scratched out with pen and ink. This was done by Catherine's own hand. In his second letter Mountjoy says, "on showing her the report, she called for pen and ink, and carefully struck out the words *princess-dowager* wherever they occurred." Every part of Mountjoy's letters is full of interest. In one of them he says that Catherine rested

on the unfairness of pretending to try her cause "within the king's own realm, before a man of his own making, the Bishop of Canterbury, whom she thinketh to be no person indifferent (impartial) in that behalf."

² The French king had a project of forming a grand coalition against the emperor. Henry was to be a principal member, and the pope was to give it his sanction, and to co-operate *et cetera* *armis in Italy*.

³ Du Bellay's *Letters and Instructions*, given by Le Grand; Herbert; Burnet.

zabeth—showed herself to be worth many men. Soon after this event the persecution of Queen Catherine was carried on more keenly than ever, that unfortunate woman (to use the language of the courtiers) “still persisting in her great stomach and obstinacy.” The highest in rank, the most martial and chivalrous in reputation, durst not refuse themselves to the vile office of insulting a helpless woman. The Duke of Suffolk, the gentle Charles Brandon, waited upon her at Ampthill to explain her grievous misconduct in calling herself queen, and to tell her that she must instantly remove from that manor to Somersham, there to live with a reduced establishment, and with such servants alone as the king should be pleased to appoint.¹ The queen said that they might hew her in pieces, but she would still style herself wife and queen until the court of Rome should decide to the contrary; that they might bind her with ropes, and violently enforce her therewith, but that, of her own will, she would never go from Ampthill, or take upon herself the state and condition of Princess-dowager of Wales. After a violent scene the Duke of Suffolk and his noble and worshipful mates (for he was accompanied by the Earl of Sussex, Sir William Poulet, and Dean Sampson) locked up the queen’s chaplains, who maintained that she was right both in law and in religion, and then wrote to the king for further instructions, “trusting, by God’s help,” to make a comfortable end of the matter.² Two days after, the duke and the earl, and the doctors, were followed by Archbishop Lee and Bishop Tonsal, who told her that his highness, after being discharged of the marriage made with her, had contracted a new marriage with his dearest wife Queen Anne; and that for so much as, thanked be God, fair issue had already sprung, and more was likely to follow, by God’s grace, the whole body of the realm, gathered together in parliament, had, for the establishment of this issue, made acts and ordinances to which she and all others must submit. The two prelates, however, reported to their master that her obstinacy was undiminished. It appears that some money was sent down to pay her debts, that she was removed by force, and that all persons who persisted in calling her queen were thrown into prison or otherwise punished with great severity.³

¹ For some time she was left almost in utter solitude, without any attendants. Her servants were commanded to swear that they would never call her queen, but only princess-dowager: those who refused the oath were dismissed or imprisoned—those who took it she would not retain.

² Original letter in the Museum, and published in *State Papers*. The letter, which is addressed to the king, is signed by all four.

³ *State Papers*; letter of Lee (Archbishop of York) and Tonsal (Bishop of Durham) to the king’s highness.

⁴ “There is no known instance in family history, in which a brother and his two sisters appeared to be doomed to be each other’s enemies by a destiny inseparable from their birth, so

It was a very awkward time for absent-minded parsons, and for old men who could not easily get out of the routine of praying for Queen Catherine, which they had been in the habit of doing for twenty-five years. A mere slip of the tongue was considered of sufficient moment to be circumstantially reported by a bishop to a minister of state.

A.D. 1534. Soon after the Christmas holidays parliament met for the despatch of very important business; and before it rose (on the 30th of March) it wholly broke the ties which for so many centuries had united England with Rome. Acting on the impulse already received, the parliament prohibited every kind of payment and every kind of appeal to the pope, confirmed Henry’s title of supreme head of the English church, and vested in the king alone the right of appointing to all bishoprics, and of deciding in all ecclesiastical causes. The royal assent to the bills which abolished the Papal power in England was given on the 30th of March; and as the definitive sentence of the Roman consistory was not pronounced until the 23d of March, it seems certain that the bills were not produced by that decision. They had been drawn up by Cromwell some months before they had been passed through the commons and the lords before the 20th of March (the reader will attend to dates); and when Henry gave the finishing stroke to them it was not possible that the news of the proceedings at Rome could have reached London. These last proceedings, in a business which had seemed to be interminable, were very simple. Notwithstanding the expectations of the Bishop of Paris, the pope, awed by the still growing power of the emperor in Italy, found himself obliged to entertain the appeal of the emperor’s aunt, and to refer the whole matter to a consistory; and on the 23d of March, nineteen out of twenty-two cardinals pronounced Catherine’s marriage valid and indissoluble, and hereupon the pope gave sentence. In the same parliament which proclaimed the spiritual independence of England, the marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn was fully established as lawful; the Princess Mary, the daughter of Catherine, was set aside as illegitimate, and the succession was⁴ vested in the children of Queen

extraordinary as that of Edward and the two princesses Mary and Elizabeth. The legitimacy of Mary necessarily rendered Elizabeth illegitimate. The innocence of Anne Boleyn threw a deep shade over the nuptials of which Edward was the sole offspring. One statute had declared Mary to be illegitimate, for the sake of settling the crown on Elizabeth. The latter princess was condemned to the same brand to open the door for the nuptials with Edward’s mother. Both were afterwards illegitimized, as it might seem, to exalt the lawful superiority of their brother Edward. At his accession Mary was in the thirty-second year of her age, Elizabeth in her fourteenth, and Edward in his ninth year. Mary was of an age to remember

Anne. It was also enacted that anything written, printed, or done, to the slander of the second marriage, or of the children therefrom proceeding, should be high treason, and that all persons of age should swear obedience to this same act of succession.¹

During the same session, parliament and that tyrannical tribunal, the Star Chamber, between them, sent the Holy Maid of Kent and six of her abettors to the gallows. This Elizabeth Barton, a young woman of Aldington, in Kent, had been subject to fits and a strange kind of disease, which not only afflicted her inwardly, but, as often as her fit took her, so wonderfully distorted her mouth and other parts of her body, that most people were of opinion it could not proceed from any natural causes. As among the Turks of the present day, so was it with the English and other Christian nations in these ignorant times—idiocy was looked upon as a proof of God's favour, and epilepsy was considered as the best medium of heavenly revelations. The incoherent sentences which the Maid uttered were caught up as prophecies, and she herself was induced to believe that she was a prophetess. This was at a moment when the monks were irritated at Wolsey's suppression of a few monasteries, and when the nation was excited by the question of Henry's divorce. Richard Maister, the rector of the parish, advised her to retire into a nunnery, and he appears to have conceived the notion of turning her to some political account; but Bocking, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, who became her confessor, was her chief prompter. It is possible, however, that accomplices and principal were alike, in part, the dupes of their own deception, as frequently happened in cases of similar imposture. From Kent the fame of her prophecies soon spread to London and other parts of the kingdom. The king, whose curiosity was ex-

cited, showed a collection of her sybilline leaves to Sir Thomas More, who told him that he found nothing in her words worth notice. As long as the Holy Maid limited her prophecies to obscure people she was safe enough, but as soon as she meddled with state matters her neck was in danger. She announced that she had, in a vision, seen God and Cardinal Wolsey together, and had heard the Almighty declare that, unless the lord-cardinal used his authority properly, it should be sorely laid to his charge. She, however, was not seriously molested during Wolsey's time. Her doom was precipitated by her venturing to prophesy, that if Henry put away Catherine, he would die some infamous death within seven months, and be succeeded on the throne by Catherine's daughter. The party that had chosen her for their instrument, not only took down her revelations in writing, but caused them to be printed and circulated. The jealous eye of the government was upon them; and, of a sudden, Elizabeth Barton and a number of her accomplices were apprehended.² Instead of being tried in the usual courts, they were brought up to the Star Chamber, which, in the month of November, 1533, sentenced them to confess their imposture on a Sunday, at St. Paul's Cross. After they had done this they were all conveyed back to prison. The imposition was thus laid bare; and Henry further proved that the Holy Maid was no prophetess, by outliving the term she had fixed. Thus she and her companions might have been safely dismissed with contempt, while the exposure and the long imprisonment they had undergone might have been deemed punishment sufficient for such an offence; but the majesty of Henry was not to be so easily satisfied, and he submitted their case to the slavish and brutalized parliament, who passed a bill of attainder of treason against the Maid; Bocking, the monk of Canterbury; Maister, the rector of Aldington;

with bitterness the wrongs done to an innocent mother. Her few though faithful followers were adherents of the ancient religion, to which honour and affection, as well as their instruction and example, bound her. The friends, the teachers, the companions of Edward, were, in many instances, bound to the Reformation by conscience. Many others had built their character and their greatness upon its establishment. The pretensions of young Elizabeth were somewhat more remote."—Sir James Mackintosh, *History of England*.

¹ Of the act 26th Henry VIII. cap. 13, whereby, for the better security of the realm, it was enacted—"That any person who, by words, writing, or otherwise, deprives the king or queen of any one of their just titles, shall be held guilty of high treason," Mr. Froude says:—"The terrible powers which were thus committed to the government, lie on the surface of this language; but comprehensive as the statute appears, it was still further extended by the lawyers. In order to fall under its penalties, it was held not to be necessary that positive guilt should be proved in any one of the offences specified; it was enough if a man refused to give satisfactory answers when subjected to official examination. At the discretion of the king or his ministers, the active consent to the supremacy might be required of any person on whom they pleased to call, under penalty to

the recusant of the dreadful death of a traitor. So extreme a measure can only be regarded as a remedy for an evil which was also extreme; and, as on the return of quiet times, the parliament made haste to repeal a law which was no longer required; so in the enactment of that law, we are bound to believe that they were not betraying English liberties in a spirit of careless complacency; but that they believed truly that the security of the state required unusual precautions. The nation was standing with its sword half-drawn in the face of an armed Europe, and it was no time to permit dissensions in the camp. Toleration is good, but even the best things must abide their opportunity; and although we may regret that in this grand struggle for freedom, success could only be won by the aid of measures which bordered upon tyranny; yet here also the even hand of justice was but commending the chalice to the lips of those who had made others drink it to the dregs. They only were likely to fall under the treason act, who for centuries had fed the rack and the stake with sufferers for opinions."—Froude's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 331.

² According to Hall, the matter was investigated by the "great labour, diligence, and painstaking of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Cromwell, and one called Hugh Latimer, a priest, which, shortly after, was made Bishop of Worcester."

Dering, a monk; Gold, bachelor of divinity; Rich, a friar of the order of the Observants; and Risby, a gentleman; and of misprision of treason against several other persons who had had communications with her, and had concealed her treasonable predictions. On the 21st of April, 1534, while parliament was sitting, all the seven victims attainted of treason were drawn to Tyburn.¹

Among those accused of holding correspondence with the Holy Maid of Kent were Edward Thwaites, gentleman; Thomas Laurence, registrar to the archdeacon of Canterbury; John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; and Sir Thomas More, late lord - chancellor. The venerable Fisher, the admired of Erasmus, was one of the most learned prelates of that age: he had been the friend of Henry from his youth and first accession—the friend of his father and of his grandmother, the Countess of Richmond, who, on her death-bed, recommended him as a good and wise counsellor for her inexperienced grandson. But Fisher was attached to his threatened church, and averse to the new marriage. The old bishop was told by Cromwell that he would be pardoned this offence if he would plead guilty, and throw himself upon the king's mercy; but he preferred justifying his conduct, and, being confined to his chamber by sickness, he sent a spirited letter to the House of Lords. He acknowledged that he had conversed with the Maid of Kent, and had even heard her utter her prophecies touching the king's death. It was also true, he said, that he had not mentioned these discourses to his sovereign; but his silence could not be criminal, because the prophetess had not spoken of any violent attempts against the king's life, but merely of a visitation of Providence; and because she had told him that she had communicated the revelation or vision to the king herself, and *he well knew that she had been admitted to a private audience by the king*. The lords, however, pronounced him guilty of misprision, or concealment, of treason; and he was forced to compound with the crown. The name of Sir Thomas More was erased from the bill (though his innocence was not more clearly established than that of his friend Fisher); and it is supposed to have been introduced into it for the sole purpose of terrifying him into an approval of the new marriage, and other changes which he was known in his heart to condemn. About a fortnight after, More and Fisher were called upon to take the new oath of allegiance, as recently voted by parliament, to the heirs of the king's body begotten, or to be begotten, of his beloved lawful

wife, Queen Anne. Neither of them objected to swear to the succession, excluding the Princess Mary, as it had been established by the estates of the kingdom; but both scrupled to swear to certain doctrinal points which were involved in the oath. For example, they were called upon fully to approve the marriage with Anne Boleyn; and to swear that the former marriage had always been unlawful, and that the Church of Rome had no power to grant dispensations in such cases. Bishop Fisher declared that he could not take the whole of the oath with a safe conscience; upon which, against the wishes of Archbishop Cranmer, who would have been satisfied with his swearing to the succession without the theological part, he was committed to the Tower. Sir Thomas More expressed his objections in discreet and qualified terms; but he was, nevertheless, taken into the custody of the abbot of Westminster; and, upon a second refusal, was also sent to the Tower. Both bishop and chancellor were attainted of misprision of treason for refusing the oaths, and were condemned to imprisonment for life with forfeiture of their property, and both were treated with infamous severity in their prison. Fisher, in his seventy-sixth year, was left in sickness and pain, without clothes to cover him, and without proper food to eat; and More was only relieved from a similar condition by the charity of his relations and friends, and the filial heroism of his favourite daughter, Margaret Roper. While these two conscientious men lay in the Tower, "being not to be drawn by any persuasions to be conformable to the new law," all classes of people swore, as rapidly as Henry could wish them, being terrified out of their senses. As the oath had not been very nicely defined by parliament, and as Henry was not likely to pay much respect to any limitations prescribed by that subservient body, he altered it, and stretched it just as he thought fit—forcing, for example, the whole body of the clergy to declare, upon oath, whatever he chose to dictate, including several things wholly incompatible with their profession and existence as a Romish priesthood. If he had really made up his mind to change the religion of his country, and to adopt the Reformed faith, all this might have been intelligible and consistent enough; but, at the very same moment, he was actually burning people in Smithfield for differing from the Church of Rome—making no distinction as to sects, but consuming in the same flames Lollards, Lutherans, and Anabaptists. To free himself from all suspicion of favouring either Luther or any of the authors of the new opinions, he began to prosecute indiscriminately "all that sort of men whom the vulgar called heretics." On the 22d of July, during the prorogation of

¹ *Ibid.* The annalist probably witnessed the execution of these seven persons. He says, very coolly, "They had most justly deserved it."

parliament, John Frith, "a very learned young man, of an excellent and godly wit," who had been long in trouble for the making of a book against purgatory, and for expressing certain opinions about transubstantiation and consubstantiation, and one Andrew Hewet, "a very simple and utterly unlearned young man, and a tailor," who told the bishops that he believed as his friend John Frith believed, were burned at one stake in Smithfield, as accursed heretics.¹

In the month of November parliament re-assembled, and, under the guidance of Cromwell, passed a variety of acts, which had all for their object the erecting of Henry into a sort of lay-pope, with full power to define and punish heresies, and to support whatever he might deem the true belief or the proper system of church government. The first-fruits and tenths were now annexed to the crown for ever, and a new oath of supremacy was devised and taken by the bishops.

A.D. 1535. Some of the monks—the poorest orders were the boldest—refused either to take the oath, or to proclaim in their churches and chapels that the pope was Antichrist. The system pursued in regard to them was very simple and expeditious; they were condemned of high treason and hanged, their fate in the latter respect being sometimes, but not always, milder than that allotted to the Lutherans and other Protestants, who were burned. Cromwell had no bowels for the poor monks; and the gentler and more virtuous Cranmer seems to have done little or nothing to stop these atrocious butcheries. A jury now and then hesitated to return a verdict, but they were always bullied into compliance by Cromwell and his agents, who sometimes threatened to hang them instead of the prisoners. On the 5th of May John Houghton, prior of the Charter-house in London; Augustine Webster, prior of the Charter-house of Belval; Thomas Lawrence, prior of the Charter-house of Exham; Richard Reynolds, a doctor of divinity and a monk of Sion; and John Hailes, vicar of Thistleworth, were drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tyburn, their heads being afterwards set over the city gates. On the 18th of June, Exmew, Middlemore, and Nudigate, three other Carthusian monks, suffered for the same cause. On all these conscientious men, who preferred death to what they considered a breach of their duty as Catholic priests, the horrible sentence of the law was executed in all its particulars. They were cut down alive, had their bowels torn out, and were then beheaded and dismembered. They suffered on account of the oath of supremacy; but between the executions there was an atrocious interlude of a more doctrinal

nature. On the 25th of May there were examined in St. Paul's nineteen men and five women, natives of Holland, who had openly professed the doctrines of the Anabaptists, and denied the



INNER GATE OF THE CHARTER-HOUSE, LONDON.²—From a drawing by J. W. Archer.

real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine of the sacrament. Fourteen of them were condemned to the flames: two, a man and woman, suffered in Smithfield; the remaining twelve were sent to other towns, there to be burned for example's sake, and for the vivid manifestation of the king's orthodoxy.

But greater victims were now stricken; for casting aside all feelings except those of vengeance, Henry had resolved to shed the blood of Fisher and of More. The aged bishop was put upon his trial for having maliciously and traitorously said that the king, in spiritual matters, could not be the head of the church; and he was sentenced in the usual manner to die the death of a traitor. While he lay in the Tower, in respect for his sufferings in the cause of the church, his great age, learning, and unquestionable virtue, a cardinal's hat was sent to him from Rome. "Ha!" cried the savage Henry, "Paul may send him the hat; I will take care that he have never a head to wear it on." Accordingly, on the 22d day of June, of this same year of blood, the old prelate was dragged out of the Tower and beheaded. His gray head was stuck upon London bridge,

² Over this gate the head of John Houghton was exposed. Within the gate are the initials I H, according to the tradition of the place, a memorial of John Houghton. They are figured in the brickwork of one of the old buildings, together with a cross.

¹ Herbert; Hall; Stow; Godwin.

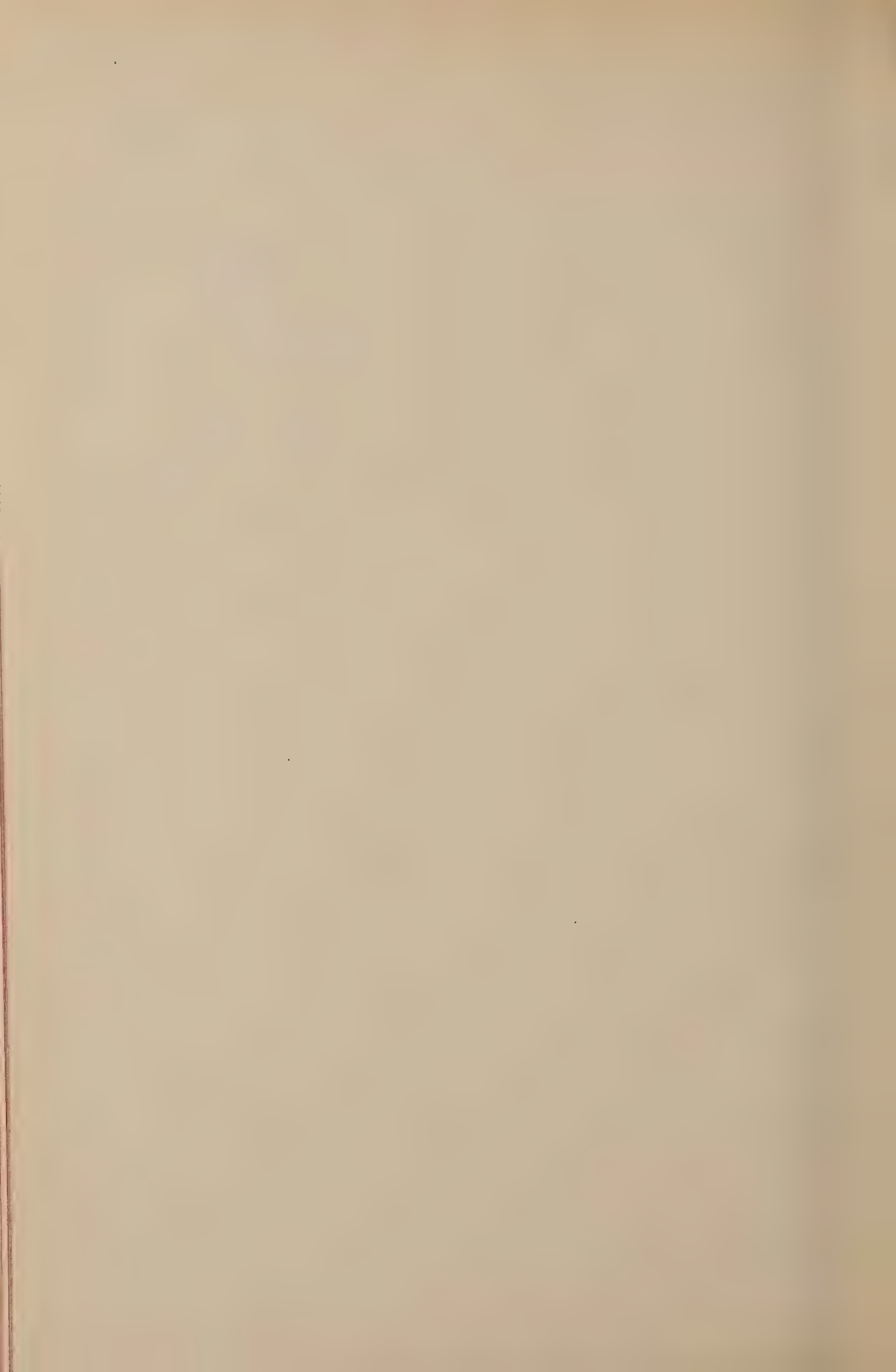
SIR THOMAS MORE AND HIS DAUGHTER MARGARET.

One of the most distinguished men connected with the reign of Henry VIII. was Sir Thomas More. For a long time he enjoyed the king's friendship, while honours were freely bestowed upon him. When Henry, however, determined to marry Anne Boleyn and divorce Catherine, no arguments could induce More to give his approval. He remained neutral, and resigned his office of chancellor. This attitude of opposition made the king furious, so that More was attainted of misprision of treason, and cast into the Tower. For thirteen months he remained in prison, for none of his friends could induce him to make concession to the king in opposition to his convictions. *Even his daughter Margaret, who visited him in the Tower, could not induce him to yield.* After this long imprisonment he was brought into Westminster Hall and tried for high treason. More was silent regarding the charges witnessed against him, and was sentenced to death. When told that the king had mercifully commuted the hanging, drawing, and quartering into simple beheading, he replied, "God preserve all my friends from such royal favours." And in this bright vein he went to the scaffold.



SIR THOMAS MORE AND HIS DAUGHTER MARGARET

THE LIFE OF SIR THOMAS MORE, BY JOHN RUSSELL, ESQ. VOL. I. LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, 1801.



turned towards the Kentish hills, among which he had passed so many happy and respected years. His body, by the king's orders, was exposed naked to the gaze of the populace, and then thrown into an humble grave in Barking church-yard, without coffin or shroud.¹ Such was the end of Henry's oldest friend—of an amiable and most accomplished man—of one of the most indefatigable restorers of ancient learning.

Without losing time, the ruthless king proceeded against Sir Thomas More. Archbishop Crammer, Cromwell, and others, had waited upon him several times in the Tower, with the object of winning him over, or inducing him to take the oath of supremacy, in order to save his life: but More, though he had sometimes shown a timidity of disposition, had now fully made up his mind to die rather than to act contrary to his conscience. Sharp interrogatories were ministered to him in his dungeon for the purpose of entrapping him. After many other questions, he was asked whether he would obey the king's highness as supreme head on earth of the Church of England, immediately under Christ; to this he said that he could make no answer. He was next asked whether he would consent and approve the king's highness' marriage with the most noble Queen Anne to be good and lawful, and affirm that the marriage with the Lady Catherine, princess-dowager, was, and is, unjust and unlawful; he replied, that he never did speak nor meddle against the same, but that he would make no further answer. Finally, they demanded whether he, being one of the king's subjects, was not bound to recognize the supremacy, as all other subjects were bound thereto by the statute; he replied again that he could make no answer.²

Before this he had said, in an affecting letter, "I am the king's true faithful subject and daily beadsman. I pray for his highness, and all his, and all the realm. I do nothing harm; I say no harm; I think none harm; and wish everybody good: and if this be not enough to keep a man alive, in good faith I long not to live. I am dying already; and since I came here have been divers times in the case that I thought to die within one hour. And, I thank our Lord, I was never sorry for it, but rather sorry when I saw the pang past; and, therefore, my poor body is at the king's pleasure. Would to God my death might do him good!"³ But this mixture of an almost heavenly meekness with an heroic firmness made no impression on the king, who was now drunk and mad with the heady spirit of absolutism. By his orders they had deprived that glorious wit and scholar of the sweet solace of his

books—Rich, the king's solicitor, having been sent to the Tower to take them all from him. Nay, they had even deprived him of pen, and ink, and paper. Some commiserating soul, however, put some scraps of paper in his way; and on such materials, and with a piece of charcoal, he wrote his last letter to his beloved child. At length, after a year's most trying imprisonment, he was brought out of the Tower, led on foot through the crowded streets to Westminster Hall, and there arraigned of high treason. He appeared in that court, where he had once presided as an upright judge, in a coarse woollen gown, bearing about him frightful evidences of a rigorous confinement. His hair had become white, his face was pallid and emaciated, and he was obliged to support himself on a staff. But the mind was much less bowed and bent, and some of his old wit and vivacity soon lighted up his sunken eye; and his vile judges—the slavish instruments of a despot—dreaded his eloquence, and the sympathy which the mere sight of him excited. They attempted to overpower and confound him with the length and wordiness of the indictment; but, after declining an offer of pardon upon condition of doing the king's will, he entered upon a clear and eloquent defence, stripping the clauses of their false coverings, and exposing them in their nakedness and nothingness. But his doom was fixed by those who had put themselves above all law or scruples of conscience. The infamous Rich, the solicitor-general, who was afterwards created Lord Rich, deposed that, in a private conversation he had had with the prisoner in the Tower, More said, "The parliament cannot make the king head of the church, because it is a civil tribunal without authority in spiritual matters." More denied that he had spoken these words; and he remarked upon the character which Rich had borne in the world, and which was so bad as to render even his oath unworthy of belief. Two witnesses were produced to support the charge made by Rich; but, in their case, conscience got the better of authority, and they declared that, though they were in the room, they did not pay attention to what was said. The judges, who were assisted by the Duke of Norfolk and other great men appointed by the king, laid it down as law that silence *was* treason, and the jury, without any hesitation, returned a verdict of guilty. When sentence had been pronounced, More rose to address the court: he was coarsely interrupted. He tried again, and was again interrupted; but on a third attempt he was allowed to proceed. He told them that what he had hitherto concealed he would now openly declare, and he boldly proclaimed that the oath of supremacy was utterly unlawful. He regretted to differ from the noble lords whom he saw on the bench, but his con-

¹ Cardinal Pole; Hall; Stowe; Fuller.

² State Papers, published by government.

³ Roper's Life of More, by Singer.

science would not permit him to do otherwise. He declared that he had no animosity against them, and that he hoped that, even as St. Paul was present and consented to the death of Stephen, and yet was afterwards a companion saint in heaven, so they and he should all meet together hereafter. "And so," he concluded, "may God preserve you all, and especially my lord the king, and send him good counsel!" As he moved from the bar his son rushed through the hall, fell upon his knees, and begged his blessing. With the axe turned towards him he walked back to the Tower, amid the great wonderment and commiseration of the citizens. On reaching the Tower-wharf his dear daughter, Margaret Roper, forced her way through the officers and halbardiers that surrounded him, clasped him round the neck, and sobbed aloud. Sir Thomas consoled her, and she collected sufficient power to bid him farewell for ever; but, as her father moved on, she again rushed through the crowd and threw herself upon his neck. Here the weakness of nature overcame him, and he wept as he repeated his blessing and his Christian consolation. The people wept too; and his guards were so much affected that they could hardly summon up resolution to separate the father and daughter. After this trial the bitterness of death was past. The old man's wit flashed brightly in his last moments. When told that the king had mercifully commuted the hanging, drawing, and quartering into simple decapitation, he said, "God preserve all my friends from such royal favours!" This happy vein accompanied him to the very scaffold. The frame-work was weak, and some fears were expressed lest the scaffold might break down. "Mr. Lieutenant," said More, "see me safe up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself." The executioner, as usual, asked forgiveness. "Friend," said More, "thou wilt render me to-day the greatest service in the power of man; but my neck is very short; take heed, therefore, that thou strike not awry, for the sake of the credit of thy profession." He was not permitted to address the spectators, but he ventured to declare that he died a faithful subject and a true Catholic. After prayers said he placed his head upon the block, but he bade the headsman hold his hand until he removed his beard, saying, with a smile, "My beard has never committed any treason." Then the blow fell, and the neck was severed at once. His head was picked up, and fixed upon London bridge.¹

More was executed on the 6th of July, the eve of St. Thomas, in the year 1535, fourteen days after the death of his friend Fisher. These de-

testable murders spread a panic through the nation; and the expression of the popular opinion, however timid and meek, went, with the workings of his own conscience, to increase the tyrant's jealousy and apprehension. In the month of August, Erasmus wrote to a friend that the English were now living in such a state of terror that they durst not write to foreigners or receive letters from them. In fact, in all foreign countries where civilization had made progress, the fate of Fisher, and still more of that admirable wit and scholar, the author of the *Eutopia*, excited universal execration; and there, at least, men could speak their minds loudly. The lofty eloquence of Cardinal Pole, and the classical point of Erasmus, recorded the crime, and their striking accounts were afterwards circulated throughout Europe, awakening everywhere a hatred of its brutal author.

We are told that Henry himself was disposed to throw the blame upon his wife Anne. When an account of More's execution was brought to him he was playing at tables with the queen; and (as this probable story goes) he looked sternly at her, and, after saying, "Thou art the cause of this man's death," withdrew, in evident perturbation, to the solitude of his chamber. At Rome both Fisher and More were considered as martyrs in the cause of the church; and as Henry had shown by many other measures that he was determined to keep no terms with the Papacy, on the 30th of August Paul III. put his hand to a bull which allowed him ninety days to repent and appear at Rome in person, or by proxy; and in case of default, pronounced him and all his fautors and abettors excommunicated—declared him to have forfeited his crown, and his children by Anne Boleyn, and their children, to be incapable of inheriting it. Going still further, the pope enjoined all Christian priests and monks whatsoever to quit Henry's dominions; absolved his subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and commanded them to take up arms against him. He also dissolved all Henry's treaties and alliances with Christian princes; prohibited all Christian nations from trading with England; and exhorted them to make war upon him until he should cease his schism and rebellion against the church. But it was deemed expedient to keep this thunder in reserve for the present, and so the pope suppressed the bull for a season. It was, however, known in England that the instrument had been drawn up; and this circumstance only exasperated the court and a large portion of the country. Henry was apprehensive of the power of the emperor; and he now opened negotiations with the Protestants of Germany, whose doctrines he had pronounced to be damnable.

¹ According to Stow, the body of Fisher was then "taken up and buried with Sir Thomas More, both in the Tower."—*Annals: More's Works; Erasmus; Epist. Pole; Stapleton; State Papers; State Trials.*

Henry soon found that his new quality of "supreme head" of the English church overburdened him with business; he, therefore, established a separate department or ministry for the conduct of church matters; and at the head of this he placed the bold and vigorous Cromwell, as "royal vice-gerent," "vicar-general," and "chief commissary," with all the spiritual authority belonging to the king. This was a strange office to be held by a layman; but Cromwell, without hesitation, attended convocations of the clergy, discussed questions of schism and heresy, and took precedence of the Archbishop of Canterbury among his own bishops. The clergy hated Cromwell, and Cromwell hated the clergy. At the same time many members of the monastic body, undeterred by the gallows at Tyburn, refused the oath of supremacy, and even ventured to attack the king from the pulpit. The exchequer also was very bare; and when the vicar-general proposed the abolition of certain monasteries, convents, and abbeys in England, and the seizure of all their property, he found a willing listener in the needy king. "Now it was that Cromwell invented an engine to batter the monks more forcibly than the former course of torture and hanging had done. He sent abroad subtle-headed fellows, who, warranted by the king's authority, should, throughout England, search into the lives and manners of religious persons;¹ for it was assumed, as a principle, that the vices of the monastic bodies not only justified, but imperiously called for their suppression. These commissioners were let loose in pairs to hunt every part of England wherein were monasteries, cells, priories, or any other religious houses. Their mission was called a visitation for the advancement of religion, and for the refor-

mation of discipline and manners; but where those who had to pass judgment were the very men to profit by finding the monks guilty, it was not likely that they would declare many of them innocent. From this sole consideration we must decide that the vices and irregularities of the monks and nuns were grossly exaggerated, and in some cases altogether invented, by the greedy agents of Cromwell. But at the same time every impartial mind will feel that there were certain vices, the inevitable consequence of a monastic system; and there are pretty good proofs to show that in some cases there existed irregularities and delinquencies at which humanity shudders. But still there were certain clauses in the instructions of the visitors, and in the inquiries they were ordered to make, which compel us to regard their reports with considerable doubt and suspicion. They were commanded, for example, to make all the monks and nuns renounce the authority of the pope, to take the oath of supremacy, and to swear to the succession of the king's children by Anne Boleyn; and we may be sure, that when a monastery or a convent showed scruples of conscience on these heads, their morals were not spared in the report² of the commissioners.³

A.D. 1536. Queen Catherine, "whom extremity of grief cast into disease," died at Kimbolton on the 8th of January, her last moments being most wretched. At the approach of death she repeated an earnest request—made many times before—that she might be permitted to see her daughter Mary once, at least, before she died; but her heartless husband refused even this favour.

It is said that Anne Boleyn exulted in the death of Catherine, proclaiming to her friends

¹ *Godwin.* ² *Lord Herbert; Godwin; Collier; Strype; Stow.*

³ "We must reject, in the excess of our candour, all testimonies that the middle ages present, from the solemn declarations of councils and reports of judicial inquiry, to the casual evidence of common fame in the ballad or romance, if we would extenuate the general corruption of those institutions. In vain new rules of discipline were devised, or the old corrected by reforms. Many of their worst vices grew so naturally out of their mode of life, that a stricter discipline could have no tendency to extirpate them. Such were the frauds I have already noticed, and the whole scheme of hypocritical austerities. Their extreme licentiousness was sometimes hardly concealed by the cowl of sanctity. I know not by what right we should disbelieve the reports of the visitation under Henry VIII., entering as they do into a multitude of specific charges, both probable in their nature, and consonant to the unanimous opinion of the world. Doubtless, there were many communities as well as individuals to whom none of these reproaches would apply. In the very best view, however, that can be taken of monasteries, their existence is deeply injurious to the morals of a nation. They withdraw men of pure conduct and conscientious principles from the exercise of social duties, and leave the common mass of human vice more unmixed. Such men are always inclined to form schemes of ascetic perfection which can only be fulfilled in retirement; but, in the strict rules of monastic life, and under the influence of a grovelling superstition, their virtue lost all

its usefulness. They fell implicitly into the snares of crafty priests, who made submission to the church not only the condition, but the measure of all praise."—*Hallam*, iii. 382.

After adducing some palpable proofs of the corruption of the monasteries, from among a mass of evidence, of which much is unfit to appear in print, Mr. Froude proceeds as follows:—"In reply to these and similar evidences of the state of the monasteries, it will be easy to say, that in the best ages there were monks impatient of their vows, and abbots negligent of their duties; that human weakness and human wickedness may throw a stain over the noblest institutions; that nothing is proved by collecting instances which may be merely exceptions, and that no evidence is more fallacious than that which rests upon isolated facts.

"It is true; and the difficulty is felt as keenly by the accuser who brings forward charges which it is discreditable to have urged, if they cannot be substantiated, as by those who would avail themselves of the easy opening to evade the weight of the indictment. I have to say only, that if the extracts which I have made lead persons, disposed to differ with me, to examine the documents which are extant upon the subject, they will learn what I have concealed as well as what I have alleged; and I believe that, if they begin the inquiry (as I began it myself) with believing that the poor monks have been over hardly judged, they will close it with but one desire—that the subject shall never more be mentioned."—*Froude, Hist. Eng.* ii. 428.

that she was now indeed a queen. But she herself was already doomed; for the king had cast his eyes on one of *her* maids of honour. It has been stated, that she accidentally discovered this secret by surprising Henry with the object



AN INTERIOR IN THE MARTEN TOWER.—From a drawing by J. W. Archer.

of his new passion seated on his knee, and that her agitation brought on a premature accouchement. On the 29th of January, twenty-one days after the death of Queen Catherine, Anne was delivered of a son—an event which Henry had so long and so impatiently desired; but the child was still-born. Upon May Day following there was a great entertainment in Greenwich Park, the king and



ANNE BOLEYN'S AUTOGRAPH.

queen being present, and the Viscount Rochford, Anne's brother, and Henry Norris, one of the grooms of the stole, being principal challengers in a tilting match which was going on very gaily. Suddenly the king rose and departed for London, having not above six persons with him. "Of this sudden departing many men roused, but most chiefly the queen, who, the

next day, was apprehended at Greenwich."² She was met upon the river by the Duke of Norfolk, Audley, the chancellor, and Cromwell, who informed her that she was accused of adultery. She fell on her knees, and exclaimed, wildly, "Oh, Lord, help me, as I am guiltless of that whereof I am charged." She was presently locked up in the Tower—though she knew it not, her brother, Viscount Rochford, and Henry Norris, were there before her—and she was soon followed to that dismal state-prison by Mark Smeaton, a musician, and William Brereton and Francis Weston, both gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. As if to finish the complete overthrow of her heart and intellect that had been sinking and wavering ever since her unfortunate accouchement, and the discovery which preceded it, they gave her for her prison the very chamber in which she had slept the night before her coronation, when the king and the nation seemed to be at her feet studying and striving how most they should honour her. On finding herself in this place she fell upon her knees, exclaiming, "Jesus have mercy on me!" and then she fell into a convulsive fit of weeping and laughing. As soon as she recovered some use of her reason, she began to ask a number of questions with great rapidity. "Wherefore am I here, Mr. Kingston?" she said to the lieutenant of the tower;—"When saw you the king?—Where is my sweet brother?—Oh, my mother, thou wilt die of sorrow!" At last she said, "I shall die without justice!" Kingston assured her that there was justice for the meanest subject in England; upon which she burst into loud laughter. This was the effect of insanity; but if she had been perfectly in her senses, a laugh would have been no improper reply to the lieutenant's assertion.

By orders of the king, Mrs. Cosen, Mrs. Boleyn, her own aunt, but her enemy, and one or two other female attendants, were left with her in the Tower, with instructions to note down all that she might say in her moments of agitation or despair; and to entrap her into confessions or admissions by putting leading questions to her. Mrs. Cosen asked her why Norris had said to her almoner on Saturday last, that he could swear to her being a good woman. She replied, "Marry, I bade him do so; for I asked him why he did not go through with his marriage; and he made answer that he would tarry a time. Then, said I, you look for dead men's shoes; for, if aught but good should come to the king, you would look to have me. He denied it; and I told him that I could undo him if I would." It is said that she appeared to be greatly alarmed as to Weston, because he had spoken to her about Norris' excessive admiration of her person. Mrs. Stoner,

¹ Anne Boleyn was confined in the Marten Tower. On the wall of a part of that tower now used as a lobby, and represented in the engraving, the autograph of her name is still to be seen. This autograph is represented separately.

² Hall.

another of the female attendants or spies, told her that Smeaton was treated with greater severity than the other prisoners, being put in irons: but to this she replied, that he was so treated *because he was not a gentleman born*; and she added, that Smeaton had never been in her chamber save once, when he went to play as a musician, and that she had never spoken to him since, until last Saturday, when she asked him why he looked so sad; and he replied that a look from her sufficed him. All this, with much more, was communicated to the king and the court lawyers. The habitual frankness of her disposition, and the distracted state to which she was now reduced, make it not improbable that she may have said some things which admitted of being turned against her; but, on the other hand, we must always suspect the subtle exaggerations of the court lawyers, and must remember that, even according to their showing, none of her words necessarily bore a more serious construction than that of imprudence, or over-familiarity with some of the courtiers—a result, in all probability, of her education in France, where such matters were not considered even indecorous. On the 6th of May Anne wrote to the king; but Henry paid as little attention to her touching appeal as he had formerly done to those made by Catherine—his whole soul was bent upon marrying another woman! Anne was sent back to Greenwich to be examined by the privy council, where she found her most determined enemy in her own uncle, the Duke of Norfolk. On her return to the Tower she told Kingston that she had been cruelly handled by the council. She was, however, very merry, and made a great dinner. She asked the lieutenant where he had been all the day, and Kingston replied that he had been with prisoners. This hard-hearted and stern man had been, no doubt, engaged with the Viscount Rochford, Norris, Brereton, and Smeaton; and there was much to do with them, in order to intimidate them, or otherwise prepare them for examination.

When brought before the council, they all maintained their innocence and the innocence of the queen, and were recommitted; but upon being brought up a second time, Mark Smeaton, the musician, who had been loaded with irons, and in all probability put to the torture, confessed his guilt. Edward Baynton wrote from Greenwich to tell the treasurer “that no man will confess anything against her, but only Mark, of any actual thing.” “Wherefore,” he continues, “in my foolish conceit, it should much touch the king’s honour if it should no farther appear; and I cannot believe but that the other two be as culpable as ever was he; and I think assuredly the one keepeth the other’s counsel.” On the

10th of May a bill of indictment of high treason against the Lady Anne, Queen of England, Henry Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeaton, was laid before the grand juries of Kent and Middlesex, because, as it was stated, the acts of adultery had been committed in both counties; *and because* it was the usual character of this court to invest the most illegal proceedings with all the forms and niceties of law. The indictment charged the queen with treason and adultery of three years’ standing, stating that, inflamed with pride and the lusts of the flesh, she had confederated with her brother the Viscount Rochford, and with Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeaton, to perpetrate divers abominable treasons; that she had lain with each of the five, not excepting her own brother, several times; that she had told each of them that she loved him better than the king or than any other man, which was slander of the issue begotten between her and the king; and finally—to end with the most improbable clause of all—that she and her paramours had been engaged in various plots for murdering the king. On the 12th of May, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeaton, as commoners, were arraigned in the Court of King’s Bench. As before the council, all pleaded not guilty, except Mark Smeaton, the musician; all, however, were convicted, and were sentenced as traitors to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Bishop Godwin relates that the king greatly favoured Norris, and was reported to be much grieved that he should die with the rest. “Whereupon he offered pardon to him, conditionally that he would confess that whereof he was accused. But he answered resolutely, and as it became the progenitor of so many valiant heroes,¹ that in his conscience he thought her guiltless of the objected crime; but whether she were or no, he could not accuse her of anything; and that he had rather undergo a thousand deaths than betray the innocent: upon relation whereof the king cried out, ‘Hang him up, then; hang him up, then!’”

There was no precedent for the trial of a queen, and Rochford, her brother, could claim the privilege, as a peer, of a trial before the House of Lords; but these impediments were trifles in the eyes of the absolute king, and it was determined that they should both be arraigned before a commission of lords chosen by himself, as had been practised with the late Duke of Buckingham. The Duke of Norfolk, Anne’s uncle and enemy, was named high-steward, and there were twenty-

¹ The son of Norris was ennobled in the reign of Elizabeth by the title of Baron Norris, which is still borne by his descendant the present Earl of Abingdon. Sir John Norris, a grandson of the first Baron Norris, greatly distinguished himself in the wars of Elizabeth’s reign in Ireland, the Low Countries, and elsewhere.

six other noble peers equally ready to do the king's pleasure. On the 15th of May the unhappy queen was led by the constable and lieutenant to the king's hall in the Tower, where a scaffold was erected, upon which, under a cloth of state, as High-steward of England, sat the Duke of Norfolk, with the lord-chancellor on his right hand, and the Duke of Suffolk on his left, with other marquises and lords about him—the highest-sounding names of the English aristocracy! As all records of the trial were carefully destroyed soon after, we have no sure guide as to what passed; nor, indeed, were those records preserved and entire, could we consider them in the light of fair and impartial evidence. It is the curse of all such men and measures, and properly so, that they are suspected even when they have truth and right on their side. On an impartial consideration of such facts as are before us, we cannot, however, believe that Anne Boleyn was guilty of any part of the crimes laid to her charge by the depraved imagination of Henry; and the plot to murder him seems too absurd to arrest attention for a single moment. In regard to the most revolting charge of all, it appears that Lord Rochford had been seen lolling over his sister's bed. But Henry had not a monopoly of vice and malignancy—the nobility were becoming worthy of the king; and Rochford's own wife, a woman of infamous character, bore witness against her husband and the queen. There was also a death-bed deposition made by the Lady Wingfield, but we have no means of judging how it was procured, or whether it was not a forgery; and the document itself has been destroyed with the exception of the first lines.

But the peers, among whom the Duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law, was chief—as one wholly applying himself to the king's humour—pronounced her guilty. Whereupon the Duke of Norfolk, bound to proceed according to the verdict of the peers, condemned her to death, either by being burned on the green in the Tower, or beheaded, as his majesty in his pleasure should think fit.¹ When she was removed from the bar, her brother, Lord Rochford, was put in her place—was convicted on the same evidence—and sentenced to lose his head, and to be quartered as a traitor. On the following day (the 16th of May) Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, wrote impatiently to Secretary Cromwell to know the king's pleasure touching the queen, as well for her comfort as for the preparation of scaffolds and other necessities, adding, "I pray you have good remembrance in all this for us to do, for we shall be ready to do always to our knowledge." He also informs Cromwell that the king's grace had showed him that my lord of Canterbury

should be her confessor, and that he, Cranmer, had been with the queen in the Tower that day. The mind of the wretched woman was evidently upset from the moment of her first committal; fits of anguish and despair were mixed with bright hopes and with bursts of levity—the most melancholy proof of her derangement. One hour she would say that she was ready to die—the next she would talk confidently of being allowed to live. If, in her sane moments, she really entertained any such hopes, they were soon put an end to; and as the crisis approached she looked on death without terror. On the 18th of May Kingston again addressed Cromwell, telling him that she had sent for him early in the morning, to speak touching her innocence (apparently in the presence of Cranmer), and that she had again sent for him while he was writing the same letter, and at his coming had exclaimed, "Mr. Kingston, I hear say I shall not die before noon, and I am very sorry therefor, for I thought to be dead by this time and past my pain." "I told her," continues the lieutenant of the Tower, "that it should be no pain, it was so subtle; and then, she said, 'I heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a little neck;' and she put her hands about it, laughing heartily. Truly this lady has much joy and pleasure in death." But she did not die that day. On the morrow, the 19th of May, a little before the hour of noon, she was brought to the place of execution, on the green within the Tower, some of the nobility and companies of the city being admitted, rather to be witnesses than spectators of her death. From the scaffold Anne addressed a few words to the "Good Christian people," and afterwards baring her beautiful neck, and kneeling down, kept repeating—"Christ have mercy on my soul!—Lord Jesus receive my soul!" until the executioner of Calais, at one blow, struck off her head. Thus perished Anne Boleyn within four months of Catherine, and in little more than three years after her marriage, for which the passionate Henry had moved heaven and earth.² An old tradition strongly depicts the impatience with which he now expected her death. On the fatal morning he went to hunt in Epping Forest, and while he was at breakfast his attendants observed that he was anxious and thoughtful. But at length they heard the report of a distant gun—a preconcerted signal. "Ah! it is done!" cried he, starting up—"the business is done! Uncouple the dogs and let us follow the sport."³ In the evening he returned gaily from the chase, and on the following morning he married Anne's maid of honour, Jane Seymour, who on Whit-

¹ *Original Letters* (printed by Sir Henry Ellis) as written at the moment by Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, Baynton, &c. *Hall; Stow; Godwin.*

² *Dr. Nott's Life of Surrey.*

³ *Godwin.*

sunday, the 29th of May, clad in royal habiliments, appeared in public as queen, without any coronation, however, for Henry never indulged



QUEEN JANE SEYMOUR.—After Holbein.

any of his wives with that expensive ceremony after Anne Boleyn.¹

Smeaton, the musician, who is supposed to have been bribed and tortured into his confession, seems to have expected that his life would be spared, and so much, no doubt, was promised to him; but, "as it was thought not fit to let him live to tell tales," he was hanged. Rochford and the rest were beheaded.

Archbishop Cranmer, who had made Anne Boleyn queen, and who had lived in the most perfect friendship with her and her family, both before and after, had not heroic courage sufficient to resist the will of the king; and he certainly made no bold and generous effort to save her or her honour. To avoid his interference, Henry, on the day after her arrest at Greenwich, ordered Cranmer to keep to his palace at Lambeth, and on no account to venture to court. The archbishop evidently fancied that he was to be involved in her ruin. His fears, however, did not wholly overcome his gratitude and affection, and he wrote a curious letter to the king. He began by exhorting his grace to bear this bitter affliction with

resignation. As for himself, his "mind was clean amazed;" the good opinion he had formerly entertained of the queen, who had been the best of his benefactors, prompted him to believe her innocent; but, as this was a dangerous assertion, he subjoined immediately, that his knowledge of the king's *justice* and prudence induced him to believe her *guilty*; and he went on to say that he hoped that it might be permitted him to pray that she might prove her innocence; but, still cautious, he here again added, that if she could not do so, he would deem that man a traitor who did not call for the severest punishment. He had loved her formerly, because he had thought that she loved the gospel; but if found guilty, men ought to hate her in proportion to their love of the gospel. He ventured, however, to hope that no misconduct on her part would arrest the important work of church reformation which (he did not blush to write) the king had begun, not through his affection for her, but solely out of his love for the truth. On the very day on which he wrote this letter Cranmer was summoned to the Star Chamber, where the king's commissioners declared unto him "such things as his grace's pleasure was they should make him privy to," and acquainted him with certain other things which the king expected him to do forthwith. A *brave* good man would have laid his head on the block rather than consent to this new duty, which was nothing less than to declare the marriage which he had pronounced good and valid to be illegal, and to dissolve it, as he had done the marriage with Catherine. Though she had not yet been brought to any trial, Cranmer may have been convinced of the queen's delinquency by depositions shown to him in the Star Chamber; and if he believed her guilty he might consider himself justified in declaring that the marriage was dissolved by her adultery; but this was not enough for the king, who exacted from him that he should declare that the marriage had been unlawful from the beginning, and consequently that the Princess Elizabeth was as illegitimate as her half-sister the Princess Mary. No doubt it was to save his head that the archbishop set to work vigorously, for Henry was not likely to be pleased unless he did the business in a solemn manner. He sent copies of articles of objection to the validity of

¹ Before the discovery of this proceeding (Lord Thomas Howard's contract of marriage with Lady Margaret Douglas), but in anticipation of inevitable intrigues of the kind, the privy council and the peers, on the same grounds which had before led them to favour the divorce from Catherine, petitioned the king to save the country from the perils which menaced it, and to take a fresh wife without an hour's delay. Henry's experience of matrimony had been so discouraging that they feared he might be reluctant to venture upon it again. Nevertheless, for his country's sake, they trusted that he would not refuse.

"Henry, professedly in obedience to this request, was married, immediately after the execution, to Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour. The indecent haste is usually considered a proof

entirely conclusive of the cause of Anne Boleyn's ruin. To myself, the haste is an evidence of something very different. Henry, who waited seven years for Anne Boleyn, was not without some control over his passions; and, if appetite had been the moving influence with him, he would scarcely, with the eyes of all the world fixed upon his conduct, have passed so gross an insult upon the nation of which he was the sovereign. The precipitancy with which he acted is to me a proof that he looked on matrimony as an indifferent official act which his duty required at the moment; and if this be thought a novel interpretation of his motives, I have merely to say that I find it on the statute book."—Froude's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 502.

the marriage to the king in his palace, and to the queen in the Tower, "that it might be for the salvation of their souls;" and he summoned each to appear in his ecclesiastical court at Lambeth, to show cause why a sentence of divorce should not be passed. Dr. Sampson appeared for the king, and Drs. Wotton and Barbour for the queen—of course all three were appointed by the king. The objections were read in the court, and the doctors and divines soon joined in opinion. On the 17th of May, the day on which her brother and friends were executed, and two days after she herself had received sentence of death, Cranmer, having "God alone before his eyes," pronounced that the marriage of Anne Boleyn was, and always had been, utterly null and void, in consequence of certain just and lawful impediments which, it was said, were unknown at the time of the union, but had lately been confessed to the archbishop (Cranmer) by the lady herself. The process, after Anne's death, was submitted to the members of the convocation and the two houses of parliament; and the church, commons, and lords fully confirmed it, thus cutting Elizabeth off from the succession.¹

In the month of June the king caused parliament to agree to a new act of succession, entailing the crown on such issue as he might have by

Jane Seymour. Having some doubt or misgiving as to these children to be begotten, he proposed that he should be allowed to bequeath the crown by letters-patent, or by his last will, to any person whom he might think proper; and the obsequious parliament passed a bill accordingly! It was understood that the king hereby contemplated the appointing of his natural son, the Duke of Richmond, to be his successor; but at this very moment the duke died, in the eighteenth year of his age, to the great grief of Henry, who, like a very Turk, had no affection for his daughters, but a great deal for his son. The Lady Mary, who had been living in seclusion at Hunsden, under the displeasure of her father for her attachment to her mother, and to the discipline of the Romish church, made her peace with the court a few weeks before the Duke of Richmond's death, being obliged by Cromwell to subscribe to certain most humiliating articles of submission and acknowledgment.² She received a suitable establishment, but was not restored in blood—still remaining by law a bastard.

The parliament, which by successive prorogations had sat for the unprecedented term of six years, was now dissolved; and Henry, after all their passive obedience, seems to have been disgusted at some feeble effort at opposition.³ He

¹ Lord Herbert; Journals; Godwin; Wilkins; Burnet. Burnet gives the whole of Cranmer's strange letter to the king.

² After imploring the king's merciful heart and fatherly pity, Mary acknowledged that she had most unkindly and most unaturally offended his most excellent highness, in that she had not been sufficiently obedient to his just, wise, and most virtuous laws. Then followed the confession "of me, the Lady Mary." First she confessed and acknowledged the king's majesty to be her sovereign lord and king, to whose laws, statutes, &c., she was bound to yield implicit obedience. In the second place she agreed to recognize, accept, take, repute, and acknowledge the king's highness to be supreme head of the Church of England; and she utterly renounced all manner of remedy which she by any means might claim of the Bishop of Rome, &c. But the last clause is by far the most striking of all:—"Item, I do freely, frankly, and for the discharge of my duty towards God, the king's highness, and his laws, without other respect recognize and acknowledge that the marriage heretofore had between his majesty and my mother, the late princess-dowager, was, by God's law and man's law, incestuous and unlawful."—Letter with Deed, from the Princess Mary to the king, in *State Papers*.

³ This parliament is remarkable for the act incorporating Wales with England.

"As Henry was descended from the Tudors, a Welsh family, he naturally directed his attention to the native country of his paternal ancestors. It might be divided into two portions—that which had been originally conquered by the arms of his predecessors; and that which had been won by the courage and perseverance of the individuals afterwards called the lord-marchers. The former had been apportioned into shires, and was governed by the laws of England; the latter comprised 141 districts or lordships, which had been granted to the first conquerors, and formed so many distinct and independent jurisdictions. From them the king's writs and the king's officers were excluded. They acknowledged no other laws or customs than their own. The lords, like so many counts-palatine, had their own courts, civil and criminal, appointed their own officers and judges, punished or pardoned offences according to their pleasure, and received all the emoluments arising from the administration of justice within their respective domains. But the

great evil was that this multitude of petty and separate jurisdictions, by holding out the prospect of impunity, proved an incitement to crime. The most atrocious offender, if he could only flee from the scene of his transgression, and purchase the protection of a neighbouring lord, was sheltered from the pursuit of justice. . . .

"The king, however, put an end to this mischievous and anomalous state of things. In 1536, it was enacted that the whole of Wales should thenceforth be united and incorporated with the realm of England; that all the natives should enjoy and inherit the same rights, liberties, and laws which were enjoyed and inherited by others the king's subjects; that the custom of gavel-kind should cease; that the several lordships-marchers should be annexed to the neighbouring counties; that all judges and justices of the peace should be appointed by the king's letters-patent; that no lord should have the power to pardon any treason, murder, or felony, committed within his lordship; and that the different shires in Wales, with one borough in each, should return members to parliament. Most of these regulations were extended to the county-palatine of Chester."—*Lingard*.

Sir James Mackintosh, it will be seen, viewed this as a general benefit to the English constitution.

"Some direct benefits the constitution owes to this reign. The act which established parliamentary representation in so considerable a territory as Wales, may be regarded as the principal reformation in the House of Commons since its legal maturity in the time of Edward I. That principality had been divided into twelve shires, of which eight were ancient, and four owed their origin to a statute in Henry's reign. Knights, citizens, and burgesses were now directed to be chosen, and sent to parliament, from the shires, cities, and boroughs of Wales. A short time before, the same privileges were granted to the county-palatine of Chester, of which the preamble contains a memorable recognition and establishment of the principles which are the basis of the elective part of our constitution. Nearly thirty members were thus added to the house on the principle of the Chester bill—that it is disadvantageous to a province to be unrepresented; that representation is essential to good government; and that those who are bound by the laws ought to have a reasonable share of direct influence on the passing of laws. As the

now named commissioners to take possession of the suppressed monasteries, and to prepare measures for the seizure of others. If these men, mostly the friends of Cromwell or of Cranmer, had a better religion before their eyes, they certainly were not blind to the charms of lucre, and the temptations of fair houses and fat glebes; and most of them made a very rich harvest for themselves out of the spoils of the monks and nuns. The superiors of the suppressed houses were promised small pensions for life, which were very irregularly paid.¹ All the monks, not twenty-four years of age, were absolved from their vows, and turned loose on the world without any kind of provision: the rest, if they wished to continue in the profession, were divided among the greater houses that were still left standing. The poor nuns were turned adrift to beg or starve, having nothing given to them save one common gown for each. At the same time the crowds of poor who, by a defective but ancient system, had derived their support from the monastic establishments, became furious at finding their resources cut off, and at seeing the monks who had fed them now begging like themselves by the roadside. In the midst of these general discontents, Cranmer and Cromwell issued certain doctrinal injunctions to the clergy, which were too novel to find immediate favour with the multitude; and certain Protestant reformers, who had more courage than they, ventured to print books against image-worship, auricular confession, transubstantiation, and other fundamental tenets and practices of the Roman church. The king, who assumed all the authority in matters of dogmas that had ever been claimed by the popes, and much more than they had ever put in practice in England, pronounced awards and sentences which irritated both parties alike, and all these questions were referred to him—thus occupying a good deal of his time, and keeping in dangerous activity his old polemical bile.

Henry was by no means backward in issuing his final orders and decrees spiritual; and (the Reformers herein concealing their ulterior views) he was led to reduce the number of sacraments from seven to three—baptism, the Lord's Supper, and penance; to forbid the direct adoration of

images; to abrogate a number of saints' days or holidays, especially such as fell in harvest-time; to declare the Scriptures, with the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian creeds, the sole standards of faith; to order every parish priest to expound these to his parishioners in plain English, and to direct the printing and distribution of an English translation of the Bible, one copy of which was to be kept in every parish church. The king, in his wisdom, insisted on the necessity of auricular confession, and denounced any questioning of the real presence in the eucharist as a damnable heresy to be punished with fire and fagot. Purgatory, he confessed, puzzled him, and steering a middle course, he declared himself to be uncertain on this head, and kindly permitted his subjects to pray for the souls of their departed friends, provided only that they fell into none of the old abuses of enriching religious houses and shrines for this object.

Most of these changes were far too sudden; but the people seem to have more particularly regretted the curtailing of their holidays. Many of the nobility and gentry fanned the flames of discontent, though, for the most part, they afterwards found means of convincing the king that they had acted under compulsion of the people. The hereditary patrons of the suppressed monasteries pretended that those houses and lands ought by no means to fall to the crown, but that, if it was suitable and necessary to take them from the religious orders, they ought to revert to the descendants or representatives of the original founders and benefactors. In the month of October the commons of Lincolnshire, being assembled touching certain subsidies to be paid to the king, suddenly, as if animated by one spirit, took up arms to the number of 20,000 men, forcing certain lords and gentlemen to be their leaders, and to swear to their articles. Such as refused they threw into prison, and a few they killed. The king sent a great force against these rebels, under the command of the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Rutland, and Huntingdon, and the Duke of Suffolk—the last having the highest authority. Suffolk found the insurrection so formidable, that, instead of fighting, he was glad to negotiate; and even the king himself, furious as

practical advantages are only generally alleged, and could scarcely have been proved, they must have been inferred from the nature of a House of Commons. The British constitution was not thought to be enjoyed by a district till a popular representation was bestowed upon it. Election by the people was regarded, not as a source of tumult, but as the principle most capable of composing disorder in territories not represented."—Sir James Macintosh, *History of England*.

¹ "The pensions to the superiors of the dissolved greater monasteries, says a writer not likely to spare Henry's government, appear to have varied from £266 to £6 per annum. The priors of cells received generally £18. A few, whose services merited the distinction, obtained £20. To the other monks were allotted pensions of £6, £4, or £2, with a small sum

to each at his departure, to provide for his immediate wants. The pensions to nuns averaged about £4.—(*Lingard*, vi. 341.) He admits that these were ten times their present value in money; and surely they were not unreasonably small. Compare them with those generally and justly thought munificent, which this country bestows on her veterans of Chelsea and Greenwich. The monks had no right to expect more than the means of that hard fare to which they ought, by their rules, to have been confined in their convents. The whole revenues were not to be shared among them as private property. It cannot of course be denied that the compulsory change of life, was to many a severe and unmerited hardship; but no great revolution—and the Reformation as little as any—could be achieved without much private suffering."—Hallam's *Const. Hist. Eng.*, note, p. 72.

he was, seems to have been more willing to rely on his pen than on his sword. By entertaining the proposal of a redress of grievances; by forwarding their petition to court: and by giving them fair promises, Suffolk stayed the first dangerous fury of the insurgents, gained time, and promoted dissensions among them; so that when Henry answered them, he was enabled to do so in a high tone. "The king," says an historian, who lived in servile times, "had a spirit befitting his greatness; and, perceiving them to shrink, could not dissemble the rage he had conceived at the presumption of this rascally rout, that durst capitulate with their sovereign, and seek to curb the unlimited power of kings."¹ Henry's answer "to the petitions of the traitors and rebels in Lincolnshire" has been preserved; and a most characteristic document it is! It ended by requiring them to deliver up into the hands of his lieutenants no fewer than 100 persons, to be punished according to their demerits, at his will and pleasure.² The insurgents, however, did not disperse till the 30th of October; and before they retired to their homes a fierce rebellion broke out beyond the Trent. Of the men of Lincolnshire, fifteen victims were given up to satisfy the royal vengeance. Among these were holy Dr. Makerel, the prior of Barlings, or Oxley, and Captain Cobbler, the chief leader, who is said by some historians to have been the prior himself, though it is conjectured, from a contemporary paper, that the real name of this Captain Cobbler was Melton.³ These men were respited for a season, but they were afterwards executed as traitors with the usual barbarity. But Henry's thirst of blood grew with his years. On the 9th of October a priest and a butcher were hanged at Windsor by martial law, "for words spoken" about the insurgents. At the same time, Dr. Mallet, who had been chaplain to the late Queen Catherine, was summarily executed at Chelmsford, in Essex, for some words spoken to the like effect.⁴ Meanwhile the insurrection north of the Trent spread from Yorkshire into Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire; and nothing seemed wanting but a proper leader to overthrow this most tyrannical government. Henry was greatly alarmed; but he told Wriothesley that he would rather sell all his plate than fail to subdue these traitors "in such sort that all others should take warning by their example."

Some money was sent to the Earl of Suffolk,

who was now at Newark, and who made a good use of it in buying over some of the ringleaders, and in exciting jealousies and dissensions among the ignorant insurgents. The Earl of Shrewsbury was constituted the king's lieutenant north of the Trent; and the Duke of Norfolk was despatched into Yorkshire, with the Marquis of Exeter, and an army of 5000 men. Including all the forces, there was a regular army of about 10,000 men in the field; but the rebels at one time were estimated at 40,000, being under the nominal command of Robert Aske, a gentleman of Yorkshire, who was not destitute either of talent or of energy. These men of the north had given a religious character to their rising, and had bound themselves by oath to stand by each other "for the love which they bore to Almighty God, his faith, the holy church, the king's person, and the persons of the nobility, to expel all villain blood and evil counsellors from the privy council, not for any private profit, nor to do displeasure to any private person, nor to slay or murder through envy, but for the restitution of the church, and the suppression of heretics and their opinions." They painted on their banners the figure of Christ in his agony; they wore upon their sleeves the emblem of the



EMBLEM OF THE FIVE WOUNDS OF CHRIST.—From a boss in the Lady Chapel, Tynemouth Priory.

five wounds of the Saviour, with the name of Jesus; and they called their march the "Pilgrimage of Grace." Wherever they advanced they restored the monks and nuns to their houses; and by tremendous threats they compelled the people to take their oaths and join their ranks. Every man was summoned to be at a place of rendezvous at a fixed hour, and in his best array, as he would answer for it before the High Judge at the day of doom, as he would avoid the pulling down of his house, the loss of his goods, and the destruction of his body. The cities of Hull, York, and Pontefract admitted the "Pilgrims

¹ Bishop Godwin.

² *State Papers*. This remarkable paper is alluded to by Lord Herbert, and given at length by Hall. It is printed in the volume of the *State Papers* from the minute, corrected by Lord Cromwell, which remains among the miscellaneous papers in the Chapter-house. The hand and style of the king are most visible in the composition.

³ Note by the editor of *State Papers*.

⁴ *Stow*.

of Grace," and took the vows. The Lords Darcy, Lumley, Latimer, and Nevil, together with Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, with a vast number of the knights and gentlemen of the northern counties, joined the insurgents; but the tremendous threats favoured their pleading afterwards that they had done so upon compulsion. The undisciplined host was amenable to no authority, and there arose many conflicting opinions as to the proper mode of conducting their campaign. It is also very evident that some of their chiefs were already bought by Suffolk, for there was much difference of opinion and contention in the camp. When they moved upon Doncaster they were checked by the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Duke of Norfolk. The royal army, however, readily agreed to an armistice, during which the insurgents named delegates, who laid their demands before the king, who, in the meantime, had sent more money to the Duke of Suffolk.¹ The king also despatched the Lord-admiral Howard, and other soldiers and statesmen, to the north, with most elaborate instructions as to the way in which they were to proceed with the rebels. They were particularly charged to withdraw all fear of punishment from the Lord Darcy and the rest of the nobility that had joined the people; to offer them safe-conducts for the present, and a free pardon for the future.²

The paper presented by the northern delegates was longer than that which had been sent up by the men of Lincolnshire, but the chief grounds of complaint were the same in both. The most striking of the additional clauses (to some of which Henry deigned not to reply) were that the heresies of Wycliffe, Huss, Luther, Melancthon, and others, should be rooted out, and that all heretical books whatsoever should be utterly destroyed; that the supremacy of the church, inasmuch as related to the care of souls, should be restored to the pope, who should have the consecration of bishops, with the first-fruits and tenths, as formerly; that the Lady Mary should be declared legitimate, and the statutes to the contrary annulled; that the pains and penalties against such as kept hand-guns and crossbows should be repealed, unless used in the king's parks and forests upon his royal deer; that parliament should be restored to its ancient privileges, and that the manner of conducting the elections of knights of the shire and members for boroughs should be reformed; that the cruel statute of treason for words spoken should be abrogated, and that the common law should be used as it was in the beginning of his grace's reign. Henry himself dic-

tated the answer. Touching the maintenance of the faith, he says, he marvels not a little that ignorant people like them should go about, or take upon them to instruct him, "who something had been noted to be learned." As for the maintenance of the church, this was so general a proposition that, without distinctions made as to which was the real and true church, no man could answer it; but he told them that, mean what church they might, it pertained not to them, the commons, to meddle in the matter, and that he could not but reckon it a great unkindness and unnaturalness in them to prefer that a churl or two should enjoy the property of the monasteries in support of vicious and abominable lives, rather than that he, their prince, should have the profits, for the support of his extreme charges incurred in their defence. In the end, he told them that the greatest concession he could make was, to pardon them their rebellion upon their delivering up to him "ten of their ringleaders and provokers, such as he should name and appoint."³ The insurgents rejected these terms, and kept the field; nor did the royal army consider itself strong enough to hazard a battle. Henry was put to his straits in order to send £6000 more to the north; and the Duke of Norfolk and the lord-admiral were ordered to look after and fortify the fords of the Don, the works at Nottingham, and the bridges and fords there. By this time it was the 21st of November; the weather was cold and stormy, and the rebels began to feel an anxiety to return to their agricultural labours. The Duke of Norfolk, however, was again glad to negotiate, and he made more promises than the king would ratify. The insurgents now became furious, and the royal army was compelled to retreat to the south of the Don and the Trent. At last Norfolk was authorized to give such assurances to the rebels as induced them to separate; and the king wrote gracious letters to his "trusty and well-beloved" Captain Aske, Lord Darcy, and others, expressing his earnest desire to see and converse with them, trusting that they were in heart repentant, and that he should have cause to reward them for their fidelity. They were both wise enough to decline the invitation; but Aske, it should seem, really undertook to oppose, if not to betray his party.⁴

A.D. 1537. As early as the 23d of January, bills and scrolls were stuck up, by night, upon the church doors, containing these words:—"Commons, be ye true among yourselves, and stick one to another, for the gentlemen have deceived you; but yet, if need be, ye

¹ The sum sent at this time amounted to about £10,000, and Wriothesley, in the name of the king, thanked Cromwell for the "great labours and travails" he had taken in the getting of this together.—*State Papers*.

² Letter of the king.—*State Papers*.

³ *State Papers*; from a fair copy preserved in the Chapter-house. The letter is supposed to be in the handwriting of Sir Ralph Sadler, but there are a few minute corrections in the king's hand.

⁴ *State Papers*.

shall lack no captains." In spite of all the efforts made to produce a lukewarmness or desire of division among the people, they met in arms in the beginning of February. But most of their leaders had bargained to betray them; the royal army was reinforced, and admitted into the heart of the country, and, after failing in three or four sieges of towns or castles, the insurgents were disheartened and again dispersed—every man doubting of the good faith of his captain, and looking only to the preservation of his own life. The Lord Darcy, Robert Aske, and most of the original leaders, not excepting those who had betrayed the cause, were taken, sent to London, and there ordered for execution as traitors in the month of June.¹ The king's banner was unfolded; martial law was proclaimed in all the northern counties; and Henry wrote minute instructions to the Duke of Norfolk, fearing that that nobleman might be too lenient. "Our pleasure is," saith the king, "that before you shall close up our said banner again, you shall in anywise cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village, and hamlet, as have offended in this rebellion as well by the hanging them up in trees as by the quartering of them, and the setting of their heads and quarters in every town, great and small, and in all such other places, as they may be a fearful spectacle to all other hereafter that would practise any like matter, which we require you to do, without pity or respect, according to our former letters."² The monks had stood too conspicuously in the van to escape his vengeance; and after naming some of them whom he wishes to be sent up to him with all speed, he adds:—"And forasmuch as all these troubles have ensued by the solicitations and traitorous conspiracies of the monks and canons of those parties (parts), we desire and pray you, at your repair to Sawley, Hexham, Newminster, Lannercost, St. Agatha, and all such other places as have made any manner of resistance, or in anywise conspired, or kept their houses with any force since the appointment at Doncaster, you shall, without pity or circumstance, now that our banner is displayed, cause all the monks and canons that be in anywise faulty to be tied up without further delay or ceremony, to the terrible example of others, wherein we think you shall do unto us high service."³ When the north had been converted into a shambles, and the pleasant

banks of the Tweed, the Tyne, the Tees, the Don, and the Trent, were loathsome with the number of ghastly heads and reeking members, a pardon was proclaimed; and the king felicitated himself and his ministers on the wholesome vigour of government.

It is now time to allude to Cardinal Pole, the man that threw the greatest bitterness into the cup of the absolute Henry, and that recorded his infamy in strains of eloquence which the world could not forget. Reginald Pole was the son of Sir Richard Pole, by Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, daughter to George, Duke of Clarence, the unfortunate brother of Edward IV. He was thus second cousin to the king, and Henry, allowing the claim of consanguinity, and being charmed with the abilities of his young relative, patronized and protected him, allowing him a handsome pension, upon which he studied and lived



CARDINAL POLE.—After Sebastian del Piombo.

a considerable number of years in the universities of France and Italy. The king had been disposed to confer upon him the richest promotion in his dominions, but he exacted in return that the eloquent churchman should defend his divorce from Catherine, his assumption of supremacy, and all his other extreme measures; and this Pole was too high-minded to undertake. After several negotiations they quarrelled out-

¹ They were attainted in the court of the lord high-steward. Lord Darcy was not sent back from London, but was executed at Tower-hill; Aske was sent down to York, and executed there; Constable suffered at Hull; Lord Hussey at Lincoln; and other leaders of less name at other places.

² *State Papers.*

³ *State Papers.* The pleasing prospect of blood did not blind the king to the charms of confiscation and forfeiture. In the

same letter to Norfolk, he says: "We desire and pray you to have good respect to the conservation of the lands and goods of all such as shall be now attainted, that we may have them in safety, to be given, if we shall be so disposed, to such persons as have truly served us; for we be informed that there were amongst them divers freeholders and rich men, whose lands and goods well looked unto will reward others well, that, with their truths, have deserved the same."

right, and, on Henry's rupture with the church, Pole declined all preferment in England, and, retiring to the north of Italy, he assailed the king both with argument and most stinging invective. He spread the infamy of the murder of Sir Thomas More through all Europe: his great work, entitled *De Unione Ecclesiastica* (On Ecclesiastical Union), was the best defence of the rights of the Romish church; and, even where it failed in argument, it touched the king to the quick, by exposing the baseness and the selfishness of his motives. Paul III. invited this noble English champion to Rome. For awhile Reginald Pole hesitated, for he feared what might befall his friends and relatives in England; but at last, in the end of 1536, he repaired to the Vatican, entered into the pope's service, and received a cardinal's hat. This was at the very moment that the insurrection was raging in the northern counties. The pope, it appears, thought that this demonstration would terrify Henry into a reconciliation with the church; but, if it failed to do this, the occasion would be most favourable for extending his protection to the monks and their party, and for shaking the king on his throne. He named Cardinal Pole legate beyond the Alps, and intrusted him with extraordinary powers. Intimidated by the threats of his loving cousin of England, who had requested him to arrest the cardinal and deliver him up, Francis refused to see Pole on his passage through France, and on reaching Cambrai he was denied permission to enter the territory of the Emperor Charles. The cardinal had been supplied with money to remit to the insurgents, and he was instructed to treat with some of the neighbouring princes, who were supposed by the court of Rome to be likely to exert themselves in the

cause of the Catholic faith, and to support the rebels in England, notwithstanding the dangerous precedent that would be thereby established; but the insurrection was suppressed before Pole reached the frontiers of Flanders, and he soon found that his own person was in danger from the far-reaching hands of Henry, who proclaimed him a traitor, and offered 50,000 crowns to any man that should bring him his head; while his minister, the indefatigable Cromwell, vowed that he would make the cardinal eat his own heart through vexation! Pole was thus reduced to study how he should save his own life; and, being unable to hold any communication with England, or to do anything in behalf of the church, he returned to Rome in the month of August, being followed across the Alps by the loud curses of the king.¹

On the 12th of October, Jane Seymour gave birth, at Hampton Court, to a son, and died twelve days after.² The king's joy at having an heir-male seems to have been greater than his grief for the loss of his wife; and the infant Edward, who succeeded him on the throne, was immediately created Prince of Wales,³ Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester—his maternal uncle, Edward Seymour, being made Lord Beauchamp and Earl of Hereford. "Then also William Paulet and John Russell began their races in the lists of honour, Paulet being made treasurer, and Russell comptroller of the king's household, and both being sworn of the privy council: neither was here their *non ultra*, the one being afterwards raised to Lord-treasurer of England and Marquis of Winchester, the other, Russell, to be Earl of Bedford." These latter promotions, however, did not take place till the next reign.⁴

¹ Pole, *Epist.*; Burnet.

² The story, so long told in all histories, of Prince Edward's being brought into the world by means of the Cæsarean operation, and by the sacrifice of his mother's life, is a complete fable, that seems to have first proceeded from the fertile imagination of Sanders, the Jesuit. Jane Seymour's death was owing to her having been suffered to take cold and eat improper food.—See *State Papers* (Despatch to the Ambassador in France).

³ Such is the common account (see Nicolas, *Synopsis of the Peerage*, i. 7). Edward, however, tells us himself, in his jour-

nal, that he was only about to be created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Count-palatine of Chester, when his father died. Burnet (*Hist. Reformation*) says that Henry, towards the end of his life, designed to create his son Prince of Wales; for though he was called so, as the heirs of this crown are, yet he was not by a formal creation invested with that dignity. The formal creation designed by Henry seems to have been a solemn coronation of his son, somewhat similar to what took place in the case of Prince Henry, the eldest son of Henry II.

⁴ *Bishop Godwin.*

CHAPTER VII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1537–1543.

HENRY VIII.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1509—DEATH, A.D. 1547.

Selfish zeal of Henry VIII. for reformation in religion—Trial and sentence on the bones of Thomas à Becket—Spoliation of monasteries—Effects of this havoc on religion and learning—Effects on national industry and comfort—Henry's indiscriminate persecutions—The pope endeavours to promote a crusade against Henry—The relations of Cardinal Pole persecuted—Execution of the Countess of Salisbury—Henry's attempts to reconcile and rule Papists and Protestants—He holds a disputation for the purpose—He enacts the Six Articles—Cromwell negotiates the marriage of Henry with Anne of Cleves—Henry's aversion to his new bride—He falls in love with Lady Catherine Howard—Cromwell arrested and imprisoned—Henry marries Catherine Howard—His repudiation of Anne of Cleves—Cromwell executed—Executions of Papists and Protestants—Catherine Howard accused of adultery—Cranmer's account of her examination in prison—Attempts made to extort a confession of her guilt—Her trial, and the charges brought against her—Declarations of witnesses—Mean conduct of the Duke of Norfolk during her trial—Catherine Howard executed—Absurd law enacted after her execution—Henry's arbitrary proceedings in religion—His regulations for the government of Wales—Condition of Ireland at this period—Rebellion of the Fitzgeralds—Its treacherous suppression—It is succeeded by that of Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh—Disquietude of Henry's government by Irish insurrections—He resolves to elevate Ireland from a lordship into a kingdom.



MEANWHILE "the king continued much prone to reformation, especially if anything might be gotten by it."¹ Nothing was more easy than to prove that all the monastic orders had been engaged in the late insurrection; and as many of the richest abbeys and priories remained as yet untouched, there was no want of wise counsellors, anxious to share in the spoils, to recommend the suppression of all of them. In some cases, out of a dread of martial law, or what was equally bad, a prosecution for high treason, the abbots surrendered, gave, and granted their abbeys unto the king, his heirs and assigns for ever; but still many replied, like the prior of Henton, in Somersetshire, "that they would not be light and hasty in giving up those things which werc not theirs to give, being dedicated to Almighty God, for service to be done to his honour continually, with other many good deeds of charity which be daily done in their houses to their Christian neighbours."² These recusants were treated with great severity. The prisons were crowded with priors and monks, who died so rapidly in their places of confinement as to excite a dreadful suspicion.

Without waiting for a needless act of parliament, the king suppressed many other houses, and soon after, with the full consent of lords and commons, finished this business by seizing all the abbeys without exception, and all the rest of the religious houses, except a very few, which were spared at the earnest petition of the people, or given up to the representatives of their original founders. Before proceeding to the final

suppression, under pretext of checking the superstitious worshipping of images, he had laid bare their altars and stripped their shrines of everything that was valuable; nor did he spare the rich coffins and the crumbling bones of the dead. At the distance of 400 years, exasperated at that extraordinary man's opposition to the royal prerogative, he determined to have vengeance upon the bones and relics of Thomas à Becket. The martyr's tomb was broken open, and, by an insane process, worthy of a Nero or a Caligula, a criminal information was filed against him as "Thomas Becket, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury," and he was formally cited to appear in court and answer to the charges. Thirty days were allowed the saint, but we need scarcely inform our readers that his dishonoured bones rested quietly at Canterbury, and did not appear to plead in Westminster Hall. We have repeatedly noticed Henry's nice attention to the forms of law and justice: on the present occasion, when Becket might have been declared contumacious, and have had judgment passed against him for default of appearance, the king, by his special grace, assigned him counsel to plead for him. With due solemnity the court opened its proceedings on the 11th of June, 1539. The attorney-general eloquently exposed the case for the prosecution; and the advocates of the saint, who no doubt spoke less boldly, were heard in defence: and that being over, sentence was pronounced that Becket had been guilty of rebellion, treason, and contumacy; that his bones should be burned as a lesson to the living not to oppose the royal will; and that the rich offerings with which many generations of men, native and foreign, had enriched his shrine should be forfeited to the crown

¹ Bishop Godwin.² Ellis' *Original Letters*.

as the personal property of the traitor. In the month of August, Cromwell, who must have smiled at the course pursued, sent down some of his commissioners to Canterbury, who executed their task so well that they filled two immense coffers with gold and jewels, each of them so heavy that it required eight strong men to lift it. A few months after the king, by proclamation, stated to his people that, forasmuch as it now clearly appears Thomas Becket had been killed in a riot provoked by his own obstinacy and insolence, and had been canonized by the Bishop of Rome merely because he was a champion of that usurped authority, he now deemed it proper to declare that he was no saint whatever, but a rebel and traitor to his prince, and that therefore he, the king, strictly commanded that he should not be any longer esteemed or called a saint—that all images and pictures of him should be destroyed—and that his name and remembrance should be erased out of all books, under pain of his majesty's indignation, and imprisonment at his grace's¹ pleasure.²

Other shrines had been plundered before, and certain miraculous images and relics of saints had been broken in pieces of St. Paul's Cross, and the machinery exposed by which some of the monks had deluded the superstitious people; but now every shrine was laid bare, or, if any escaped, it was owing to the poverty of their decorations and offerings. Hitherto Henry had burned the Reformers, and hanged the Catholics; but, on the 22d of May (1539), a monk was hanged up by the arm-pits, and underneath him a fire was made, "wherewith he was slowly burned." There was a pulpit erected near the stake, from which Hugh Latimer, now Bishop of Worcester, preached a sermon; and there was also a scaffold in the centre, for the accommodation of the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Lord-admiral Howard, the lord privy-seal (Cromwell), and divers others of the council, together with Sir Richard Gresham, lord-mayor, and many citizens. By frequent spectacles like these was the mind of England brutalized to a degree scarcely ever seen before!³

In the final seizures of the abbeys and monasteries the richest fell first. After Canter-

bury, Battle Abbey; Merton, in Surrey; Stratford, in Essex; Lewes, in Sussex; the Charterhouse, the Blackfriars, the Grayfriars, and the Whitefriars, in London, felt the fury of the same whirlwind, which gradually blew over the whole land, until, in the spring of the year 1540, all the monastic establishments of the kingdom were suppressed, and the mass of their landed property was divided among courtiers and parasites. The gold and silver and costly jewels of shrines had partly gone in that direction, and had partly been kept for the king's use. Between the ignorant zealots of the new doctrines, and the rudeness of the men employed in the suppression, who were all most anxious for spoil, and who probably cared little for any form of religion, or any decency of worship, innumerable works of art were destroyed, and magnificent specimens of architecture were defaced and left roofless; statues and pictures, many of them the productions of Italian masters, and which had in the eye of taste a sort of holiness independent of saints and Madonnas, were broken to pieces or burned. The mosaic pavements of the chapels were torn up, and the same brutal hands smashed the painted windows, which almost more than anything gave beauty and glory to our old abbeys and cathedrals. The church-bells were gambled for, and sold into Russia and other countries. The libraries—of which all the great houses contained one, numerous, if not well stocked, but wherein, no doubt, existed many a book in manuscript which we would now willingly possess—were treated with the greatest contempt. "Some books were reserved to scour their candlesticks, some to rub their boots, some sold to the grocers and soap-boilers, and some sent over sea to book-binders, not in small numbers, but at times whole shipful, to the wondering of foreign nations—a single merchant purchasing, at forty shillings a-piece, two noble libraries to be used as gray paper."⁴

All the abbeys were totally dismantled except in the cases where they happened to be the parish churches also; as was the case at St. Alban's, Tewkesbury, Malvern, and elsewhere, where they were rescued, in part, by the petitions and pecuniary contributions of the pious inhabitants, who were averse to the worshipping of God in a stable. Cranmer and Latimer petitioned the king in some cases; but, as is proved by their existing letters, they were too dependent on the court, and too fearful of its wrath, to do very much.

The men who had recommended the wholesale spoliation of the church had represented it as a never-failing fund, which would enable the king to carry on his government with none, or but

¹ Wilkins' *Concilia*.

² "The part that Erasmus had in precipitating the downfall of the conventual establishments in England, by arming public opinion against them, must not be forgotten. 'Erasmus, the prince of European scholars, was in the fiftieth year of his age, and in the full maturity of his fame, when Luther began to preach the Reformation at Wittenberg. No man had more severely lashed the superstitions which were misalled acts of piety, or scourged the frauds and debaucheries of the priesthood with a more vigorous arm. The ridicule which he so plentifully poured on the monks during his residence in England, doubtless contributed to their easy overthrow in this country.'"—Sir James Mackintosh, *History of England*.

³ Hall; Stow; Godwin

⁴ Spelman, *History and Fate of Sacrilege*.

the slightest taxes, and would furnish him with the means of creating and supporting earls, barons, and knights, and of forming excellent institutions for the promotion of industry, education, and religion. But, in the event, the property was squandered in a manner which is scarcely accountable; and the king had the conscience to demand from parliament a *compensation for the expenses he had incurred in reforming the religion of the state*; and within a year after the completion of his measures, the slavish parliament voted him a subsidy of two-tenths and two-fifteenths for this express purpose. None of the objects spoken of were promoted by the money of the religious houses, always excepting the making and supporting certain noblemen. Pauperism increased, as the whole body of the poor, which had been supported by the monks, who had funds for that purpose, were thrown, clamorous and desperate, and unprepared for and unprovided with employment, upon the wondering nation, which had not before been aware of the extent of the evil. Education declined rapidly; the schools kept in the monasteries were at an end; and other schools and even the universities were comparatively deserted. Religion was not promoted—for nothing but miserable stipends were given to the preachers, and none but poor and unlettered men would accept the office. To preach at St. Paul's Cross had been a great object of clerical ambition; but now there was a difficulty of finding a sufficient number of preachers for that duty; and about four years after the final suppression, Bonner, Bishop of London, wrote to Parker, then master of Corpus, importuning him to send him some help from Cambridge; and, not long after that, during the short reign of Edward VI., Latimer said, "I think there be at this day 10,000 students less than were within these twenty years." The rural parishes were served by priests who had scarcely the rudiments of education. Following an example set them by the king, who required Cromwell to give a benefit to a priest who was kept in the royal service, because he had trained two hawks for his majesty's pastime, which flew and killed their game very well,¹ the patrons of livings gave them to their menials as wages or rewards, to their gardeners, to the keepers of their hawks and hounds.² So completely were the funds absorbed, and so greedy were the courtiers in keeping what they got, that no proper recompense was reserved for Miles Coverdale and his associates, who translated and printed the first complete English Bible—the greatest achievement

of the age, and the measure that most effectually promoted the Reformation. Coverdale himself was left in great poverty; and the printers, in order to cover their expenses, were obliged to put a high price upon their copies, thus impeding the circulation of the book, and thwarting the wishes expressed by the king himself.³

The destruction of the monasteries left important gaps even in the physical accommodations of the people, which not a pound sterling of the spoil was devoted to fill up. They had been hospitals, infirmaries, and dispensaries for the poor—caravansaries to the wayfarer—and, in the absence of inns, the badness of roads, and the thinness of the population, their value had been felt in this respect both by rich and poor. In many of the wilder districts they had served as a nucleus of civilization, and sociality and hospitality were nowhere to be found but within these walls. The Chancellor Audley, who was seldom anxious to stop the hand of the spoiler, and who partook largely in the spoil, ventured, in a letter to Cromwell, to beg that two of the abbeys in Essex might be left standing on this account. The Archbishop Cramer, however, did what he could with safety to himself; and Henry, startled perhaps by a popular outcry, resolved to appropriate a part of the spoil to the advancement of religion. Parliament passed an act for establishing new bishoprics, deaneries, and colleges, which were to be endowed with revenues raised on the lands of the monasteries; but it was too late: the money and lands were gone, or the king and his ministers needed all that remained. The number of new bishoprics was reduced from eighteen to six—those of Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; and these were so scantily endowed that they scarcely afforded the new bishops the means of living.⁴ At the same time, fourteen abbeys and priories were converted into cathedrals and collegiate churches, with deans and prebendaries; but the king kept to himself a part of the lands which had been attached to them, and charged the chapters with the obligation of contributing annually to the support of the poor and the repairs of the highways.

In order to bring this interesting subject—which, notwithstanding its connection with the history of religion, cannot be separated from the political history of the time—under one point of view, we have outrun several contemporary events which we must now take up.

Although the king had overthrown so many

¹ Letter from Fitzwilliam to Cromwell, dated at Hampton Court, the 12th September, 1537.—*State Papers*.

² *Latimer's Sermons*; *Strype*; *Spelman, Hist. and Fate of Sacrilege*, with letters quoted therein, and by Leland; *Blunt's Sketch of the Reformation*.

³ Letters addressed by Coverdale and Grafton the printer to Cromwell, from Paris, in the year 1538, in *State Papers*.

⁴ *Journals*; *Strype*; *Rymer*; *Godwin*. Westminster was erected into a bishopric on the 17th of December, 1540; Oxford in 1541; Peterborough in 1541; Bristol in 1542; Chester in 1542; and Gloucester in 1541.

of the fundamental doctrines and practices of the Roman church, he would allow no man in his dominions the right of questioning such as, in his wisdom, he had thought fit to retain; and in the month of November, 1538, only a few days after his proclaiming Thomas à Becket a rebel and traitor, the fires of Smithfield again blazed, and a man and a woman were consumed in them as Anabaptists. But in the same month, one John Lambert, formerly in priest's orders, but now a schoolmaster in London, who had adopted the views of the German Reformers respecting the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was condemned, as an obstinate heretic and opponent of the truth, to be burned alive. The sentence was executed in Smithfield with some circumstances of unusual atrocity. Cranmer and the bishops concurred in the abominable proceeding, although some of them besides Cranmer were more than suspected of going the whole length of the German Reformers, and of entertaining precisely the same notions as to the sacrament for which Lambert was burned alive.¹

Before this time the pope had not only published his bull of excommunication, but had laboured to reconcile the great Catholic princes of the Continent, in order that they might make a crusade against Henry, whose cruelties excited universal disgust. His great effort was to make up all quarrels between the King of France and the emperor; and by his mediation, a truce for ten years was concluded at Nice, on the 18th of June, 1538. During the whole of the years 1538 and 1539, Henry, who was unprepared for war, and who, by this time, had become suspicious of all his subjects, was kept in a constant state of alarm by reports that Francis and Charles were about to head a league against him; and great was the labour of his more courageous minister Cromwell to remove these apprehensions and jealousies.² On one occasion Cromwell assures his majesty that there is no need of being so hot and cold, seeing that there are no ships preparing in Spain for invasion: on another, he comforts him with the prospect of a new and extended alliance among the Protestant princes of Germany, which will be sure to find the emperor employment; and in another he thinks that the finger of God is visible in the stirring up of the Great Turk, who is resolved to make a fresh invasion of Christendom. Shortly after, however, the minister was obliged to allude to some prac-

tices of the Cardinal Pole, and to tell the king that he had learned from Rome a rumour that the emperor, the French king, and the pope were carrying on an active correspondence, but that it was thought that the two sovereigns were only giving the pope "fair words to feed him with."

At the end of the year 1538, the Lord Montacute and Sir Geoffrey Pole, brothers to the cardinal; Henry Courtney, Marquis of Exeter, grandson to King Edward IV. by his daughter Catherine; Sir Edward Nevil; two priests named Croft and Collins; and one Holland, a mariner, were suddenly apprehended and conveyed to the Tower. In the beginning of the year 1539, the Marquis of Exeter and the Lord Montacute were arraigned before some peers,³ and the commoners were tried before a jury, on a vague charge of having devised to maintain, promote, and advance one Reginald Pole, late dean of Exeter, the king's enemy beyond the seas, and to deprive the king of his royal state and dignity. We have no particulars of these trials; but Geoffrey Pole, the youngest of the brothers, upon a promise of pardon, pleaded guilty, and made a confession involving all the rest, who thereupon were condemned to death as traitors.

Lord Herbert says that he "could never discover the particular offences of these great persons. . . . Only I find among our records that Thomas Wriothesley, secretary, then at Brussels, writing of their apprehension to Sir Thomas Wyatt, his highness' ambassador in Spain, said that the accusations were great, and duly proved;" and he adds that another writer said they had sent the cardinal (Pole) money. Cromwell might have had better proofs of their correspondence with the cardinal, through means of his spies and agents, but we have no letter of his that touches upon this prosecution. The Marquis of Exeter and Lord Montacute had remained steady and loyal during the insurrection in the north, where, on account of their descent from the White Rose, they might have exercised a dangerous influence. There was certainly no overt act of treason; and the main cause of their death seems to have been Henry's dread and jealousy of their royal descent, and his anxiety to be revenged upon the cardinal, whose own person was out of his reach, and whose abilities and energies were at the moment actively employed in raising him up enemies. Sir Geoffrey Pole was allowed a dishonoured life. His brother, Lord Montacute, the Marquis of

¹ Hall; Godwin; Fox; Collier.

² The king's dread, and Cromwell's labour to remove it, are both well proved by original letters still in existence. At this moment Cromwell maintained spies and secret agents at Rome, Naples, Milan, Genoa, Venice, Madrid, Paris, Brussels, Frankfurt, and in almost every corner of Europe. One of the chief objects of these agents was to watch the movements of Cardinal Pole, and otherwise to pick up information as to the treaties

between the Catholic princes, and their preparations or non-preparations for war.—*State Papers*.

³ They were certainly not tried in a regular manner before the peers in parliament, for parliament did not meet for more than two months after their execution. It appears that the Chancellor Audley acted as high-steward on this occasion. On the 3d of March Sir Nicholas Carew was beheaded for being of counsel with the Marquis of Exeter and Lord Montacute.

Exeter, and Sir Edward Nevil, were beheaded on Tower-hill on the 9th of January, 1539; the two priests and the mariner were hanged and quartered at Tyburn. But Henry's hatred was not yet satisfied, nor his jealous fears set at rest. In the month of February, Cromwell "learned out of Scotland," that there was a French ship, with sundry passengers, about to set sail from Leith; and on the 14th of March, he wrote joyfully to inform the king "that a certain French ship, laden with Scottish goods, had been driven by stress of weather into South Shields;" and that the Earl of Westmoreland, "being advised by certain persons from Scotland," had seized and searched the ship, and had found "under the baggage, in the bottom thereof, a nest of traitors; that is to say, one Robert Moore, a priest of Chichester, who had lately escaped from Hexham prison, and two Irishmen, a monk and a friar, who had with them seditious and traitorous letters directed to the Bishop of Rome and to the traitor Pole." The poor Irish monk was carried up to London; and, a few days after, Cromwell wrote to the king: "We cannot as yet get the pith of the credence, whereby I am advised tomorrow to go to the Tower, and see him set in the brakes,¹ and, by torment, compelled to confess the truth."² We are not informed as to the full result of this visit to the Tower; but when parliament met on the 28th of April, they were instructed to pass bills of attainder against Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, the mother of Cardinal Pole; Gertrude, the widow of the Marquis of Exeter; the son of Lord Montacute, a boy of tender years; Sir Adrian Fortescue; and Sir Thomas Dingley. The cardinal's venerable mother (the Countess of Salisbury was seventy years old) was privately examined at her first arrest by the Earl of Southampton, and Goodrich, the Bishop of Ely, before whom she behaved with so much firmness of character, that they wrote to their employer Cromwell, that she was more like a strong and constant man than a woman—that she denied everything laid to her charge, and that it seemed to them either that her sons had not made her "privy or participant of the bottom and pit of their stomach, or that she must be the most arrant traitress that ever lived."³ Cromwell himself examined the Marchioness of Exeter, but, as it should appear, without success.⁴ Although Cromwell had got possession of the persons of some of the Countess of

Salisbury's servants, he could not extract sufficient materials for a criminal information. Upon this he called up the judges, and asked them whether parliament might condemn persons accused of treason without any previous trial or confession; and the servile judges replied, that, though it was a nice question, and one that no inferior tribunal could entertain, there was no doubt that the court of parliament was supreme, and that any attainder by parliament would be good in law. Such a bill, accordingly, the parliament passed, condemning to death all the accused, without any form of trial whatever. The two knights were beheaded on the 10th of July: the Marchioness of Exeter, after being further questioned by Cromwell in the Tower, was pardoned some six months after. The old Countess of Salisbury was kept in prison, but what became of her grandson, the child of Lord Montacute, who was included in the attainder, does not appear. Nearly two years after the passing of the iniquitous act of attainder, on the 27th of May, 1541, the aged countess, the nearest to the king in blood of all his relations, on some new provocation, real or fancied, of her son Cardinal Pole, was dragged from her dungeon in the Tower to the scaffold.⁵

But before this happened the minister Cromwell had gone to his account. If the Catholic or Papist party were not the sole cause of the ruin of this man, they seem to have contributed to that event quite as much as his bad luck in match-making for the king. Each of the two great religious parties was animated with the most deadly animosity against the other, neither of them conceiving for a moment the expediency of a mutual toleration and an agreement among themselves as a means of resisting the still-growing tyranny of the crown; and both ministered in turn to the king's insatiable thirst for blood. Cromwell, with Cranmer, had all along proposed a close alliance with the Protestant states of Germany; and when Henry was alarmed about the coalition of the Catholic powers, he thought seriously of this alliance, and sent several ambassadors into Germany. But as religion was to be the basis of the alliance, the German Protestants wished to see a uniformity of faith and practice established in England, and insisted that, at the least, Henry should permit priests to have wives, and should command private masses to be abolished. The king, who, according to Cromwell,

¹ The brake was an instrument of torture: it was also called the "Duke of Exeter's Daughter."

² In this same letter Cromwell speaks of the new parliament which was to meet in April. "Amongst other, for your grace's parliament, I have appointed your majesty's servant, Mr. Morrison, to be one of them: no doubt he shall be ready to answer, and take up such as would crack or face with literature of learning, or by indirected waver, if any such shall be, as I think

there shall be few or none; forasmuch as I, and other your delicate counsellors, be about to bring all things so to pass that your majesty had never more tractable parliament."—*State Papers.*

³ *Ellis.* Letter from Lord Southampton and the Bishop of Ely to Cromwell.

⁴ *State Papers.* Letter from Cromwell to the king.

⁵ Pole, *Epist.*; Hall; Godwin.

"knew himself to be the learnedest prince in Europe," thought it became not him to submit to them, but expected that they should submit to him, and take his ecclesiastical ordinances as their model and guide. The Germans, who considered him as a slave to the very worst of the dogmas of the Roman church, would not listen to such conditions. Henry now evinced a sudden anxiety to reconcile himself with the Catholic party, by showing them that, though he had cast off the authority of the pope, he was as far as ever from entertaining the leading tenets of Luther. The Duke of Norfolk, who favoured the old learning, was unexpectedly sent for, commissioned to manage the affairs of the crown in the House of Peers, and placed, in many matters, over the head of Cromwell: Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the most zealous of all the Papists, was also recalled to court, and ordered to preach a course of sermons at St. Paul's Cross. The king must have known the diversity of sentiment which prevailed among the bench of bishops, and he was now resolved that this should cease, probably feeling that it was hard to expect unanimity among the people, when their spiritual teachers, the prelates appointed by himself, differed widely in opinion. In the parliament which attained the mother of Cardinal Pole, and the rest of those victims, he ordered the appointment of a committee of spiritual lords, among whom Cromwell was included in virtue of his office of vicar-general; and this committee was charged to examine the diversity of opinions in matters of faith, with the view of producing a final agreement. In the absence of the king, Cromwell, and Cranmer, Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, and Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, ventured to oppose the more Catholic notions of Lee, Archbishop of York, Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, Aldrich, Bishop of Carlisle, Clarke, Bishop of Bath, and Salcot, *alias* Capon, Bishop of Bangor. Eleven days of disputation wore out the patience of Henry, who was not present to take part in it; and the Duke of Norfolk, seeing that the committee would never agree, suggested another course, which was adopted by the king's wisdom in concurrence with Bishop Gardiner. On the 18th of May, 1539, the duke proposed to the consideration of the whole House of Lords six questions respecting the eucharist, communion under one kind, private masses, the celibacy of the priesthood, auricular confession, and vows of chastity. On this occasion none but the spiritual peers spoke, and of them only such as were in favour of the Roman practices: the rest, who, no doubt, knew what was coming, remained silent in their seats. On the second day the king went down to the house and joined in the debate. It was perilous work to oppose a controversialist who was accustomed to back his arguments with the

axe, the gallows, and the stake. The temporal lords, not excepting the Lord-chancellor Audley and the Lord Privy-seal Cromwell, were presently all of one opinion; and among the bishops, only those of Canterbury, Ely, Salisbury, Worcester, Rochester, and St. David's, defended the contrary side, which they did for a long time, "but yet they were finally confounded with his highness' goodly learning." There is a dispute between writers of opposite parties as to the extent of the opposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but it appears that Cranmer really resisted the bill as far as was consistent with the safety of his life, and that he never gave a very formal consent to it. Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, had more courage, and openly resisted to the last; or, in the words of one of the lords who was present, "he yet continued a lewd fool." A few days after, Henry proposed that the severest penalties should be enacted by parliament against all such persons as should dare to teach contrary doctrines, or question the sacred institutions of private masses, confession, and the rest. At the king's order the lords formed a committee, which after some changes, was headed and wholly directed by the most violent partisans of the old learning—the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Durham, and the Bishop of Winchester, the fiery but accomplished Gardiner. This committee readily adopted the Six Articles, or the Bloody Statute, as it was afterwards called, and which was evidently the joint production of Bishop Gardiner and the king.¹ It was submitted in a hurry to the clergy assembled in convocation; and being approved of there, was introduced by the Protestant Chancellor Audley, and passed through both lords and commons with infinite ease. These notorious articles were—1. That the eucharist was really the present natural body and blood of Christ, under the forms, but without the substance, of bread and wine, which were transmuted by the act of consecration. 2. That the communion under both kinds was not necessary to salvation. 3. That priests could not, by the law of God, marry. 4. That vows of chastity, whether in man or woman, priest, monk, or nun, must be observed. 5. That private masses must be retained as essential. 6. That the use of auricular confession is expedient and necessary. To these Six Articles were attached the following penalties: 1. If any person wrote, preached, or disputed against the first article—which settled the question of the real presence in the eucharist—he should not be allowed to abjure or recant, but should at once be burned as a heretic, and forfeit his property to the king—a worse penalty than ever was enacted by the Inquisition, which

¹ A draft of the act with many corrections, in the king's own hand, is preserved in the British Museum.

allowed the benefit of one recantation. 2. If any man preached, or spoke openly before the judges, against any one of the other five articles, he should incur the penalties of felony; but if he only held contrary opinions, and published them, he should, for the first offence, be imprisoned at the king's pleasure, forfeiting his lands during life, his goods for ever; and for the second offence he should die. 3. All marriages of priests or nuns already contracted were to be of no effect; the parties so marrying were to separate immediately, and if they cohabited afterwards it would be punished as felony; priests and nuns found guilty of fornication were to suffer imprisonment and forfeiture on the first conviction, and death on the second.¹

As soon as this barbarous statute was passed, Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, resigned their sees, or they were deprived of them by the king, for refusing to subscribe the edict;² but Cranmer, Fox, and Goodrich did not follow their example. Cranmer, more than all, was in a critical situation; he had brought his German wife, the niece of the Protestant pastor Osiander, into England, and by this time she had borne him several children. He had kept his family in retirement, out of sight of the world; but it is difficult to conceive that such a connection could be wholly a secret. He had evidently hoped to prevail upon the king to adopt the Lutheran notion with respect to the celibacy of the clergy; but this hope must have failed him even before the passing of the Six Articles; and he, a married churchman, and the father of a family, had been compelled, on more than one occasion, to denounce severe pains and penalties against all churchmen in the same predicament. Now, however, in all haste he sent his wife and children into Germany, and made himself conformable to the bloody statute. But Cranmer, Latimer, and others, relied with a happy hope on the effect of the Bible, which was now circulated in the language of the people.³

The same dastardly parliament which passed the Six Articles voted also that the king's proclamations had, and ought to have, the full effect of acts of parliament; that all transgressions against such proclamations should be punished with fines and imprisonment, or otherwise, at the king's pleasure; and that for a person to quit the kingdom, in order to escape these penalties incurred by disobedience to proclamation, was high treason. (Are we speaking of England, or of an Oriental despotism?) Base, however, as

were lords and commons, this bill encountered some opposition; but still the two religious parties were too intent upon other matters to coalesce and make a bold stand against this horrid tyranny.⁴

As if he feared he had gone too far in the direction of the Church of Rome, the king ordered a silly pageant on the river Thames, where two galleys, the one bearing the royal arms of England, the other the arms of the pope, met and fought in fierce guise. The royal galley was of course victorious, and effigies of the pope and cardinals were thrown overboard amidst the shouts of the king, the court, and the citizens.⁵ On the 8th of July, the vicar of Wandsworth, with his curate, a man-servant, and one Friar Ware, were all hanged and quartered, apparently for questioning the king's supremacy.

In the month of November, Richard Whiting, abbot of Glastonbury, was hanged and quartered; and two of his monks, John Thorne, the treasurer, and Roger James, the under-treasurer, were hanged and quartered with him.⁶ In the same month, Hugh Farringdon, abbot of Reading, and two of his monks, were hanged and quartered near their abbey; and John Beche, abbot of Colchester, was drawn and quartered near his abbey. All these butcheries of men whom they must have considered as faithful sons of the Roman church, could not but have been distasteful to Gardiner and the other leaders of the old learning; but we do not see that they ever ran the risk of incurring destruction by opposing the king's will, or by protesting against his measures. They, indeed, stood by, and saw men hanged and quartered for questioning the supremacy or resisting the seizure of their abbeys and houses, just as the converts of the new doctrine saw men burned for entertaining the Protestant notions as to the sacrament and other points; and each party seems to have consoled itself for the sufferings of its own friends by the recollection and the prospect of the sufferings of the other.

Cromwell had identified himself with the Protestant party, and had gone to such lengths against the Papists, that it was impossible he could ever hope for a safe reconciliation with them. He saw also that the Duke of Suffolk and Bishop Gardiner were gaining ground at court; and to check their progress, he laboured hard to procure Henry a Protestant wife. "The king," says an old writer, "considering his wooing disposition, had long continued a widower."⁷ He had, indeed, been a widower about two years; but this was not owing to a want of alacrity on

¹ *Journal; Statutes; Wilkins; Fox; Godwin; Strype; Le Grand.* Fragment of a letter preserved in the Museum.

² Latimer resigned on the 1st of July, 1539. He was soon afterwards in prison for speaking against the Six Articles, and remained in confinement till the king's death.

³ A new and improved edition of the Scriptures, generally called Cranmer's Bible, was published just at this time.

⁴ *Statutes; Fox; Le Grand.*

⁵ Letter of Marillac, the French ambassador, quoted by Le Grand.

⁶ Letter from Lord Russell to Cromwell.

⁷ Bishop Godwin.

his part in seeking for another wife. Shortly after the death of Jane Seymour he proposed to the Duchess-dowager of Milan, who is said to have replied, facetiously, that if she had two heads she might think of the match; but that, as she had but one, she would rather decline the honour. He then addressed himself to the Princess Mary of Guise; but this princess was already affianced to his nephew, the King of Scots. A daughter of the house of Vendome was then recommended by the French court; but he refused her because she had been previously rejected by his nephew, the said King of Scots. After this, he had the delicacy to propose that the French king should carry the two sisters of Mary of Guise to Calais, in order that he might go over and choose one of them; but the gallantry of Francis revolted at this idea, and Henry remained wifeless. In the month of March, 1539, we find Cromwell extolling to the king the reported beauty of Anne of Cleves, the sister of the reigning Duke of Cleves, one of the princes of the Protestant confederacy; but he speaks as if the marriage had been already settled.¹

Putting, we suppose, more faith in Hans Holbein, his own painter, than in Lucas the court painter of Cleves, Henry despatched Hans to take the young lady's likeness; and in the month of August, one of his ambassadors in Germany wrote a fuller account of her person and accomplishments, assuring his majesty, moreover, that my Lady Anne was not bound by any previous covenant or contract, but was at her free will to marry wherever she would. As for her education, *sobriety*, and morals, the diplomatist said that they were excellent.² The picture—a miniature, in Holbein's best manner—was brought over in an ivory box, which represented a rose, so delicately carved as to be said to be worthy of the jewel it contained. The king fancied himself in love as he contemplated this nice performance of his favourite artist; and the match proceeded. Hoping, no doubt, that a Protestant wife would finish his conversion, many of the German princes gave it their support; and in the month of September, the count-palatine and ambassadors from Cleves arrived in London, where Cromwell, who was in ecstasies at the success of the scheme, was instructed by his royal master to bid them as hearty a welcome as he could devise.³ The king joyfully finished this treaty: but the marriage, instead of making,

marred Cromwell. All things being prepared as was fitting, and her lover brooking no delay, Anne set forward on her journey in the dreary month of December. Though now unwieldy, Henry rode hastily to Rochester to meet her. He went in disguise, and his first view of her was a secret one; but it was enough: he shrunk back, tottering under the weight of disappointment and dismay; and it was some time before he composed himself sufficiently to wait upon her as her husband and king. It seems to have been with sensations like those with which one swallows a dose of noisome medicine that he embraced her, and gave her his conjugal kiss. The whole interview did not last above the speaking of twenty words: he then hurried from his bride without giving her the presents he had brought with him; and the next morning he sent Sir Anthony Brown, his master of the horse, "with a partlet of sable skins to wear round the neck, and a muffler furred, with as cold a message as might be, and rode himself back to Greenwich, marvellously heavy in heart." His fiercest wrath was kindled against all those who had promoted the match; and he considered that the deception practised upon him was a proof that all faith and loyalty had departed the world, and that no mortal man could be trusted. Cromwell was evidently less culpable than the ambassadors and the painters; but notwithstanding this circumstance, and his great boldness and ability, he must have trembled upon receiving the king's summons. A full council met at Greenwich, and there, after abusing him for marrying him to "a great Flanders mare," coarse, clumsy, and "unfit to nourish love," he commanded Cromwell to devise some pretext or plausible cause for preventing the conclusion of the hateful marriage.⁴ In the very doubtful state of his relation with the Catholic powers, it was humbly but forcibly represented that it might prove very dangerous to give such an affront to the princes of the Protestant confederacy; and Cromwell seems to have made the most of the king's fears. "Is there, then, no remedy?—must I needs, against my will, put my neck into this noose?"—were the affectionate expressions of Henry as he agreed that the marriage should go on. The Lady Anne was met at Blackheath, and, with great state, brought to Greenwich on the 3d of January, and she was married on the 5th day of the same month. But Henry's aversion did not abate on a closer ac-

¹ *State Papers*.

² Ellis' *Collection*; letter of Nich. Wotton to Henry VIII. The original (not perfect, but injured by fire) is in the Brit. Mus.

³ *State Papers*; letter from the king to Cromwell.

⁴ After all, it does not appear that Anne of Cleves was an ugly woman; and much of Henry's distaste may have proceeded from the mere caprice of the jaded voluptuary. He was certainly himself no very loveable object at the time. As he grew fat he

wished for a fat wife, and his agents had been expressly commanded to look out for a fine, large woman. But Anne, it appears, was on too large a scale. According to Holbein's picture, her complexion was wonderfully fair and beautiful, and her countenance very agreeable. Marillac, the French ambassador, no prejudiced observer, says that she was tolerably handsome—*de beauté moyenne*. Like a true Frenchman he criticizes her German dress.

quaintance; and, without going into the disgusting details with which he, without hesitation, entertained his court, and the noble matrons thereof, we need merely state that he lamented his fate in the most pathetic terms, and declared that life would be a burden to him if he were forced to pass it with such a wife.¹ The Catholic party were greatly rejoiced at this manifest failure of a great Protestant experiment; and other religious feelings came in to hasten the destruction of Cromwell. We will not attempt to explain what perplexed those who were acting on the scene; but, while the Papists made sure that Cromwell's high offices of vicar-general and keeper of the privy seal would immediately fall to Tonstal, and Clarke, Bishop of Bath, he was not only left in possession, but received from the king's hands the order of the Garter, and was created Earl of Essex and lord-chamberlain, ostensibly as a reward for his exertions in obtaining an enormous grant from parliament.² It should appear, however, that Henry was making provision for the despatch of the enormous quantity of business which had hitherto been transacted by Cromwell, who must have been a man of iron. He made two secretaries of state, Wriothesley and Ralph Sadler, and divided many important functions of government between them.

We are not told how long the king had be-moaned his fate with Anne of Cleves when he saw the pretty little Lady Catherine Howard;³ but it seems to have been some four or five months. The Lady Catherine was niece to the Duke of Norfolk, and as entire a Papist as Anne was a Protestant. Henry first met her at a dinner given by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. It is supposed that that prelate and his party had calculated upon the impression her charms would make upon him; and it was natural enough for them to suppose that the next step a man like Henry would take, after espousing a Protestant, would be to choose a wife from the opposite sect. By a "notable appearance of honour, cleanness, and maidenly behaviour," Catherine quite captivated the king, who, it appears, frequently met her afterwards at the house of Bishop Gardiner, or of some other person equally anxious for the interests of the Romish church. In this society, composed of the mortal enemies of Cromwell, the king was not likely to hear much good of his minister. Every glance of the bright eyes of Catherine Howard was dangerous to the Protestant interest. At the same time Cromwell, strangely blind to what was passing, continued

to deal his sharp blows at the scrupulous Papists who refused the oaths of supremacy; and he was in the high exercise of despotic power, when, suddenly, on the 10th of June, he was arrested at the council-board on a charge of high treason, and forthwith carried to the Tower. In his days of favour he had encouraged the prostration of all law, and the establishment of the most arbitrary modes of proceeding in judicial cases. He had held up the king as being authorized to make and change statutes as he pleased; and he now felt the whole weight of the monstrous tyranny which he had helped to erect and inflate. His papers were seized—his servants were questioned—and out of their evidence, which was never produced in court, or submitted to any public examination, his enemies fabricated a series of charges, the greatest of which amounted to treason. In his fall Cromwell scarcely showed more fortitude than Wolsey: he wrote imploring letters to his most gracious prince, crying, "Mercy! mercy!" Once Henry's heart seemed touched by these appeals, but it was only for a moment. Archbishop Cranmer summoned courage to write a letter in his behalf, but the epistle was not calculated to produce any great effect; and he afterwards gave his vote against his friend. On the 14th of June, Cromwell, deserted by all the world, asked for a trial before his peers, but the court preferred to proceed by bill of attainder, without trial—a practice which he himself had helped the king to establish, with consent of the slavish parliament. The bill of attainder was hurried through the House of Lords; and on the 19th of June, nine days after his arrest, Cromwell received his doom as a manifold traitor and detestable heretic.⁴

But before he was executed, Anne of Cleves was divorced, and the king was united in the holy bands of matrimony with Catherine Howard. On the 25th of June, Anne was ordered to remove to Richmond, being told that that place would be more suitable to her health and pleasure than London. Then the king gave directions to his bishops and ministers to legalize his separation from Anne of Cleves; and the bishops and ministers acted accordingly. It was instantly discovered that there had once been a formal contract of marriage between Anne and the son of the Duke of Lorraine; and this, with Henry's assertion that the marriage had never been consummated, was deemed quite sufficient ground. Parliament met and humbly implored his majesty to investigate the subject. The case was submitted to a convocation of the clergy, and on the 9th of July, it was unanimously decided by the churchmen of all colours that the marriage was null and void, inasmuch as the king had married the princess

¹ Depositions of the king and Cromwell, in *Strype; Burnet; Hall; Stow*.

² During this session the Knights Hospitallers were dissolved, and their property was vested in the crown.

³ This unfortunate young creature was below the usual stature of English women.

⁴ *Le Grand, Strype; Burnet; Herbert; Journals.*

"without the inward consent of his own mind," and as there had been a pre-contract between her and another person. Poor Anne, who had the dread of the block before her eyes, and who was a person of more discretion than pride or passion, most quietly submitted to her fate,¹ and two days after, being properly prompted and assisted (for she could write no English), she addressed a letter to his most excellent majesty, wherein she declared that she was not and never had been his wife. "Yet it will please you," she continued, "to take me for one of your most humble servants, and so to determine of me, as I may sometimes have the fruition of your most noble presence, which as I shall esteem for a great benefit, so my lords, and others of your majesty's council, now being with me, *have put me in comfort thereof, and that your highness will take me for your sister*, for the which I most humbly thank you accordingly. Thus, most gracious prince, I beseech our Lord God to send your majesty long life and good health, to God's glory, your own honour, and the wealth of this noble realm."²

On the very next day Henry commissioned the Duke of Suffolk to go to the Lady Anne at Richmond, and "considering she be now come to her strength, and in good temper of body," to press her further to write to her brother the Duke of Cleves, in order to express her perfect concurrence in all that had been done.³ Anne, too wise to resist, and in all probability but too happy to escape out of the lion's jaws, did everything that was required of her. On the 16th of July, she wrote the most submissive of letters to the most excellent and noble prince, her most benign and good brother Henry, subscribing herself, as had been agreed, his majesty's humble sister and servant.⁴ The obsequious parliament finished its part of the work⁵ by voting that it would be very lawful for the king to take another wife. A private marriage was performed, and some days after, on the 8th of August, Catherine Howard was publicly shown as queen.⁶ On the same day, or nearly on the same day, that Henry took to himself his fifth wife, he sent his minister Cromwell to the block. On the 28th of July, Cromwell was beheaded on Tower-hill; and it is said that he died professing the Catholic faith, by which he might mean that kind of faith which had been established by the last act of parliament. When he was dead many of his virtues

were remembered; and the people particularly called to mind that, twice a-day, 200 poor persons had been fed at his gate. Dr. Barnes' a great preacher and leader of the Protestant party, survived his patron Cromwell only three days "being committed to the torments of the merciless fire," and burned alive, with Garret and Jerome, as an heretic. But, that the scales might be nicely trimmed, Powell, Abel, and Featherston were hanged and quartered at the same time for denying the king's supremacy. On this occasion, as on some others, they were coupled together, a



QUEEN CATHERINE HOWARD.—After Holbein.

Catholic with a Protestant, on the same hurdle, and so drawn to Smithfield to the horror of both sects. A Frenchman is said to have exclaimed "Good God, how do people make a shift to live here, where Papists are hanged and anti-Papists are burned!" In the next month the prior of Doncaster and six others were hanged for defending the institution of the monastic life, a crime now become as capital as the greatest.⁷

A.D. 1541. There was a feeble attempt made in Yorkshire to revive the "Pilgrimage of Grace;" but it was easily suppressed, and cost the lives of fourteen gentlemen. In the month of August, the king made a progress into the northern counties, taking with him his young wife, whom he "entirely loved," after more than a year of matrimony. He had, indeed, repeatedly declared that he had never been

¹ In his despatches of the 31st of July, 11th of August, and 3d of September, Marillac writes:—"Anne makes no opposition whatever to the divorce, at which the king is the more pleased, because, as it is said, his new favourite (amourette) is already with child. The former is now called merely Madame Anne of Cleves. She is anything but low-spirited—amuses herself in all possible ways, and dresses every day in new clothes, made in a strange fashion." The reported pregnancy of Catherine seems to have been merely a bit of court or city scandal.

² *State Papers.*

³ From some expressions in this letter and elsewhere, it might appear that Anne had taken the matter more seriously to heart than is generally stated, and that she was or had been ill. Perhaps it was considered decorous that she should feign a sickness!

⁴ *State Papers.*

⁵ The lords implored him, out of his love of his people, to marry again! ⁶ *State Papers; Herbert; Stow; Godwin.*

⁷ *Stow; Strype; Godwin.*

happy in love or marriage till now, and that the Lady Catherine was the most perfect of women, and most affectionate of wives. Nay, he had even gone so far in his gratitude as to make one of his bishops unite with him in praising the Lord for the great contentment he had found. But, on his return from his progress, Cranmer had a tale for his ear which struck him dumb, and it is said even drew tears in torrents from his eyes. The archbishop declared that the queen before her marriage, had led an abandoned life with Francis Dereham or Deram, a relation of her own, who had associated with her when she lived with her great aunt, the Dowager-duchess of Norfolk. Cranmer, who had consulted with the Chancellor Audley, the Earl of Hertford, and others of the Protestant party, had not undertaken to present this dangerous accusation without proof; and *his witness was a servant of the old Duchess of Norfolk*. The king's faith in the virtue of his wife was annihilated in a moment; but, wishing to proceed cautiously, he arrested all the persons who had been named as the queen's confidants and accomplices, and made them undergo, *in secret*, "a keen examination." Their servants, both men and women, were arrested also, and put to the torture.¹ Under these circumstances it was impossible to fail in procuring confessions against the queen; but it appears that these torture-compelled confessions merely went to show that Catherine had been incontinent before marriage; and this did not amount to treason. Francis Dereham is generally said to have confessed that he had been guilty with her; but the queen denied the charge altogether, and, from the best evidence² we possess, it seems doubtful whether Dereham confessed anything of the kind. That same night, however, she is said to have signed a written confession of her youthful irregularities, but of nothing farther. Cranmer undertook the office of making her disclose more, and admit that there had been a precontract of marriage between her and her kinsman and alleged seducer Francis Dereham, which, in itself, according to Henry's jurisprudence, would annul the marriage, while it might also be considered as a saving of the king's honour—seeing that, by such precontract, and such law, there could have been no marriage at any time, and Catherine must sink into the condition of a concubine, not having ever had the character of the king's wife. We have before us a letter to the king, which will not raise Cranmer in the estimation of the world. The arch-

bishop begins by describing Catherine's wretched condition. He then tells the king that he had delivered to her his grace's *promise of mercy*; upon which she held up her hands and gave most humble thanks; and, for a time, she recovered from the frenzy in which he had found her, and began to be more temperate and quiet, saying that she still sobbed and wept; but, after a little pausing, she suddenly fell into a new frenzy worse than before. "Now," continues the prelate, "I do use her thus: when I do see her in any such extreme frights, I do travail with her to know the cause, and then, as much as I can, I do labour to take away, or, at the least, to mitigate the cause; and so I did at that time. I told her there was some new phantasy come into her head, which I desired her to open unto me. 'Alas! my lord,' she cried, 'that I am alive! The fear of death grieved me not so much before, as doth now the remembrance of the king's goodness—for when I remember how gracious and loving a prince I had, I cannot but sorrow; but this sudden mercy showed unto me at this time maketh mine offences to appear before mine eyes much more heinous than they did before.'" After this, Cranmer goes on to tell the king, that, by degrees, the distracted woman had come to herself; that she was meely well unto night, and that he had had "very good communication with her," and, as he thought, had brought her into "a great quietness." He discloses all that he had been able to get out of her concerning any contract of matrimony with Dereham, which, he says, *although it did not go so far as he thought it would have done*, yet appeared to him sufficient to establish the contract.³ After Cranmer had thus worked upon the unfortunate young woman in her frenzy, and, on the promise of the king's mercy, had induced her to confess improper conduct with Dereham before her marriage (and nothing more), the king changed his plan. A few days after, the council, consisting of the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Southampton, the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Russell, Sir Anthony Brown, Wingfield, and Sadler, addressed a long letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had taken upon himself the principal conduct of this wretched business. The minuteness of detail—the petty and innumerable regulations that appear in every part of the transaction—fill the mind with a disgust against all engaged in it, accessories as well as principal. In the king's name they tell Cranmer that he must, with convenient diligence, remove the queen to the house of Sion, there to remain, "till the matter be further ordered, in the state of a queen, but furnished moderately, as her life and condition hath deserved—that is to say, with the fur-

¹ We derive this fact, which is not mentioned by historians, from a passage in a letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, signed by Cranmer, Audley, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Hertford, and others:—"And because Dampont confesseth this now, which he would not do for any torture that he could before be put to," &c.

² *State Papers*.

³ *State Papers*.

niture of three chambers, hanged with mean stuff, without any cloth of estate." Mr. Baynton, her jailer, is to sleep in one of the three rooms; they are to dine in another; and the queen and her attendants are to sleep in a third. They send a book or list of servants to wait upon the queen; but the king's highness trusts to the archbishop's discretion in not exceeding a necessary number. It is also the king's highness' pleasure that my Lady Baynton,¹ the wife of her jailer, shall be one of those to attend upon the queen, and shall have the rule and government of the whole house. My Lady Mary, the king's daughter, who had led a most stormy life with her father's wives, was to be removed. But after these and other minutiae, the council proceeded to the pith of the business. "And where the king's highness, weighing deeply all circumstances of the matter, hath, by mature consideration, been determined, that to-morrow (12th November) my lord-chancellor, assembling his majesty's councillors of all sorts, spiritual and temporal, with the judges and learned men, should declare unto them the abominable demeanour of the queen, without calling Dereham,² as was before thought good, and *without speaking or mentioning any precontract of marriage, which might serve for her defence*, but only to open and make manifest the king's highness' just cause of indignation and displeasure, so as the world may know and see that which is hitherto done to have a just ground and foundation; . . . the king's majesty also willeth, that those among you that know the whole matter, and how it was first detected, as also the king's majesty's sorrowful behaviour, and careful proceeding in it, should, upon Sunday next, assemble all the ladies, gentlewomen, and gentlemen, and declare unto them the whole process of the matter; foreseeing always that you *make not mention of any precontract*; but, omitting that, to set forth such matter as might impair and confound their misdemeanour, and as truth doth, indeed, truly bear, declare, and set forth the king's majesty's goodness, most unworthy to be troubled with any such mischance."³

The accusations against Catherine Howard were now brought to bear upon misconduct after marriage, in order that her guilt might amount to treason; for Henry seems no longer to have cared about that partial saving of his honour, which might have resulted from the contrary course. It was alleged that not only had Dereham been recalled from Ireland to court, since her marriage, but that Culpepper, one night when the court was at Lincoln, had stayed in the same

room with her and the Lady Rochford for three hours. This Lady Rochford was the infamous woman that had borne testimony against her own husband and her husband's sister, Anne Boleyn. Culpepper was a gentleman of the privy chamber, and probably a near relation of Catherine Howard, whose mother's name was Culpepper. A day or two after, Sadler informs his grace of Canterbury and Mr. Comptroller, that the queen has been examined on the matter now come forth concerning Culpepper; but he adds, that she hath not, as appeareth by her confession, so fully declared the circumstances of what passed betwixt her and Culpepper as his majesty could wish; "and so his majesty would have his grace (Cranmer) once again essay and test to get something of her." Mr. Secretary Sadler next tells the Archbishop of Canterbury that my Lord-chancellor Audley has declared the case in the Star Chamber, *omitting and leaving out as much as in anywise toucheth the precontract*; and that he also has read divers of the depositions of such persons as had been examined, as well men as women, *always omitting as much as touched the precontract*: "and, in the end of his tale," saith Sadler, "he added, that there was an appearance of great abomination in her, which he (the chancellor) *left so in a cloud as it should seem doubtful to the hearers whether all were come out or not*: and the king's majesty would have you (Cranmer) follow this order without your mentioning anything of Culpepper or the precontract."⁴ When this business had been in progress about a month, the king ordered that the old Duchess-dowager of Norfolk, her daughter Lady Bridgewater, one of her sons (the Lord William Howard), and other persons of rank, should be arrested upon suspicion of being privy to the queen's irregularities, and that their houses should be taken possession of and diligently searched. The Earl of Southampton took the old duchess into custody, and conveyed her to the house of the lord-chancellor. Here, according to the earl's letter, "she began to be very sick, even at the heart, as she said; which was the sickness of mistrust." The noble lord also reports that he has got one Pewson, a servant of the duchess, with whom he has "somewhat travailed this day, in order to make him confess; but, marry, he is yet stiff."⁵

The government was now divided into two councils, one of which removed with the king wherever he went; the other, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, remained in London, in search of evidence. The attention of both councils seems to have been entirely absorbed by this one business. The champion of the Catholic faith moved about with the champion of the Reformation. Stephen Gardiner was associ-

¹ Both Baynton and his wife had done duty for the king, in the case of Anne Boleyn. They were practised hands in queen killing.

² This seems to prove that, up to this moment at least, Dereham had not confessed.

³ *State Papers.*

⁴ *State Papers.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

ated with Thomas Cranmer, and his name appears to nearly all the letters inculcating his former friend and *protégé* Catherine Howard. On the 6th of December they reported to the king that they had met with some success in the questioning of Ashby, another man-servant of the Duchess-dowager of Norfolk, who, being in the custody of Sir Richard Rich, the chancellor of the augmentation,¹ had written, by commandment, three or four leaves of paper. Among many long tales of small importance, Ashby had confessed that, upon hearing what had happened at court, the duchess had broken open Dereham's coffers and a portmanteau, and had taken out of them all the letters and writings, and had carried them to her chamber, saying that she would peruse them herself at leisure, without suffering anybody to see them with her. Ashby said, also, that the duchess had been in great fear about one Alice Wilkes, a serving-woman, who was supposed to know something of a familiarity between the young Catherine Howard and Dereham. This Alice Wilkes they had safe, and would examine her closely, trusting to find out some pithy matter. They reported, also, that they had learned that Dampot's, or Dammock's, coffers had been broken open in the Duchess of Norfolk's house, and the papers removed; that this Dampot, who had hitherto been "very stiff, confessing nothing for any torture they had used," had at last become pliable and communicative, saying, that he once heard Dereham say at the time when the king's majesty was beginning to court Catherine Howard, "I could be sure of Mistress Catherine an I would, but I dare not. The king beginneth to love her; but, an he were dead, I am sure I might marry her."—[To be extracted by torture, this was a small revelation.]—Afterwards, according to the same letter, Dampot confessed that Dereham told him that the Duchess of Norfolk once said to a gentlewoman in the queen's chamber, when he, Dereham, was present, pointing to him—"This is he that came out of Ireland for the queen's sake." The council with the king, in reply, state to the council in London, that the king thinks the duchess' breaking open of the coffers of Dereham a very clear proof of an intention to conceal treason; and that if the judges do impartially weigh this act, and the concealment of the papers by the duchess, they must be led to conclude that she knew of the former naughty life betwixt the queen and Dereham; and that his coming again to the queen's service from Ireland was to an ill intent of the renovation of his former naughty life; and that all this was clear treason. His highness would have the judges answer this, *his* opinion, and satisfy him with

reason. The judges, it appears, had already condemned Dereham; for, in continuation, the council state that his highness thinketh it expedient that they spare the execution of Dereham for a time, till the bottom of this matter shall appear, it being likely that new matter will arise daily upon which they might have cause to examine him. In the same letter, Mr. Pollard, that expert investigator, is commanded to examine the duchess' women, in order to find out whether she did of late burn any letters or writings. The council in London presently rejoined that they had "travailed another whole day in the examination of the duchess," who made herself so clear from all knowledge of the abomination between the queen and Dereham, that she would confess no mistrust or suspicion of their love or unseemly familiarity; and as to the coffers, she said she intended only to see what was in them, and finding anything material (which she said she did not), to send the same to the king's majesty. They go on to say that, having with them the Lord Chief-justice, Mr. Attorney, and Mr. Pollard, they had all come to the conclusion that the things proved against my Lady Norfolk and her son Lord William, "with all presumptions and circumstances," will extend to misprision of treason; and also that the Lady William Howard, the Lady Bridgewater, Alice Wilkes, Catherine Tilney, Dampot, Walgrave, Malin Tilney, Mary Lascelles, Bulmer, Ashby, Anne Howard, and Margaret Burnet, be in the same case, "if it shall please his majesty to proceed against them."²

At a very early stage of these proceedings there was an anxiety betrayed as to the goods and chattels of the accused. Cranmer and his friends, in the same letter, desire to know how his grace would have my Lady of Norfolk and the rest used, and also whether they should commit the Lord William and his wife; "and how their things shall be used, which shall, by this offence, be all confiscate to his majesty, as in case of treason, and also the profit of their lands for the term of their lives, their bodies being sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; *the example whereof would be very notable if his majesty would proceed against them all.*" On the morrow they proposed to meet at the house of the lord privy-seal, the Earl of Southampton, there to examine the duchess' daughter, Lady Bridgewater, who would be brought thither secretly; and they hoped, "with travail and labour, to find out the bottom of the plot, according to their bounden duties." In a frightful postscript they say that they think they have already all that can be got out of Dereham, who, by no force, can be made to confess more; and therefore, they would be glad to know his majesty's pleasure touching the

¹ Most of the witnesses and prisoners were thus kept locked up in the houses of the king's slavish and unscrupulous ministers.

² *State Papers.*

execution of him and Culpepper. They were not kept long waiting for their instructions. They were ordered to commit the Duchess of Norfolk, the Lord William Howard and his wife, the Lady Bridgewater, and all others noted in their letters, to the Tower, and to send forthwith "some substantial personages" to take charge of their houses, and to see their goods put into safe custody for his majesty's behoof; in which particular part, his majesty joining with their opinions, *thinketh that the example will be very notable*. Nevertheless, as this matter came first to light by Mary Lascelles, the servant-girl, and as Mary Lascelles had refused the queen's service,¹ and had seemed to be sorry and lament that the king had married Catherine Howard, his majesty thought it best to spare the said Mary without troubling or committing her; *thinking, also, that this may be a means to give courage and boldness to others to reveal things in like cases*.² Touching Culpepper and Dereham, they were commanded to proceed to their execution, after convenient warning, that they might prepare for the salvation of their souls. On the 10th of December Dereham and Culpepper were drawn to Tyburn, where Dereham was hanged and quartered, and Culpepper beheaded. By the 13th of the same month, the Duchess of Norfolk, Lord William Howard, her son, and the rest of her relations and servants, were shut up in the Tower, which was so full already that there was great difficulty in finding room for them.³ By his majesty's orders, *Mary Lascelles was clearly left out of the indictment, his majesty considering if she should be indicted with the rest how slanderous it should be to her!* The council in London "travailed" very diligently in forcing confessions from the Lady Bridgewater, Alice Wilkes, and Bulmer; "but as for Bridgewater," they write, "she sheweth herself her mother's daughter—that is, one that will by no means confess anything."

The council in London were startled at this moment by the loud expressions of public opinion in France, and proposed that his majesty should permit some explanation in order to stop men's tongues. At the same moment, while the fate of Catherine Howard was undecided, the Duke of Cleves, losing no time, proposed to Henry that he should take back to wife his sister Anne! Ambassadors arrived in England with letters from Oslynger, the vice-chancellor of Cleves, to Cranmer and to the Earl of Southampton.⁴ Cran-

mer, who was in an agony of alarm lest he should be suspected of the heinous offence of aiding in giving the king back an unpleasant helpmate, wrote a base, flattering letter to his royal master, and refused to have any communication with the Cleves ambassadors, "unless it please the king's majesty to command him." Of course nothing came of this delicate embassy, and the Duke of Cleves was again obliged to consent that Anne should be called the sister, not the wife of his majesty of England.⁴

The affair of Catherine Howard, which had brought the ambassador of Cleves into England, now proceeded rapidly, and with a baseness on the part of all concerned which almost staggers belief.⁵ No man had the spirit to recommend a more legal way of proceeding; none durst open their lips in favour of any of the accused; the nearest of blood to them sought favour with the court by crying for their condemnation. No humiliation was too vile for the loftiest aristocracy of the land. A day or two after their committal to the Tower, the Duke of Norfolk wrote to the king, telling him that he had learned that his ungracious mother-in-law, his unhappy brother and wife, and his *lewd* sister of Bridgewater, are in the Tower, which, he says, from his long experience of his majesty's equity and justice, he feels sure is not done but for false and traitorous proceedings. This mighty lord had urged on the ruin of his niece Anne Boleyn, and had presided at her trial; but Anne and he were enemies, and opposed in matters of religion; whereas, in the present case, there was no enmity and no conflicting views as to dogmas of faith. He, however, condemned his other niece, Catherine Howard, just as he had condemned Anne; and he lamented very pathetically, "the most abominable deeds done by two of his nieces against his highness," which, he adds, hath brought him into the greatest perplexity that ever poor wretch was in; fearing that his majesty, having so often and by so many of his kin, been thus falsely and traitorously handled, might not only conceive a displeasure in his heart against him, and all others of that kin, but also, in manner, abhor to hear speak of any of the name. "Wherefore," continues this noble Howard, "my most gracious sovereign lord! prostrate at your feet, most humbly I beseech your majesty to call to your remembrance that a great part of this matter is come to light *by my declaration to your majesty,*

¹ Query—Had not this Mary Lascelles been refused a service by the queen?

² On the 11th of December, two days after her committal to the Tower, Cranmer, Audley, Suffolk, Gardiner, and the rest of the council in London, inform the king that they have again been "travailing" with the duchess, "both to make her confess the things testified against her, and also to cough out the rest, not yet discovered, if any such dregs remain among them."

They seem scarcely to have allowed the infirm old woman a moment's rest. Such was the treatment that Henry reserved for the widow of the hero of Flodden Field!

³ *State Papers*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ There are sundry points which we would not venture to assert on any authority less positive than the *State Papers*, where we find the king's own letters and orders, Cranmer's letters, Norfolk's letters, the letters of the council, written at the moment, &c.

according to my bounden duty, of the words spoken to me by my mother-in-law, when your highness sent me to Lambeth to search Dereham's coffers, without the which, I think, she had not been further examined, nor, consequently, her ungracious children."

Meanwhile they still "travailed" to force confessions from the prisoners in the Tower, and *to make them reveal their hidden treasures*. On the 21st of December, Southampton and Wriothesley informed their assured, loving friend, Sir Ralph Sadler, that they had been with the Duchess of Norfolk, whom they found "on her bed, as it appeared very sickly." They had pressed her hard, and had also promised her pardon of her life if she would make them "her ghostly fathers," and confess the intimacy before marriage between the queen and Dereham; but still this high-minded woman, sick and worn as she was, resisted alike their threats and their promises. Taking God to witness, she protested "that she had never thought them (Catherine and Dereham) to be of that abominable sort; nevertheless she would not deny that she had perceived a light love and favour to be between them, more than between indifferent persons; and that she had heard that Dereham would sundry times give Catherine money, which she thought proceeded upon the affection that growth of kindred, the same Dereham being her kinsman." According to her examiners, she avowed that it was very sinful in her not to tell his majesty this before his marriage. "After we had done this degree," they continue, with all the coolness of practised hands, "we went to the second, that is, for her hidden money, plate, or jewels; and, without any denial, she confessed that she had hidden, in another place in her house, £700 or £800, giving us such tokens as we might easily find it, which I, Thomas Wriothesley, with Mr. Attorney, Mr. Pollard, and Mr. Bristow, this morning found, being £800, and have safe bestowed it at Westminster."¹ In the end these active agents told the old lady that her life would be spared; upon which she hoped that his majesty would give her something to live upon, and not take away her house at Lambeth, for she had not long to live. Lord William Howard was also "wonderfully troubled and out of all quiet;" and not without reason, for they had been travelling with his menial servants, and were about

separating him from his wife, not considering it expedient to arraign them together, so as to bring man and wife to the bar in company. Two days after, the Lord William Howard, his wife, Malin Tilney, Elizabeth Tilney, and three other women, among whom was Margaret Burnet, a butter wife, and Bulmer, Ashby, and Dampont, men-servants to the old Duchess of Norfolk, were tried separately,² on a charge of misprision of treason, before a trembling jury, the duchess herself being omitted, for good reasons. According to the report of the council in London,³ Lord William pleaded not guilty; but seeing that this course would not serve him, he confessed to the indictment, or threw himself upon the king's mercy. The result of what they, the council, called their "day's work," was to condemn all the prisoners to perpetual imprisonment, forfeiture of goods, and sequestration of their estates during their lives; and yet nothing was even pretended to be proved against them except that they had been privy to the loves of Catherine Howard and Dereham previous to the marriage.

A.D. 1542.

We here lose the sure guides which we have been for some time following through obscure paths that were closed to former historians.⁴ It appears that men had been long aware that nothing but the blood of Catherine Howard would satisfy the king, and that the promise of life, conveyed to her by Cranmer from his majesty, would not be allowed the weight of a feather. A new parliament was summoned; and on the 16th of January the lords and commons, by petition, implored his gracious majesty that he would not vex himself with the queen's misconduct, but allow the two houses to pass a bill of attainder, to which he might give his assent by letters-patent, without suffering the pain of hearing them rehearse the offences of his wife. The king was pleased to grant this, their humble petition, and to thank them for their making his griefs their own. The bill was carried through the lords in three, and through the commons in two days; and on Saturday, the 11th of February, the Chancellor Audley produced the bill in the lords, signed by the king, and with the great seal appended to it; and then, all the lords being in their robes, and the commons being summoned, the act was read, and, at the same time, a paper, purporting to be the queen's confession. In this paper, which ap-

¹ It is quite clear that the court was greatly in need of these gleanings of violence and iniquity. In the same letter is the following passage:—"Furthermore there is now at Westminster, 5000 marks in money, and £1000 worth of plate, which came from Lambeth (the Duchess of Norfolk's house). I, Thomas Wriothesley, would beseech the king's majesty that it might be delivered to some such hands as his majesty will appoint, or brought unto him to Greenwich. *Methinks I should sleep the better an it were once delivered.*"—*State Papers*.

² They seem to have been tried in separate parties of twos or threes. Lord William, for example, was brought to the bar with Dampont, and not with his own wife.

³ This letter relating the trial is signed by Suffolk, Southampton, Sussex, Hertford, Gage, Wriothesley, and Rich, but bears the signature neither of Cranmer nor of Gardiner.

⁴ In the volume of the *State Papers*, from which the preceding particulars are derived, there is a great gap from the 22d of December, 1541, to the 1st of May, 1542.

pears to have been studiously withheld till the last moment, the unfortunate Catherine was made to acknowledge that she had offended against God, the king, and the nation; to express a hope that her sins would not be visited on the head of her brothers and her family; and to implore as a last grace, permission to divide part of her clothes among her faithful female servants. A confession like this was very vague; and, supposing it to have been really and sincerely made by the victim, it might, after all, only refer to offences before the marriage. Lady Rochford was attainted by parliament at the same time; and two days after, both ladies were beheaded within the walls of the Tower. Upon the scaffold Catherine confessed that she had once led a sinful life, but protested, by her hope of salvation, that she had never been untrue to the king since she had been his wife. The Lady Rochford also died very penitent and meek, and was supposed to have made a blessed end.

The Protestants were as ready to believe in the guilt of the Papist Catherine Howard, as the Papists had been to believe in the guilt of the Protestant Anne Boleyn. Since the triumph and firm establishment of the Reformed doctrines, sympathy and admiration have been incessantly demanded for the unfortunate mother of Queen Elizabeth, but no Protestant tears have been shed for the still more hapless Catherine Howard. Yet an attentive examination of documents, contemporary histories, and traditions, will convince every impartial mind that the frailties and guilt of Catherine were no more substantiated and proved than were the guilt and frailties of Anne, and that, in the case of both ladies, Henry and his judges bade defiance to all law and justice. A living and distinguished Roman Catholic historian turns Anne Boleyn into a wanton, and Catherine into an innocent martyr. Alas! for the slow progress of truth and impartiality! Are these, and other historical subjects of still greater weight, always to be treated of with the same angry passions and the same wilful blindness to evidence? Is prejudice to hold for ever the scales? Must every history continue to be one-sided?

It was enacted in the bill of attainder against Catherine Howard, that every woman about to be married to the king, or to any of his successors, should, if she were not a virgin, disclose that fact beforehand, under penalty of treason; that all other persons cognizant of it, and not divulging it in the proper quarter, should be subject to the penalty of misprision of treason; and that the queen that should move any person to commit adultery with her should suffer as a traitor.

As Henry might deny the virtue of the chaste

maid, if he became tired of her, and as he had provided a law to put her to death, people, who could joke in the midst of these deeds of blood, said that nobody ought to marry him but a widow. But for nearly eighteen months the king seemed to think of marrying no one—devoting his time and attention to divinity and politics. Although he adhered with wonderful firmness to transubstantiation, auricular confession, and the celibacy of the clergy, his mind was not made up as to various fractional parts which he had actually adopted of the Reformation; and while he vehemently condemned the vacillation of his subjects in matters of faith, he was himself wavering on these particular points.

As early as 1536, certain articles were set forth by the convocation of the clergy, which had for their title, "Articles devised by the King's Highness' Majesty to stablish Christian Quietness." In 1537, just after the publication of the whole Bible in English, there appeared the "Institution of a Christian Man," or the "Bishops' Book," as it was called, after its authors, who had worked under the eye of his majesty. In 1543, Henry ordered the publication of another work, entitled "A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man." This book, which was called the "King's Book," differed materially from the "Bishop's Book," which only six years before had been given to the world as an unchangeable standard of faith and practice; thus affording a glaring proof that the king's own mind was not settled. The "King's Book" did not lean so much towards the doctrines of the Reformation as the "Bishops' Book." It established that, for those "whose office it was to teach others, the reading and studying of Holy Scripture was not only convenient, but also necessary; but for the other part of the church, ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed, certainly, that the reading of the Old and New Testament was not so necessary for all those."¹ And soon after, it was enacted in parliament, that the Bible should not be read in public; that it should not be read aloud in any private families except such as were of noble or gentle degree; that it should not be read privately to one's self except by men who were householders, and by females who were well born. By any other women, or any artificer, apprentice, journeyman, servant, or labourer, the opening of the book was unlawful, and an offence to be punished by one month's imprisonment! Crammer and *all* the bishops, whether Papists or Protestants, or half-and-half, concurred in these regulations, and parliament authorized the king to make whatever alterations *he* might deem proper. The fury of persecution was, however, now somewhat allayed. Probably from

¹ Preface to the book itself.

seeing the indiscriminate executions done upon the two sects, the Papists thought it unwise to inform against the Protestants, the Protestants deemed it prudent to be silent as to the Papists with their breaches of the oath of supremacy; and, during the four years which closed this reign, it is said that *only* twenty-four persons were put to death for religion—fourteen of them being Protestants, who were burned; ten Papists, and recusants on the subject of the supremacy, who were hanged.¹

In politics Henry was scarcely more moderate than in religion. The wisest of his measures had been adopted as early as 1536, when it was enacted that the whole of Wales should be united with the realm of England, and be governed by the same laws. Up to this period the principality had been in an anomalous state, from which, without any particular benefits to the Welsh people, there flowed many serious evils to the English. It had been divided into two parts, one of which was governed by English laws, and the other subdivided into feuds or independent lordships, which acknowledged no laws or customs save their own, and were amenable only to their several feudal chiefs. Hence it happened that all criminals who could escape across the English lines, might procure, by favour or purchase, the protection of some petty sovereignty, and bid defiance to English law. The little lordships—141 in number—were frequently engaged in hostilities with one another, like the baronies of the middle ages. It was now, of course, provided that no lord should have the power of protecting or pardoning any criminal; and it was also established that the Welsh shires, with one borough in each, should return members to the English parliament. The most important of the regulations made for Wales were extended to the independent county-palatine of Chester, which had, up to this time, been another anomaly in the political system.

The transactions in Ireland, which have been recently illustrated by a mass of the most curious and minute information,² would form a large chapter of themselves, but we can only touch briefly on the chief events. Soon after the recall of the Earl of Surrey (in 1522), the Earl of Kildare was invested, for the third time, with the high office of lord-deputy. The factions of her great lords were the curse of Ireland, keeping her disunited, weak, and poor. The Butlers, under their chief, the Earl of Ormond or Ossory, had entertained for ages an inveterate feud with the Fitzgeralds, of whom the Earl of Kildare was chief. Their

complaints induced the suspicious Henry to recall the lord-deputy to England, and commit him to the Tower on the usual charge of treason. The Earl of Kildare had been in the Tower before, and had then had a narrow escape from the block. On his present departure from Ireland (in 1533), the chief power fell into the hands of his son, the Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, a brave and generous young man in his twenty-first year, who was soon deceived by a report, purposely circulated, that his father had now been beheaded in reality. He flew to arms, and bade defiance to the King of England. He had then five uncles, brothers to his father, three of whom, at first, dissuaded him from these extreme proceedings; but the passion of vengeance excluded reason, and at length they associated themselves with their nephew Thomas, and were all involved in the same ruin. At first many of the Irish flocked to their standard, and the minstrels, in wild strains, sang the sacred duty of revenge, and inflamed them to fury. They surprised Allen, the Archbishop of Dublin, who was supposed to be one of the accusers of the Earl of Kildare, and they murdered him in presence of the earl's son and brothers. They sent an agent to the Emperor Charles, then irritated by the recent divorcing of his aunt Catherine; and they opened communications with Rome, offering, upon conditions, to prevent Henry, or any of the English, from carrying their church reforms into Ireland. But they were repulsed by the citizens of Dublin, who entertained different notions; they were assailed by the whole power of the rival faction of the Butlers, and were compelled to retreat, in want and disorder, into the wilds of Munster and Connaught. "The poor earl (the prisoner in the Tower), already afflicted with a palsy, was so stricken to the heart with the news of this tumult, that he survived but a few days the knowledge of his unhappiness."³ Sir William Skeffington, the newly-appointed lord-deputy, took the field with a numerous army of regular troops; and in the month of August, 1535, Lord Leonard Gray, son of the Marquis of Dorset, arrived in Ireland, and put himself at the head of other forces, which went in pursuit of Lord Thomas. This Lord Leonard bribed some of the rebels, who agreed to betray their leader. As Henry sent little or no money to his troops, they lived at large upon the unhappy country, plundering first, and burning and destroying afterwards, wherever they went. Lord Thomas Fitzgerald was soon reduced to such straits that he offered to surrender upon terms. It appears pretty certain that Gray promised him a full pardon, for he voluntarily surrendered, and was not taken in arms: but Skeffington gave a different

¹ Styrpe, *Memoir of Cranmer*; Blunt, *Hist. Reform.*

² Published by the Record Commission. It fills vols. ii. and iii. of the important *State Papers*, to which we have so frequently referred, and which, indeed, have been our most valuable guides through this reign.

³ Godwin.

account of the matter. He told the king that O'Connor "came in and yielded himself;" and that the "traitor Thomas Fitzgerald, with divers others his accomplices, considering that he could not be succoured by the said O'Connor, and that his band and strength were by policy allured from him, had in like manner submitted and yielded himself to his highness' mercy and pity, without condition either of pardon, life, lands, or goods, but wholly submitting himself to his grace; so that his desire was, now that he was brought to uttermost extremity, to be conducted to his highness by the Lord Leonard Gray."¹ O'Connor had been too wise to surrender in person—he only delivered certain hostages as security for his good behaviour; but Fitzgerald was forthwith carried over to England by the Lord Leonard Gray, and committed to the Tower. Gray soon returned to Ireland, where he was named marshal, and appointed to the command of the whole army. One of his main objects was to secure the persons of the five uncles of Thomas Fitzgerald, who were still at large. On the 14th of February, of the following year (1536), the council of Ireland, with great glee, informed Cromwell that "the five brethren" had been apprehended by the Lord Leonard, the chief-justice, and others. They did well to avoid particulars; for, by what they termed, "the politic and secret managing of this matter," was to be understood, that Lord Leonard Gray and the others had treacherously seized the five Fitzgeralds at a banquet! After a long imprisonment in the Tower, they were all beheaded, with their nephew, the young earl, in the month of February, 1537. Their betrayer, Gray, though, as a reward, he was promoted to be lord-lieutenant or deputy, did not long survive them: on charges and suspicions he was committed to one of the cells they had occupied, and on the 28th of June, 1541, he was beheaded as a traitor on Tower-hill.²

Of the ancient and powerful family of the Fitzgeralds there remained but one, a boy twelve years old, named Gerald, the younger brother of the Lord Thomas. According to one account, he was seized and conveyed to the Tower, and afterwards escaped from that state prison. There is, however, a better ground for believing that the young Fitzgerald was never brought to the Tower at all, but was secretly carried out of Ireland into France by a sea-captain or merchant who chanced "to be with his ship on merchandise in Ireland," where certain monks entreated him to take charge of the noble boy.³ The remainder of his history is as authentic as it is romantic. Driven from France at the desire of Henry, who claimed the fulfilment of the old treaty, by which neither

power should give refuge to the enemies of the other, the boy sought an asylum in Flanders. There he soon found himself in no less danger than before; upon which he fled into Italy, and implored the protection of his kinsman, Reginald Pole, who received and maintained him very nobly. At length, in the reign of Mary, by means of the same protector, he was restored to his country, and to the honours and estates of his ancestors the Earls of Kildare.

The Fitzgeralds had derived a large portion of that power with which they made themselves formidable to the English government by declaring themselves the champions of the old religion. Upon their arrest, Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, prolonged the opposition to Henry on the same grounds, being generally supported by the native Irish, who had no hope whatever of sharing in the spoils of the abbeys and monasteries, and as generally opposed by the Anglo-Irish nobility, who had good expectations of enriching themselves by the processes of suppression and confiscation. If matters had been carried with a high hand in England, we may be sure that the government was not very observant of constitutional right in Ireland. The whole body of the Irish clergy was excluded from the Irish parliament, in which they had hitherto voted by their proctors; and then statutes were passed, abolishing the authority of the pope for ever, declaring Henry supreme head of the Irish church, and giving to him the first-fruits and tenths and all the estates of the suppressed monasteries. Fierce personal quarrels raged incessantly among the men intrusted with the government; all the functionaries had their feuds and differences, arising out of conflicting religious beliefs, and still more out of jealousy as to the apportioning of the confiscated lands; and it seems to have been the practice of nearly every one of them to play the informer at the English court for the destruction of his associates. They could never agree as to the proper mode of treating the native Irish, though the notion more generally adopted was, that they were to be treated without mercy; for we find continual complaints of there being over-much favour shown to the Irishry. O'Connor was soon again in arms; and a still more formidable enemy to the English, or to the new system of church government, rose up in the person of O'Neil, the great chieftain of the north. The royal troops, and the Irish kerns acting with them, fell upon O'Neil's country, and plundered and burned it for six whole days. The *plundering* evidently retarded the operations of the war, which was allowed to linger on for nearly three years; nor was the pacification of the country promoted by a constant breach of faith on the part of the government.

¹ State Papers.² State Papers; Stow; Godwin.³ State Papers.

The foreign enemies of Henry were not slow in perceiving his weak point. The Scots occasionally succoured the Irish insurgents; and the king was kept in a constant state of alarm by reports of armaments from Spain or France being in Bantry Bay. It was not to be expected that the English would have all the plundering and burning to themselves; in the vicissitudes of war they were often the victims of the same practices. In 1540, soon after the recall of Lord Leonard Gray, O'Connor invaded Kildare, burning every village and town that he could take; O'Neil fell upon Dundalk; M'Mordo and the O'Tholes moved on another line; and the English pale was visited in its whole length by fire and sword. But in the end of the year O'Connor submitted, upon promise of being made a baron, and after a sanguinary victory gained over the kerns, a certain degree of tranquillity was restored.

Hitherto Ireland had been but a lordship; in 1541, Henry resolved to elevate it to the rank of a kingdom. At the same time he adopted the

policy of attaching some of the most powerful of the native chiefs, and also such of the great Anglo-Irish proprietors as had not already been ennobled, by admitting them to the honours of the peerage. The allurements thus held out was run after with wonderful eagerness by both. The De Burghs, the O'Briens, the O'Neils, the O'Tholes, the Cavanahs, and the rest, were all ready to make a sacrifice of independence for the title and privileges of peers. They consented to hold their lands of the crown by the tenure of military service; they swore fealty to Henry, and they accepted from him houses in Dublin, which they were to inhabit when summoned as peers to the Irish parliament. Thus Ulliac de Burgh became Earl of Clanricarde, Murrock O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, and the formidable O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone. In all these and other measures there was considerable prudence and ability, and the effect of Henry's general policy was greatly to extend the English power in Ireland.¹

CHAPTER VIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A. D. 1523—1547.

HENRY VIII.—ACCESSION, A. D. 1509—DEATH, A. D. 1547.

Affairs of Scotland—Earl of Surrey's invasion of Scotland—Return of the Duke of Albany—He unsuccessfully invades England—James V., a minor, proclaimed king—Rash proceedings of his mother Margaret—She is deprived of her authority—James V. escapes from the control of the Douglasses—He defends the cause of the Romish church—His marriages—His severe proceedings against the Reformers—Henry VIII. seeks an interview with James V.—A Scottish army mustered to invade England—Its shameful rout at Solway Moss—Death of James V.—Design of Henry VIII. to reduce Scotland and England into one monarchy—He liberates the Scottish nobles his prisoners—Cardinal Beaton's attempts to obtain the regency of Scotland—Henry's rash proceedings alarm the Scots—Marriage resolved between Prince Edward of England and the Princess Mary of Scotland—Beaton recovers his ascendancy—He is reconciled with the Regent Arran—They unite against Henry and the Reformation—Aid arrives to the Scots from France—Fresh rupture between England and Scotland—Henry's reconciliation with Charles V.—He marries Catherine Parr—Invades France—Besieges and takes Boulogne—Abortive close of the invasion—Invasion of Scotland by sea—The English land at Leith—They burn Edinburgh—Defeat of the English at Ancrum Moor—The French attempt to gain the mastery at sea—Their naval proceedings—Their unsuccessful effort to obtain the Isle of Wight—Henry's poverty—His illegal acts to obtain money—His intrigues with Scottish traitors—He attempts to procure the assassination of Cardinal Beaton—Singular correspondence for that purpose—Scotland again invaded—Havoc wrought by the invaders—Account of George Wishart—His labours in Scotland as a Reformer—His martyrdom—Beaton fortifies his castle of St. Andrews—He is assassinated—Growing infirmities of Henry—His theological debates with his queen—Rivalry between the houses of Hertford and Norfolk—The Duke of Norfolk arrested—His son, the Earl of Surrey, tried for treason—Tampering with the witnesses against him—Surrey executed—The Duke of Norfolk tried and condemned—Last illness of Henry VIII.—His death—Fortunate escape of Norfolk from execution.



He left the affairs of Scotland in a most embarrassed state, at the second departure of the Regent Albany for France, in October, 1522. Henry, who had pretended that the sole cause of his hostility was the presence of that prince, on the retirement of Albany, sent Clarenceux to de-

clare, in a solemn manner, that he held the war to be unnatural, and that he was most desirous of living in peace with his dear nephew James. Nearly at the same moment his troops collected in the east marches, ravaged and burned the greater part of Teviotdale; and the Earl of Surrey (the Duke of Norfolk of later times), with

¹ State Papers.

10,000 men, burst into the Merse, burning and destroying all before him, without even respecting the beautiful old abbey of Jedburgh, which he left a heap of ruins. Lord Dacre continued his ancient practices; and whenever there was a traitor in Scotland he was ready to bribe him. In 1523 Albany returned with a fleet of eighty-seven small vessels, 4000 foot soldiers, 500 men-at-arms, 1000 hackbutters, 600 horse, and a decent train of artillery, which had been furnished to him by the French. He found his former close and dear ally Margaret, the queen-dowager, who had taken to herself another lover, deep in negotiations with Dacre and Surrey, and sold to promote the English interests at the expense of the independence of the Scottish nation and her son's crown. His position was more than ever difficult; the Scots were jealous of the foreign army with which he was surrounded, and, being well informed of what was passing on the Continent, they maintained that Albany wished to urge them into a war with England for the sole object of obliging France. The Scottish parliament, however, assembled, and a proclamation was issued for a muster of the whole military force of the kingdom on the 20th of October, that the defeat of Flodden might be avenged, and reprisals made for the incursions of Shrewsbury, Surrey, and the other leaders, who had committed such havoc on the Borders. By means of money Albany won over some of the most venal of the nobles, and even shook the English politics of the queen-dowager, who, with great delicacy, informed the Earl of Surrey, that, unless her brother Henry remitted her more cash, she might possibly join the French interest, and co-operate with Albany. On the appointed day the Scottish army appeared in array near Edinburgh; but Argyle, the Lord Forbes, the Earl of Huntly, and other great lords, were absent—some openly condemning the invasion of England, some pretending sickness. Albany, however, marched to the Tweed with about 40,000 men; but the season was far advanced—the roads were almost impassable for his artillery—the Scots quarrelled with the foreign auxiliaries, and many of their chiefs had engaged with Surrey and Dacre to check the regent's progress. When they reached the wooden bridge of Melrose, a large body of troops refused to cross the Tweed; and, soon after, the divisions which had passed halted, wavered, and then, in spite of Albany's entreaties and reproaches, re-crossed the bridge to the Scottish side. The regent then attempted to keep them close on the left bank of the Tweed, and he laid siege to Wark Castle with his foreign troops and artillery. But he was foiled even in this paltry enterprise; and on the 4th of November, after losing some 300 Frenchmen in an assault,

he was compelled to beat a retreat.¹ On his return to the capital, some of the Scottish peers accused him of being the cause of the disgrace they themselves had brought about; and, notwithstanding the presence of Surrey on the Borders, and the inclemency of the season, they insisted on his instantly dismissing the foreign auxiliaries. Soon after, in the spring of 1524, Albany, in disgust and despair, returned once more to France, whence he marched with the French king into Italy. The defeat and capture of Francis at the battle of Pavia completed the ruin of his party in Scotland, where the queen-dowager once more mismanaged affairs for a short time. Henry had opened a correspondence with her husband, the Earl of Angus, who had been living in exile on the Continent, and who, upon certain conditions, engaged to forward the views of the English in his native country. But before this project could be carried into execution, Margaret, assisted by the Earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and others of the great nobles, got possession of the person of her son, carried him to Edinburgh, and there caused him to be declared of age, and to be proclaimed king. James was twelve years old when he received the oaths of allegiance of such of the spiritual and temporal peers as had espoused his mother's party. The whole plan was transparent, and all patriotic minds dreaded to see the government of the kingdom again in the hands of so capricious, unwise, and anti-national a person as Margaret. James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, resisted and threw ridicule on the notion of a boy of twelve years being king; for which they were committed to prison. Wolsey flattered Beaton with the hope of a cardinal's hat if he would renounce his engagement to support the regency established by the Scottish parliament, and become the tool of England; but Beaton, with all his faults, had a high and patriotic spirit, and he rejected these proposals. Henry cared not by what means he obtained the ascendancy: giving up Angus, who was now residing at his court, he determined to support this precious revolution, by which Margaret might reign in her son's name, and he might rule in hers. He sent her and the Earl of Arran some money, and 200 men-at-arms, as a body-guard for the young king; but Margaret was as wilful as her brother: she soon found fault with him for permitting the return of her now odious husband, and she threatened to throw herself into the arms of the enemies of England unless Angus were kept away from Scotland. At the same time she clamoured for more money, and demanded the order of the Garter for her friend the Earl of Arran. But, very soon after, she disgusted the

¹ Buchanan; Tyler.

powerful Arran by taking to herself another paramour, in the person of Henry Stuart, second son of Lord Evandale, a very handsome but inexperienced youth, whom she instantly raised to the important office of lord-treasurer. Upon this, her party fell from her rapidly, and she did not mend matters by making her young lover chancellor soon after. She continued, at the same time, to excite the suspicions of Wolsey and her brother Henry, who thereupon renewed negotiations with her husband Angus, who was still at the English court. After many shameful intrigues, Angus, having agreed to do the will of Henry, was sent into Scotland; and, with English assistance, he was enabled to obtain possession of the young king, and, with that, the exercise of the royal authority. After a bold but unsuccessful attempt at resistance, Margaret consented to a treaty, by which she was removed from any dependence as a wife upon Angus, and permitted to enjoy a voice in the council and the disposal of a portion of the patronage of the church. She would not have obtained such mild terms had it not been for the mediation of the English court, and the manœuvres of its skilful agents; yet the treaty was scarcely signed when she opened a secret negotiation with Albany and the French court, professing a readiness to go to all extremities against England, provided only they would assist her in expelling her husband Angus, and getting a divorce from Rome. But by this time Francis was a prisoner and Albany powerless; and, to complete her misfortunes, her brother's agents intercepted her letters, and laid them before the enraged majesty of England. She was now deprived of the very limited share of authority she had possessed; and her husband Angus, with the rest of the Douglasses, governed the country. Angus consented, at last (in 1526), to a divorce, and Margaret married her paramour, and fell into deserved contempt with all parties.¹

The young King James soon felt a desire to free himself from the thralldom of the Douglasses; and in July, 1528, when he was in his seventeenth year, with the assistance of Archbishop Beaton, he escaped from the confinement in which he was held, and threw himself into Stirling Castle, where he was soon joined by the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Eglington, and Moray, and by many other powerful noblemen, who saluted him as their free and uncontrolled monarch—and, for the first time in his life, James *was* free. He instantly issued a proclamation, forbidding Angus, or any lord or retainer of the house of Douglas, to approach within six miles of his court, under pain of treason, and he presently levied an army,

which enabled him to drive his enemies across the Borders. Angus became the pensioner of Henry, and remained for some years an exile in England. The young James soon proved that he was very capable of the duties of government; and his frank, generous disposition, and easy popular manners, gained him the hearts of his subjects. He resolved to free his country from foreign dictation and the interference of England; and to that end he sought the alliance of the emperor and the French king. In 1532 the intrigues of the Earl of Bothwell, who had traitorously allied himself with England, and the desperation of Angus and the banished Douglasses, brought on a war between the two countries; but hostilities were confined to the Borders, where, properly speaking, peace never reigned; and a treaty was soon concluded under the mediation of the French king. The treaty, on terms very honourable to Scotland, was signed on the 12th of May, 1534. James was now in his twenty-second year. He publicly deplored his uncle, the King of England's conduct, and expressed his own determination of supporting in Scotland the religion of his ancestors. His counsellors were chiefly priests, whose intolerance was heightened by the notorious fact that many of the Scottish nobles who inclined to a reform of the church were bad patriots, and in the pay of England. The more Henry attacked the Roman church, the more James seemed determined to defend it. The English court was much distressed by this diversity of opinion; and, to win over his nephew, Henry made him an offer of the hand of his own daughter Mary, and sent him one of his own priests, Dr. Barlow, to preach to him. This Barlow found slight encouragement at the Scottish court, and the Scottish clergy shut up all the pulpits against him; upon which he described the clerical counsellors of James as being "the pope's pestilent preachers, and very limbs of the devil." The matrimonial negotiation fell to the ground, and so did a proposal made by Henry for a meeting with his nephew at York; and James soon after married the Princess Magdalen, daughter of the French king, a beautiful girl of sixteen. The ceremony took place in January, 1537, in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris; and on the 19th of May the royal couple landed safely at Leith. But Magdalen, who was in a delicate state of health when she married, died of a rapid decline on the 7th of July, leaving her husband in great affliction, from which, however, he was soon sufficiently roused to send David Beaton, afterwards the celebrated cardinal, to look out for another wife in France. Beaton, who was accompanied by Lord Maxwell and the Master of Glencairn, presently concluded a match with Mary of Guise, the widow of the Duke of Longueville, a lady

¹ She died in 1589, having with great difficulty been prevailed upon *not* to divorce her third husband.

who had refused the hand of his uncle of England. Mary of Guise arrived in Scotland, and the king's second marriage was celebrated in the cathedral church of St. Andrews, within a year after the death of his first wife. "The Pilgrimage of Grace," and other events in England, the Catholic feelings of his wife Mary, and other circumstances, confirmed James in his opposition to religious reform; and the affairs of the Scottish church, and in good part those of the nation, were chiefly intrusted to David Beaton, who, in



CARDINAL BEATON.—From the picture at Holyrood.

the autumn of 1539, succeeded his uncle, James Beaton, in the primacy. The pope had addressed flattering messages to the king, and David Beaton had received a cardinal's hat—a melancholy effect of which high honours was soon exhibited in the burning of more heretics. These detestable executions drove all those who favoured the new doctrine into an alliance with the banished Douglasses, who could only work by English means, and by modes perilous to the national independence. And this course again exasperated the king more than ever against the Protestants. For a long time patriotism was allied with the old religion, and the new religion was banded with disaffection and anti-nationality. James, indeed, continued to support the church with all his might, not hesitating to adopt from his priestly counsellors a fierce spirit of intolerance and persecution.¹ Early in the following year his parliament passed more severe statutes against heresy: it was declared to be a capital offence to question the supreme authority or the spiritual infallibility of the pope; no person, with the least taint of heresy, was to enjoy any office under government; no private meetings, or conventicles, or societies for the discussion of religious subjects were allowed, and informers against them were

invited by high rewards; no good Catholic was to hold intercourse with any man or woman that had at any time entertained heretical notions, were it his own brother or sister; the casting down of images of saints and the Virgin was declared to be a damnable offence; and a reference was made in the act to that rage for destroying the sacred edifices, which was now in its infancy, but which gathered strength under persecution, and which, in a few years, left the beautiful abbeys and churches of Scotland heaps of sightless ruins. At the same time, however, the parliament exhorted all churchmen, high or low, to reform their lives and conversation, in order to remove a great ground of scandal and reproach.²

Soon after this, Cardinal Beaton, and Panter, the king's secretary, proceeded on an embassy to Rome, with secret instructions. Alarmed at this mission, and at some new demonstrations on the Continent, Henry again pressed his nephew to meet him at York; and James, it appears, either consented, or deceived the English envoys with vague and ambiguous language. The English king, in the month of August, took the northern road (it was the fatal journey which preceded the arrest of Catherine Howard), travelled on to York, and waited there six days for the coming of the Scottish king. But James came not; and Henry, furious at what he considered a flaming insult, retraced his steps to London, whence he soon issued orders to Sir Robert Bowes to levy troops near the Borders, and to the Archbishop of York to make search into the records and muniments, so as to ascertain and establish the just title of the Kings of England to the kingdom of Scotland—which absurd claim he was resolved to revive.³ James sent an embassy to deprecate his uncle's wrath; but Beaton and the Catholic party generally were not averse to an open war, fearing greatly that their needy king might not always resist the tempting proposals of the English suppressionists. But, in good truth, peace had never been established on the Borders; on the one side of which were the banished Douglasses, eager to recover their estates with their swords; and on the other, English exiles, the victims of the "Pilgrimage of Grace," who were animated with the same desire. The first great movement, however, proceeded from the English lines: in August, 1542, Sir James Bowes, the warden of the east marches, with the Earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and other Scottish exiles, with a body of 3000 horse, rushed into Teviotdale. The invading force was met at Haddenrig by the Earl of Huntly and Lord Home, who gained a complete victory, taking no fewer than 600 prisoners of note. Henry, after proclaiming by manifestoes that the Scots were the aggressors,

¹ Sadler's *State Papers*.

² *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*.

³ *State Papers*; Sadler; Tytler.

ordered a levy of 40,000 men, and sent the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Southampton, Shrewsbury, Derby, Rutland, and Hertford, to take the command of this army, which was joined by Angus and all the banished Douglasses that had survived the fight at Haddenrig. At last, in the end of October, preceded by a fresh manifesto, in which Henry claimed the sovereignty of Scotland, Norfolk crossed the Border, and burned two towns and twenty villages on the left bank of the Tweed. There he continued ransacking the country without any opposition, and without venturing to advance, as James was gathering an army in his front, while Huntly, Home, and Seton were watching him on the flank. Thirty thousand men gathered round the standard of James on the Borough Muir, near Edinburgh; but there was disaffection in his camp: many of the nobles favoured the doctrines of the Reformation, either from a conviction of their truth, or from an earnest desire to possess themselves of the lands and houses of the monks; others were led wholly by their hereditary attachment to the banished Douglasses, whose standard floated on the side of the English; others, again, felt the unprofitableness of a war with England, and were of opinion that they should only act on the defensive. The provocation was great, but the latter would have been the wisest course; for, before James reached the Lammermuir Hills, Norfolk, in want of provisions, and distressed by the inclemency of the weather, was in full retreat. Having halted on Fala Muir, and reviewed his troops, which were exceedingly well appointed, though, like the enemy, somewhat short of provisions, James proposed that they should follow Norfolk, and make retaliation for his raid in England; but, to his great dismay, nearly every chief refused to cross the Borders, alleging the lateness of the season, the difficulty of obtaining provisions, and the imprudence of exposing the person of their sovereign, who, like his father, might find a Flodden Field. It was in vain that the gallant James called them cowards and traitors, and attempted to excite their revenge by pointing out the still smoking towns and villages, and Scottish farms, that marked the line of Norfolk's destructive march: they would not move forward—they began to disband—and the king

was obliged to ride back, with a bursting heart, to Edinburgh. The clergy, with a few of the peers, resolved to make an effort to retrieve the disgrace under which the king was sinking; and Lord Maxwell contrived to get together a force of 10,000 men, with which he proposed to burst suddenly into England by the western marches, and to remain there as many days as Norfolk had remained in Scotland, burning and destroying in the like manner. James rode with this little army to the castle of Caerlaverock, where, by agreement with his council, he halted: Maxwell dashed across the Border; but, no sooner were the Scots on English ground, on Solway Moss, than Oliver Sinclair, the king's minion, as he is termed, produced a commission appointing him to the supreme command of the army. Upon this many of the proud chiefs swore they would not serve under any such leader; and the clans and most of the troops broke out into open mutiny. In the midst of this scene of hopeless confusion a body of 300 English horse came up to reconnoitre. The Scots took them for the van of Norfolk's army, and, without attempting to ascertain the fact, fled in the greatest disorder. The English horse, charging the fugitives, took nearly 1000 prisoners—among whom were included the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, the Lords Somerville Maxwell, Gray, Oliphant, and Fleming, the Masters of Erskine and Rothes, and Home of Aytou—and then marched back towards merry Car-



FALKLAND PALACE.—From an old drawing in the British Museum.

lisle.¹ This disgraceful and unparalleled defeat was a death-blow to James: he rode slowly back to Edinburgh, and from Edinburgh he proceeded to his palace at Falkland, where he shut himself

¹ *State Papers; Hall; Herbert.* Some accounts make the English horse 500 or 600, instead of 300; but no increase of

up, brooding over his disgrace, and sitting for hours without speaking a word to any living being. There are few such authenticated cases of dying of what is called a broken heart. He was in the flower and prime of life, being only in his thirty-first year, and, up to this last calamity, his constitution was vigorous, and he had scarcely known sickness; but now a slow fever fixed upon him, and he sank most rapidly. His wife, Mary of Guise, had borne him two sons, but they had both died in their infancy; she was now a third time *enceinte*, and near her time, and it was hoped that a seasonable turn might be given to his consuming thoughts by the birth of a son and heir; but the queen was delivered, at the palace of Linlithgow, of a daughter, the unfortunate Mary; and James died on the 14th of December, seven days after her birth, foreseeing the dismal fate of his child and his country, and muttering in his last moments, "It came with a girl, and it will go with a girl."¹

A.D. 1543. The news of his nephew's death possessed Henry with new hopes of uniting Great Britain under one head. England had a young prince, and Scotland a queen, and he determined to marry his son Edward to the infant Mary. If he had been content with an arrangement for the future he might have succeeded, and had Edward lived, a great blessing for both countries would have been achieved; but Henry was anxious for an *immediate* enjoyment of the united sovereignty, and resolved to demand, as the natural guardian of the young princess, the entire government of the Scottish kingdom; and this selfishness and precipitancy defeated his scheme. He, however, proceeded at first with considerable craft, and found noble and powerful Scots, who, from anxiety to establish the Reformed religion in Scotland, and, still more, from motives of self-interest, were ready to throw their country in fetters at his feet. Foremost among these were the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas, who had both long been in his confidence, and bound to his service. But the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the Lords Somerville, Maxwell, Gray, and the other nobles who had been taken prisoners in the disgraceful rout at Solway Moss, and had been at first (at least in outward appearance) very harshly treated by Henry, who shut

them up for a few days in the Tower like rebels and traitors, were also ready to second his views. As soon as they showed this disposition Henry treated them with great honour and kindness, and under these blandishments their last faint feelings of patriotism departed. They concluded a formal and a solemn treaty, agreeing to acknowledge Henry as the sovereign lord of Scotland, to exert their influence to procure for him the government of the kingdom, with the possession of all the fortresses and the person of the infant queen Mary, who was to be delivered into his hands, to be kept in England. They swore to this treaty; they delivered hostages for its execution, promising that, if they failed, they would return into England to the same state of captivity in which they were before the treaty was made. Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus, was intrusted with the chief management of the business; and all these unpatriotic lords were bound to proceed with great caution, and to feel their way, at first, by merely speaking of the benefits of the marriage, without alluding to any of its immediate consequences.²

As soon as James was dead, Cardinal Beaton produced a will, by which *he* was appointed guardian to the infant queen, and regent or "governor" of the realm, with the assistance of a council composed of the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, and Moray. The Earl of Arran, now presumptive heir to the throne, and as much wedded to the reforming party as Beaton was to the Papists, declared that this will was a forgery, and he had sufficient power to drive the cardinal from his office, and to acquire possession of it himself in the course of a very few days. Arran became regent or governor on the 22d of December, 1542, upon which the current set wholly in favour of the Protestant party. It was determined that Angus and the Douglasses should be recalled from their long exile of fifteen years. It was not then known that they had agreed to sacrifice the independence of the kingdom; and they did not leave England until after the 10th of January, 1543, when they received a safe-conduct from the Earl of Arran, permitting them freely to return to their homes. In order to ruin Cardinal Beaton and his party, a scroll was produced, which was said to have been found upon the king's person at his death, and which contained a list of above 360 of the Scottish nobility and gentry, who were marked out as heretics, and, as such, recommended as proper objects for confiscation and other penalties. At the very head of the list stood the name of the Earl of Arran, now regent! The cardinal despatched agents to France to represent to the house of Guise the danger of the queen-dowager and her

numbers can explain what happened to the honour of the Scots. We are justified in suspecting that many of them who had been traitors before, and who agreed to sell their country afterwards, were taken willing prisoners. Others, according to Bishop Godwin, were taken by *Scottish* freebooters, and sold to the *English*—"We charge them furiously; the Scots amazingly fly; many are slain, many taken; more plunged into the neighbouring fens, and, taken by *Scottish* freebooters, sold to us."—*Godwin*.

¹ *Lesly: Drummond; Maitland; Sir W. Scott; Tytler*. The crown of Scotland was brought into the family of the Stuarts by a daughter of the Bruce.

infant, and to beg for a supply of money and troops to resist the encroachments of the King of England and the manœuvres of the Scottish party sold to that monarch. As soon as the marriage was whispered, he saw all that Henry intended thereby, and he everywhere denounced the project, as tending to nothing less than the enslaving of Scotland. To quiet his dangerous eloquence, Arran, who found it necessary to seek the support of the men who had engaged to sacrifice their country, ordered his instant arrest; and the cardinal was seized on a charge of high treason, and carried off to the castle of Blackness, before he could get his own party together. Beaton had been recently appointed legate *a latere* for Scotland; and his influence with the clergy was as boundless as was their conviction that his talent and energy alone could prevent their ruin. They now shut up their churches; they refused to administer the sacraments or to bury the dead; and, as the great mass of the people were as yet Catholics, this conduct produced a deep impression; while, being relieved from other duties, the priests and monks had more time to devote to politics. Henry, in the meantime, was far too impatient. As if to proclaim his intentions, he demanded that Cardinal Beaton should be delivered into his hands; and he pressed Angus and the Scottish prisoners to begin by putting him in possession of the Scottish fortresses at once. The traitors told him that, if he would wait patiently, all would go well, and they would fulfil all that had been stipulated between them: but patience was a virtue unknown to Henry; he would only allow them a given time—he would only consent to prolong the truce till the month of June; and he at once collected what troops he could in the northern provinces. The heart of Wallace and the Bruce still beat in the general bosom of the brave Scottish people, though the proudest of the aristocracy—the barons of “the broken faith and the bloody hand”—were Baliols and Comyns. The traitor Sir George Douglas soon told Henry that to demand the government for him would be a perilous and fatal step,¹—that even the boys of Scotland would resist it with stones, and the old women with their distaffs. With all this patriotism, however, the Papist party seemed resolved to allow of no liberty of conscience in religious matters. The Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, and Moray had demanded that Cardinal Beaton should be set at liberty, offering themselves in bail for his appearance, to answer the charges brought against him. Arran, the regent, refused. They then called to their assistance the Earl of Argyle, and repaired to Perth, where they were soon joined by a great number of bishops and abbots, and many barons

and knights. They then drew up certain articles, which were presented to Arran and the council of regency by the Bishop of Orkney and Sir John Campbell of Caldour, uncle to the Earl of Argyle. One of the principal of these articles was, that the New Testament should not go abroad; by which was meant, that it should not be published in the vulgar tongue, or circulated among the people: another was, that the cardinal should be set at liberty. By the third article they demanded a share in the council: and by the fourth, they insisted that the ambassadors appointed to go to England should be changed for men of less questionable integrity and patriotism. Arran replied that he would grant them no such unreasonable desires; and the bishop and knight were presently followed to Perth by his herald-at-arms, who charged them, under pain of treason, to break up their meeting, and repair to the capital. The assembled lords, both lay and spiritual, readily obeyed, and, with a very few exceptions, went to attend the parliament, which was summoned for the 12th of March, 1543; but they had come to a good understanding among themselves—they were on their guard, and it was scarcely possible that any measure dangerous to the independence of Scotland should be carried, or even proposed in their presence, and in the state to which *they* had brought the popular mind.² The Archbishop of Glasgow, as chancellor, introduced the English proposals of peace and marriage: all voices were in favour of the union, but not one dared to propose the other demands which the King of England had advanced as indispensable preliminaries—as conditions, without which he would do nothing. The parliament, in recommending the marriage, recommended also that their young queen should, on no account, be sent into England; and they made, with jealous care, sundry regulations for preserving the national independence under all circumstances.³

Henry flew into a paroxysm of rage when he heard the turn this affair had taken; his ambassador or political agent Sir Ralph Sadler was instructed to reprimand Angus and his associates. Sadler, who would not have doubted lightly of the success of those intrigues of which he was so expert a manager, wrote to one of the English ministers, that, in his opinion, “the Scots would rather suffer any extremity than come to the obedience and subjection of England—that they would have their own realm free, and live within themselves after their own laws and customs.”⁴ Henry then attempted to terrify or cajole the Regent Arran—a weak and corrupt man, but

² *State Papers.* Letter from the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas to the English Lord Lisle.

³ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.*

⁴ *State Papers.*

¹ *Sadler; State Papers.*

not wholly destitute of honour and national feeling. He promised that he would give his daughter Elizabeth in marriage to Arran's son; but here a consideration of a selfish nature intervened; for Arran contemplated uniting his son to the young Queen Mary. The regent's passion for church reform was not overlooked; but here, again, Arran could hardly agree with the English king, who continued to maintain the chief dogmas of the Catholic church with fire and fagot; for Arran was at this time a thorough Protestant, entertaining in his house one John Rough, and one Brother William, whom Henry most indubitably would have burned as pestilent heretics. At this very moment Cardinal Beaton recovered his liberty. By what means this was effected is not very clear, but the consequences were soon apparent. The Earl of Lennox, who had served Francis I. in his Italian wars, and who was very nearly related to the royal family of Scotland, was set up as a rival to Arran; and supplies of money and ammunition were brought over from Francis, who undertook to exert himself to the utmost, in order to prevent altogether the English marriage and alliance. But, at the same time, Angus, Sir George Douglas, and the other paid and pensioned agents of Henry, were not idle; and by their advice, Henry relaxed in the harshness of his demands, and agreed to wait the effect of time and intrigue. On the 1st of July his commissioners met Sir George Douglas, the Earl of Glencairn, Sir James Learmont, Sir William Hamilton, and Balnavis, the Scottish secretary, at Greenwich, and there finally arranged a less objectionable treaty. It was agreed that Queen Mary should marry Edward, Prince of Wales, as soon as she was of proper age, and that a perfect peace should be established, from the signing of the treaty, between the two countries; that Mary should remain in Scotland

until she completed her tenth year—Henry being permitted to send thither an English nobleman, with his wife and family, to form part of her household; and that two Scottish earls and four barons should be sent forthwith into England as hostages. It was provided in the treaty, and set down as an indefeasible part of it, that in all cases the ancient kingdom of Scotland should keep her name, and be governed by her own laws.¹

But, in effect, this outward parchment was but a cover to a scheme of the utmost perfidy—a scheme which must have been suspected by the Scottish statesmen of those days, though it has only been fully brought to light in our own by the research of a national historian.² Under the treaty of Greenwich there was what was called a *secret device*—a name which very happily expresses the nature of the thing. By this precious compact, Angus, his brother George, Maxwell, Glencairn, Cassillis, and the rest, bound themselves once more to the service of Henry—undertook, in case of need, to arm in his favour, and to adhere solely to his interests; “so that he should attain all the things then pacted and covenanted, or, at the least, the dominion on this side the Firth,” by which last expression was meant the whole of the south of Scotland.³

But the treaty was scarcely concluded, when Cardinal Beaton and the Earl of Huntly collected an army in the north of Scotland, when Argyle and Lennox rose in the west, and Bothwell, Home, and the Laird of Buccleuch mustered their vassals along the Borders. Their manifesto stated that they were forced into these hostile measures by Arran and the Douglasses, who threatened their holy church, and who had sold their country to Henry. At this crisis, or a



THE PALACE OF LINLITHGOW, as now existing.⁴

little later, Arran, who was receiving money from the English court, sent to request the assistance of an English army. Before this, Henry

² Mr. Tytler.

³ *State Papers*. “Copy of the Secret Device,” dated July 1, 1543. Further information as to these treacherous transactions exists in the Hamilton MSS., in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton, and quoted by Mr. Tytler.

⁴ The palace of Linlithgow—for several centuries a favourite residence of the Scottish monarchs—was accidentally set on fire in the year 1746, and is now a magnificent ruin.

¹ *Rymers' Sadler's State Papers*.

tried every possible means for seizing Beaton, and getting possession of the person of Queen Mary. The cardinal dreaded his stratagems and the effect of his gold; and he resolved to put the infant Mary in safer keeping. She was living with her mother, Mary of Guise, in the palace of Linlithgow, guarded by a great force appointed by Arran and the Hamiltons. By combined movements, the cardinal brought all the forces of Lennox, Huntly, Argyle, and Bothwell, together with the Buccleuchs and the Kers, to act suddenly at one moment on Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. Arran and the Douglasses yielded to the storm; and the infant queen, and the queen-dowager, were given up to Beaton's party, and conveyed for safety to Stirling Castle.¹ Arran, however, retained the office of regent or governor; and in the month of August of the same year (1543) he caused the treaties with England to be ratified by the nobles, and himself swore to their faithful observance.² Cardinal Beaton and his party represented, with perfect truth, that this ratification was made contrary to the wishes of the great body of the nation—that it was unauthorized by parliament, and in consequence illegal. Henry chose this very moment for offering a fresh provocation. As soon as the treaty of peace was published, some Scottish merchants ventured to send to sea a number of ships; these ships were driven by stress of weather into an English port, where, by the king's orders, they were seized, and their cargoes confiscated, under pretence that they were carrying provision to his majesty's enemies in France.³ This measure excited such a fury in Edinburgh, that Sir Ralph Sadler found his life in danger from the populace; upon which Henry threatened the magistrates of that capital with his high displeasure. Angus, Cassilis, Glencairn, and the other pensioners of England, now thought that it would be better to bring matters to a crisis openly, and they strongly recommended Henry to send a main army for the conquest of the realm—the time, they said, being come: but Arran, the regent, seems to have trembled at the exasperation of the Scottish people, and, to the surprise of most men, on the 3d September, only six days after protesting to Sadler that no prince alive should have his heart and service save only the English king, he met the cardinal by appointment at Callendar House, and entirely reconciled himself with that party, agreeing to renounce all former pledges, and even his attachment to the Reformed doctrines. Very soon after, he publicly abjured his heresy in the Franciscan

convent of Stirling, and received absolution for his late wandering from the holy Catholic faith. Beaton then applied himself to win over the Earl of Angus and his traitorous associates; but these men seemed determined to earn their pensions, and, withdrawing to Douglas Castle, they assembled their vassals, and drew up a new bond or covenant, to employ their whole strength in fulfilling their engagements with the King of England. Lord Somerville undertook to deliver this bond to Henry, and to concert with him proper warlike measures. Beaton, on the other side, caused the infant queen to be crowned at Stirling, appointed a new council, and made Arran, as governor or regent, take a most solemn oath to govern according to the advice of this council. On a sudden, the Earl of Lennox, whom the cardinal had played off with good effect against Arran, disgusted with the reconciliation that had taken place between Beaton and the regent, and led by other base motives, threw himself into the English interests. Lennox soon showed himself worthy of his new associates. To him had been intrusted the recent negotiations with the French court; and when the Sieur de la Brosse arrived with a few ships, bearing fifty pieces of artillery, some military stores, and 10,000 crowns to be distributed amongst the anti-English party, he anchored at Dumbarton, *because* the town and castle were devoted to his friend the Earl of Lennox. Taking good care not to inform him of his sudden change of politics, Lennox got all the gold, and then left the poor ambassador to discover his mistake. In his eagerness for the money, Lennox lost the rest of the cargo on board the French ships, which landed a Papal legate, Marco Grimani, who was commissioned to confirm Arran in his new zeal for Papistry, and to attend to the affairs of the church generally. The more patriotic of the Scottish nobles entertained this clever and polished Italian with great hospitality.⁴ But there wanted no legate from the pope to excite the Scottish people. Somerville was seized, and the traitorous bond recently signed at Douglas Castle was found upon his person, along with other letters, which disclosed the full extent of that treasonable plan. Maxwell, another chief agent of the English party, was seized at the same time. Angus, with the Douglasses and others, took up arms; but they were disconcerted by the decisive steps of the regent, who now acted under the control of Cardinal Beaton. Dalkeith and Pinkie, two of the chief places of the Douglasses, were occupied by government troops, and Angus was obliged to take refuge in his strong castle of Tantallon, carrying with him his dear friend Sir

¹ *Journal of Occurrences in Scotland, from Death of James IV. to 1575*, 4to, Edin. 1838—a valuable volume, printed by the Bannatyne Club.

² *Sadler; State Papers.*

³ Henry had just declared war against Francis.

⁴ *State Papers; Sadler; Journal of Occurrences; Hamilton MSS.*, as quoted by Tytler (*Hist. Scot.*) and Chalmers (*Life of Mary*).

Ralph Sadler, whose life, by all law, was forfeited to the Scots. The Scottish parliament met in unusual numbers; and Grimani the legate, and the French ambassadors, De la Brosse and Mesnage, were introduced at proper moments. Arran would have hesitated, but Beaton boldly caused Angus, and all his party whose names were to the infamous bond signed at Douglas Castle, to be accused of treason; and, not stopping here, the parliament, under the same energetic direction, declared that the late treaties of peace and marriage with England were void and at an end, in consequence of the unjust conduct of the king in seizing the Scottish ships, promoting incursions on the Borders, and refusing to ratify the peace in proper time. De la Brosse and Mesnage delivered a message from Francis, who was expecting to be invaded by the English, and who was anxious on that account to remind the Scots of their long alliance with France.

Henry had for some time been greatly dissatisfied with his ally Francis. They had never been good friends since the marriage with Anne Boleyn; but it was the steady encouragement given by the French king to the Scots that brought about an open rupture. Before declaring himself, Henry sought a reconciliation with their old and common enemy, the emperor; and Charles, though greatly grown in power and in experience, had still such respect for the might of England as to be ready to make many concessions to her capricious king, in order to obtain her alliance. He was willing to admit that, as his aunt Catherine, and her rival Anne Boleyn, were both in their graves, all causes of difference ought to be buried with them; but still Charles was anxious to remove an insult to his family that had been made permanent in the person of Catherine's daughter, the Princess Mary. Here, as on other occasions, Henry's "subtle devisings" saved his pride, and the service to be done was thrown upon that slave of all-work—the parliament. Without mentioning her legitimacy, which would have been to declare that the king had acted most unlawfully by her mother, they passed an act restoring Mary to her place in the succession, and both her and her half-sister, the Princess Elizabeth, to their civil rights; so that it was now treason to hold the marriages of the king with Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn to be legal—it was treason to hold the children by the said marriages to be illegitimate, it was treason to be silent upon the subject, and it was treason to refuse to take an oath upon it when required.¹ The emperor, who had suffered severe losses in his last campaign, was fain to be satisfied with this very extraordinary act, and a treaty was concluded in the month of February (1543). In the month of June, Fran-

cis refused even to listen to the extravagant demands which they had jointly agreed to enforce upon him, and this refusal they considered as a declaration of war. Henry talked largely of campaigns and conquests, but, in effect, he did little more than send 6000 men to the Continent under Sir John Wallop, and this insignificant force acted merely as auxiliary to the army of the emperor, who only thought of recovering some towns he had lost in Flanders, and of reducing the Duke of Cleves, then in close alliance with the French. Instead of taking the field, Henry, after an unusually long widowhood, took to himself a sixth wife, in the person of Catherine Parr, a very matronly, learned, discreet, and sagacious woman, widow to Nevil, Lord Latimer. It is said that Catherine was well versed in the new learning, and a sincere convert to the Protestant faith: it is quite certain that the Protestant party rejoiced at the union; and yet it is equally certain that, only sixteen days after the nuptials, three Sacramentarians or Protestants were burned alive in Smithfield. Catherine seems to have crawled with the axe hung by a thread over her neck, till death relieved her of her dangerous husband.

Sir Thomas Wallop, after failing miserably in the siege of Landreci, and losing a considerable portion of his army, withdrew to winter quarters.²

A.D. 1544.

With an exhausted exchequer, it was resolved, in the wisdom of the king and his council, to conquer both Scotland and France at one and the same time; and, with an obese body, no longer fit even for the mere parade and spectacular part of war, Henry resolved to take the field in person. By immense and ruinous efforts an army of 30,000 men was raised, and in the month of July, about a year after his late marriage, of which he was probably already tired, the king's gracious majesty, in his royal person, passed the seas from Dover to Calais. A part of the army, led by the Duke of Norfolk and "the gentle Lord Russell," had taken the field, and laid siege to Montreuil, "where they lay a long time, and left the town as they found it." When Henry, "like a very god of war," assumed the command of the English forces and of 15,000 Imperialists sent by Charles to act with him, wonderful things were expected. The plan of the campaign had been nicely defined by the two allies. Charles was to strike across France by Champagne, Henry by Picardy; and neither was to stop till he reached Paris, where, in their united might, they were to dispose of the French monarchy. It was the old plan which had failed twice or thrice already, but this time they were to profit by past experience, and on no account to loiter on their way in besieging towns and castles; and yet the very first thing which Henry did was

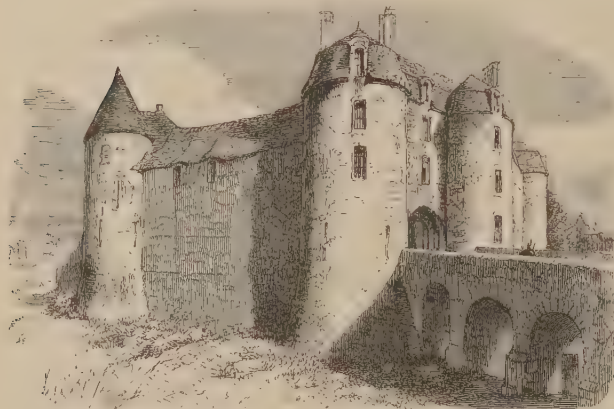
¹ Raumer.

² State Papers; Godwin; Du Bellay.

to sit down with the mass of his army before the town of Boulogne, and to swear one of his biggest oaths, amidst the roar of his biggest guns, that he would do nothing else until he had taken it. In vain Charles implored him to advance: he justified his delay by saying that the emperor, on his side, had stopped to take some castles; and he continued burning an enormous quantity of gunpowder before Boulogne, which badly-fortified city detained him and his great army for nearly two months! When the garrison of Boulogne at last capitulated, and marched out with bag and baggage, "the king's highness having the sword borne naked before him by the Lord Mar-

marriages. Having garrisoned Boulogne, and destroyed the church of "Our Lady" there, Henry returned to England sorely impoverished. Nor did Henry gain more glory by his lieutenants in Scotland than he had gained personally on the Continent. Some time before his departure for Boulogne he sent the Viscount Lisle, Admiral of England, and the Earl of Hertford, uncles of Prince Edward, and brothers of the late Queen Jane Seymour, with a fleet of 200 sail, having on board an army of 10,000 men, to make a sudden attack upon Leith and Edinburgh, and to demand the immediate surrender of the young queen and of sundry fortresses. Arran, as regent, had made

no suitable preparations; and Cardinal Beaton, by burning some poor people at Perth (for denying the efficacy of prayer to the saints and the Virgin, for treating an image of St. Francis irreverently, for breaking the fast of Lent, and for other heresies), had revived the keen hostility of the reforming party. At the same time the noble pensioners of England were not idle, and there was nothing but division or distrust at a moment when all Scotsmen ought to have been united by the common danger. On the 4th of May the English landed at Leith, which they plundered and occupied with



THE CASTLE OF BOULOGNE.—From a drawing on the spot by T. S. Boys.

quis Dorset, like a noble and valiant conqueror rode into the town, and all the trumpeters, standing on the walls of the town, sounded their trumpets at the time of his entering, to the great comfort of all the king's true subjects."¹

Before Henry had made this solemn entrance Charles had very wisely opened negotiations with the French king, and shortly after (in the month of September) the treaty of Crespi was signed, and fully ratified. His majesty of England, who had refused to be included in it, was left to carry on the war by himself; and Francis and the emperor agreed to forget all former grievances, and to unite their families and their politics by inter-

little opposition. Though left almost entirely to themselves, the citizens of Edinburgh barricaded their gates, and determined to defend their ancient town. When Otterburn of Reid Hall, their provost, went with a flag of truce to remonstrate with the English commander, and to propose an amicable adjustment, Hertford told him that he came as a soldier, not as an ambassador—that they must instantly deliver up their young queen; for, if they did not, he was commanded to ravage their country with fire and sword.² Otterburn thought proper to remain in the English camp, but the people of Edinburgh chose a new provost, and held out. They even compelled Hertford to re-

¹ *Hall; Du Bellay; Godwin; Rymer.* Rymer gives Henry's own journal, which is a curious document.

² Here is part of the infernal commission given by the king to the Earl of Hertford:—"You are there to put all to fire and sword; to burn Edinburgh town, and to raze and deface it, when you have sacked it, and gotten what you can out of it, as that it may remain for ever a memory of the vengeance of God alighted upon it, for their falsehood and disloyalty. . . . Do what you can out of hand, and, without long tarrying (it was felt that this would not be safe with 10,000 men), to beat down and overthrow the castle, sack Holyroodhouse, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye conveniently can;

sack Leith, and burn and subvert it, and all the rest, putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword, without exception, when any resistance shall be made against you; and this done, pass over to the Fife land, and extend like extremities and destructions in all towns and villages whereunto ye may reach conveniently, not forgetting, amongst all the rest, so to spoil and turn upside down the cardinal's town of St. Andrews, as the upper stone may be the nether, and not one stick stand by another, sparing no creature alive within the same, specially such as either in friendship or blood be allied to the cardinal. . . . This journey shall succeed most to his majesty's honour."—Hamilton MSS., as quoted by Mr. Tytler.

treat to Leith, but, when he brought up his heavy artillery, they found it a hopeless attempt to defend their wooden gates; and, removing as much of their property as they could, the citizens for the most part evacuated the town during the night, leaving the brave Hamilton of Stenhouse to hold the castle. The English entered the Canongate, put a few stragglers to the sword, and plundered such property as was left. But Hertford was foiled before Edinburgh Castle; his guns were dismounted by a sure fire from the ramparts, and he beat a retreat, which was covered by the smoke and flame of the city, to which he barbarously set fire. Being reinforced by a motley host of 4000 Borderers, partly English and partly Scots, the retainers of the house of Douglas, he employed himself in executing his king's commission to the letter, burning and destroying all the open country round the Scottish capital. In the vain hope of reconciling that faction, the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas, who had been arrested, were set at liberty; upon which Sir George forthwith repaired to Leith, and had a private interview with the Earl of Hertford, to whom he betrayed all that he knew concerning the plans adopted by his countrymen. But the English soon perceived that they could not maintain their ground even at Leith, which they had fortified; and, in the middle of May, as Arran and Cardinal Beaton were marching towards them with a superior force, they abandoned the shores of the Forth, part sailing away with the fleet, and the rest, under Hertford, marching rapidly along-shore towards Berwick. Seton, Haddington, Dunbar, and Renton—all the towns between Edinburgh and Berwick—were plundered and burned, and every village and cottage near the road partook of the same fate. This was too much even for the traitors, and for those Scots who had wished for the presence of an English army in order to curb the fierceness of the Catholic party. The Earl of Angus joined the cardinal, who was the real director of the campaign; and even his brother, Sir George Douglas, was induced to pursue the same course, apparently giving up his English treaties and pensions. Indeed, in a very short time Henry had no traitorous ally in Scotland except Lennox and Glencairn; and the popular feeling of hatred against him and the English amounted almost to a frenzy. Glencairn was defeated in a sanguinary battle near Glasgow; and Lennox, having delivered the castle of Dumbarton into his keeping, fled by sea into England. Lennox soon returned from England with a fleet of eight ships; and, "hanging over the coast of Scotland, like a cloud uncertain where to disburden itself, he deterred the Scots from undertaking anything against England during the absence of the king in France." He took

the isles of Arran and Bute; and, according to agreement, delivered them up to Sir Rice Mansel and Richard Broke, who accompanied him in the expedition with a small force of English archers and pikemen. He plundered Cantyre, Kyle, and Carrick, and returned loaded with booty and disgrace to an English port. While he had been plundering like a pirate by sea, Sir Ralph Evre, and other English officers, ravaged the Scottish borders in their whole length, and with a fury that but too plainly showed the intention of making those parts a desert. At the same time the two factions disagreed on every important point, and it was soon discovered, or suspected upon very good grounds, that the Douglasses had renewed their plots with the English. Confidence disappeared—the men could not trust their officers—and when Arran took the field, with 6000 men, Angus, Cassillis, and others of the lords who had formerly bound themselves to Henry, would not fight; and the whole force fled disgracefully before 2000 English troops. But Angus and the Douglasses were now made really patriotic and true to the national cause, by a report that Henry had promised all their hereditary estates to Sir Ralph Evre, if that officer could conquer them. Angus swore a great oath, that he would give Sir Ralph his *seisin*¹ on his skin, with sharp pens and bloody ink. Nothing deterred, the fierce Englishman in the following year re-entered Scotland, making all the country a desert about Jedburgh and Kyle. His host consisted of English archers, foreign mercenaries collected during the late expedition into France, and 700 or 800 freebooters from the Scottish borders—in all, about 6000 men. They burned the tower of Broom House, and in it a noble old lady with her whole family. They penetrated to Melrose, where they vented their barbarous spite on the beautiful old abbey and the tombs of the Douglasses within it.

Angus' temporary patriotism was increased by the last-mentioned deed, and he joined the Regent Arran with all the vassals he could collect. Yet even at this moment his brother, Sir George Douglas, was corresponding with Sir Ralph Evre, and is supposed to have betrayed the movement of his countrymen to the English, who surprised Arran and Angus in an unfavourable position, and forced them to retreat with some loss. After burning Melrose, Sir Ralph Evre turned down the Tweed, being followed or watched in flank by Arran and Angus, who had re-collected their forces behind the Eildon Hills. Their recent successes had made the English

¹ A *seisin*, in the Scotch law, is the instrument or attestation of a notary, that possession of the land has been actually given by the superior to the vassal: it is the evidence or record of the infeftment or investiture

commanders confident and careless. They marched upon Jedburgh with very little precaution; but when they came to Ancrum Moor, on the Teviot, they found the Scots drawn up in order of battle. On a near approach, Arran and Angus were disposed to decline battle, on account of the great inequality in numbers; but Sir Walter Scott, the veteran Laird of Buccleuch, galloped up to announce that his followers were close at hand; and Norman Lesly arrived on the field with 800 spears. Still, however, the Scots were very inferior in number, and they had recourse to some skilful manœuvring, which was recommended and directed by Walter Scott. A part of their army was concealed; their horses, mounted by the camp-boys, were posted on the crest of a hill, so as to look like a second army; and every fighting-man put his foot to the heather, having both sun and wind at his back, and in the faces of the enemy. The English advanced in a great hurry on horseback, as if loath to let the Scots escape them: the foremost line of the Scots retreated, but only for a few yards, when the assailants found themselves suddenly chased by a dense phalanx of Scottish pikemen, with spears an ell longer than those of the English.¹ Sir Brian Latoun and Sir Robert Bowes, who led the English van, were thrown back in disorder upon the main body, which was charging up the hill with great assurance under Sir Ralph Evre; and then the battle became general. It was, however, short: as soon as the English began to give way, the Scottish borderers, who had followed their standard, threw away their red crosses and fell upon their former allies. Upon this there ensued a general panic; the English fled in the greatest confusion, and the Scots pursued them with great slaughter. Wherever the fugitives turned, they found infuriated enemies in the peasantry, who had suffered so sorely from their recent excesses. Even the women and children joined in the carnage, and all pity was dismissed by their cries of "Remember their cruelty at Broom House!" Eight hundred of the English were killed in this battle, and a thousand, maimed and wounded, were taken prisoners. The joy of the Scots was at its height when they discovered among the dead the bodies of Evre and Latoun.²

A.D. 1545. Henry's great conquest of Boulogne, achieved at an expense of £400,000 of English money, was very nearly lost almost as soon as won, and the place was only

saved by the gallantry and skill of Sir Thomas Poynings. Francis saw how greatly the English pale in France would be strengthened by the addition of Boulogne, and he made great efforts, both by sea and land, to retake it. Large galleys were built at Rouen, others were ordered round from Marseilles and the French ports on the Mediterranean, and all manner of great ships—Venetians, Aragonese, Italians, or whatsoever they might be—were pressed into the French service either by fair means or foul.³ When Francis saw this formidable navy safely collected on the coasts of Brittany and Normandy, he conceived the bold notion of striving for the mastery of the sea, and seizing upon the Isle of Wight. Henry received timely warning that Francis intended to attempt an invasion, but he did not know where the blow might fall. His exchequer was very bare, but the people hastened to fortify the banks of the Thames, the coasts of Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire; and sixty ships of war were collected at Portsmouth under the flag of Dudley Lord Lisle, the high-admiral. On the 16th of July, the French fleet, amounting to 136 sail, under the command of Annebaut, put to sea, and two days after, they fell down the channel that separates the Isle of Wight from the main, and cast anchor at St. Helen's. These were not days for heroic achievements: Lisle, after a distant cannonading, retired into Portsmouth harbour, where the king then was, and whence he saw a foreign fleet insulting him to his face, and riding triumphant in the Channel. The next day Annebaut put out his flat-bottomed galleys and vessels that drew little water; and, while these went up to the very mouth of the port, he ravaged the coast and did whatever he could to provoke the English to come out and give battle; but, by Henry's orders, the lord-admiral stirred not. After holding a council of war, the French admiral determined to attack the Isle of Wight, and a descent was made in three several places; but the brave inhabitants drove the invaders back to their ships, though not before much of their property had been plundered or given to the flames. Annebaut sailed away towards Dover, landing occasionally to burn and destroy. In some places, however, his men got worse than they gave, being cut to pieces by the inhabitants, who lay in ambush to receive them. It was now the object of the French admiral, who stood off-and-on in the narrow part of the Channel, to prevent the

¹ The length of the Scottish pike or spear was fixed, by act of parliament, in 1471, at six ells—that is, eighteen feet and a half.

² The place where the battle was fought received the name of Lilliard's Edge, "from an Amazonian Scottish woman of that name," says Sir Walter Scott, "who is reported by tradition to have distinguished herself in the same manner as Squire Witherington at Chevy Chase. The old people point out her monument,

now broken and defaced. The inscription is said to have run thus:—

Fair maid Lylliard lies under this stane;
Little was her stature, but great was her fame.
Upon the English lions she laid many thumps,
And when her legs were cutted off, she fought upon her stumps."

³ *State Papers.*

English from victualling Boulogne, and from sending reinforcements of ships from the Thames to Portsmouth; but he executed his commission with very indifferent success: provisions were thrown into Boulogne, which greatly wanted them, almost under the shadow of his own flag; and the lord-admiral at Portsmouth was reinforced with thirty sail. When Dudley received the king's orders to put forth against the enemy, he said, with proper spirit, that he would lose no time in so doing—that he was grateful for being restored to his liberty, having never thought himself in prison till now, since the time of his lying there doing nothing. The watch-word for the fleet in the night was, "God save King Henry!"—to which the answer was, "And long to reign over us!" The two fleets were soon in presence between Brighton and the French coast, but "thought it best to eschew the fight that day for a better day," and, in the end, they did nothing but exchange a few long shots. The English commander went back to Portsmouth, the French withdrew to Brest.¹

Henry's father had left him the richest sovereign in Europe, but that money had long been gone. The seizure of the church property, after all deductions, had furnished him with immense sums, but they, too, were all gone. The parliament had voted such subsidies as had never been voted before, but they were all spent as soon as raised. In his constant and recurring need he had already adopted all kinds of illegal measures to extract more money from his people. His officers had obtained returns which showed the value of each man's estate; and with this clue he now addressed a royal letter to every person rated at £50 per annum, requesting a certain sum by way of loan. To refuse was dangerous: in most cases he got the money he asked for, and then he made parliament vote him a grant of all the money so raised, as well as whatever sums he had borrowed from any of his subjects since 1539, or the thirty-first year of his reign! After this he had recourse to a benevolence, and the people, who had made a spirited opposition to that illegal mode of raising money in the time of Cardinal Wolsey, were now fain to submit and pay. Henry had long since adopted the common but ruinous system of adulterating the coinage: now he debased it to such an extent that what was called the silver shilling contained twice as much alloy as silver. This practice greatly embarrassed the trade of the country, and tended to dry up his resources at the fountain head. In the month of November he made a very tender appeal to parliament, explaining his increasing wants; and parliament not only

voted him an enormous subsidy, but also granted him the disposal of all colleges, charities, and hospitals in the kingdom, with all their manors, lands, and hereditaments, receiving, in return, his gracious promise that they should all be employed to the glory of God and the public good. This was the last grant the tyrant got from his slaves, and he did not live to employ the whole power the act gave him. Had he survived a little while longer, he would not have left an hospital for the cure of the sick, or a school for the instruction of youth.

A great deal of the money thus wrung from the *loyal* English was spent among the traitors of Scotland. The victory of Ancrum had raised the spirits of the Scottish people. It was scarcely gained, however, when Angus, his brother George, Glencairn, Cassillis, and the rest of that vile league, renewed their intercourse with Sir Ralph Sadler, who was appointed treasurer of an army that was levying in the north of England, under the Earl of Hertford. On the 17th of April, Cassillis endeavoured to induce the convention of the Scottish nobility, held at Edinburgh, to ask pardon of the King of England, and to solicit a renewal of the treaty of marriage; but Cardinal Beaton, encouraged by assurance of assistance from Francis, who was then preparing his great naval expedition, kept alive the spirit of the more patriotic among the nobles; the proposals were rejected; the treaty of marriage was declared to be at an end for ever; upon which, Cassillis advised Henry to try a fresh invasion of his native land. But Henry, as we have seen, found other business of more urgency; and fancying that all opposition in Scotland would cease if he could only remove Beaton, he entertained the project for assassinating the cardinal. In the month of May, Cassillis, acting with the other noble traitors, sent a letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, very coolly making an offer "for the killing of the cardinal, if his majesty would have it done, and promise, when it was done, a reward." These high-born villains never moved a step without bargaining beforehand. Sadler showed the letter to the Earl of Hertford and the council of the north, who evidently thought the plan a good one, and transmitted it to the king. Henry's reply was worthy of Cassillis' proposal. On the 30th of May, his privy council wrote to the Earl of Hertford—"His majesty hath willed us to signify unto your lordship, that his highness, reputing the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by his majesty, will not seem to have to do in it; and yet, not misliking the offer, thinketh good that Mr. Sadler, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to the earl, of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer, which he thinketh not convenient to be communicated to

¹ *State Papers; Du Bellay; Holinshed; Godwin; Southey; Naval Hist.*

the king's majesty. Marry to write to him what he thinketh of the matter, he shall say, that if he were in the Earl of Cassillis' place, and were as able to do his majesty good service there, as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it; believing verily to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the king's majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland, and would trust verily the king's majesty would consider his service in the same; as you doubt not, of his accustomed goodness to them which serve him, but he would do the same to him."¹ Sir Ralph Sadler accordingly wrote, in the indirect manner pointed out by Henry, to Cassillis; and Thomas Forster, an Englishman of some note, who had recently been a prisoner-of-war in Scotland, at the request of the Scottish conspirators, and by order of Henry, who commanded that no time should be lost, was sent across the Borders, to consult with Cassillis, Angus, and Sir George Douglas. Forster entered Scotland at Wark, and, without provoking much suspicion, reached Dalkeith, where he had an interview with Sir George, who wished him to go to Douglas, where he would cause the Earls of Cassillis and Angus to meet him; for he (Sir George) said he could not get them to Dalkeith without great suspicion. These secret agents, going towards Douglas, met the Earl of Angus at Dumfries, where, as he was hunting, he gave Forster welcome, saying that he would give him hawks and dogs, and he caused him to pass that night with him. And on the morrow, Angus conducted him to Douglas, and that afternoon sent for the Earl of Cassillis, who, riding all night, came thither the next day early in the morning; upon which he and the Earl of Angus went into a chamber together, and called Forster to them, who then declared the "occasion of his coming, by whom he was sent, and the full of his instructions." But Angus and Cassillis were as cunning and cautious as their English friends; and, as Sadler had made no specific proposal and fixed no certain reward, they would not speak to Forster of the murder,² but kept to the grand treason of co-operating with the English army of invasion. Cassillis said that he was still the same true man to Henry as he was at parting with his majesty; and Angus promised his cordial assistance, declaring that he would either go to the field or stay at home, as Henry judged it best. But on his departure, Cassillis gave Forster a letter, in cipher, to Sir Ralph Sadler; and Sir George Douglas, in his heat, was betrayed

into the following expressions, which he sent as a message from himself to the Earl of Hertford:—"He willed me," says Forster, "to tell my lord-lieutenant, that if the king would have the cardinal dead, if his grace would promise a good reward for the doing thereof, so that the reward were known what it should be, the country being lawless as it is, he thinketh that that adventure would be proved; for he saith, the common saying is, the cardinal is the only occasion of the war, and is smally beloved in Scotland; and then, if he were dead, by what means that reward should be paid."³ The revelation of these atrocious secrets, which had been concealed for centuries amidst the dust and cobwebs of the State Paper Office, is enough to make the villains turn in their graves! As his majesty of England had still some sense of shame, he hesitated at committing himself so far as to make a direct bargain: he wished the deed done, but in such a manner, that it could never be brought clearly to his own door; and as the most noble Scots would not commit murder otherwise than as they had bargained, Beaton was permitted to live a few months longer, when he was taken off by less conspicuous assassins. Before the journey of Forster into Scotland, the Sieur Lorges de Montgomerie had arrived from France, with a body of 3000 infantry and 500 horse; and in the month of August these foreign auxiliaries, well appointed and disciplined, took the field with an army of about 25,000 Scots. By the advice of Beaton, the whole of this force was thrown across the English borders; but the vanguard was commanded by Angus, who, not a month before, had promised Forster to do what King Henry might think best; and after two days, which were ingloriously employed in plundering and burning a few villages, the army returned, through the deceit of George Douglas and the vanguard.⁴ That there might be no mistake in the matter, the lords in the interest of England wrote a letter to claim the whole credit of the failure of the expedition, and to advise the instant advance of an English army.⁵

On the 5th of September, the English put themselves in motion under the Earl of Hertford; but the money-chests were empty; and, at the moment of crisis, several of the Scottish traitors hung back, and, instead of joining the English with all their retainers, they began to think of opposing them. They had requested that the old system of warfare might this time be abandoned; but Hertford burned and destroyed even more savagely than before, employing on this work a vast number of Irish kerns, who had been brought over for the purpose.

¹ *State Papers.*

² Sir Ralph Sadler, in obedience to Henry's orders, recommended the assassination as if of himself, and told them that the project had *not* been communicated to King Henry

³ *State Papers.*

⁴ *Diurnal Occurrents.*

⁵ This letter appears in the *State Papers.*

At Kelso the poor monks attempted to defend their abbey, and boldly repulsed some adventurers; but Hertford brought up his heavy guns, made a breach, and carried the church. Retreating to the tower or belfry, the monks there prolonged the struggle, but the tower was battered and stormed, and every monk butchered. As the savage invaders poured through Tweeddale, the abbays of Melrose and Dryburgh were again plundered and fired, and every village, every farm, castle, or mansion on the pleasant banks of the Tweed was sacked and burned. All this havoc was grateful to the sight of the noble Seymour, who wrote boastingly to his royal master, that he had done more damage in Scotland by fire than had been done for the last 100 years.¹ But this ruthless destroyer could not maintain himself even on the Borders; his army soon felt the effects of the ruin they had spread around them; the country was become a desert, furnishing no food for man or horse; the impoverished government could forward no adequate supply of provisions; and in less than three weeks Hertford retreated and disbanded his starving forces.

The cardinal did not lose heart in the midst of these difficulties. After the retreat of Hertford, he held a parliament at Stirling, and suggested several energetic measures for the defence of the national independence. Seeing, however, the impoverishment and exhaustion of the country, he proposed passing over to France, in order to procure a fresh supply of money and troops. This project was communicated to Henry by one of the most unscrupulous of his agents, Crichton, the Laird of Brunston, in a letter dated from Ormiston House, the 6th of October. After mentioning what is in the wind, the laird expresses some hopes that the intended journey of the cardinal may be cut short; for, that at no time were there more Scottish gentlemen desirous of doing his highness good service. A day or two after, this cautious assassin wrote to Lord Wharton, one of the English wardens, that he was very anxious for a private interview with him, that he might know whether his majesty would be plain with them *what he would have them do, and as to what reward they might count upon*. On the 20th of October he wrote to King Henry himself, requesting a private conference with Sadler at Berwick, where he would communicate such things as should be greatly to the advancing of his majesty's affairs.² From all this, it is very evident that the project for murdering Cardinal Beaton had been resumed. It has been usual for historians, wanting the light which has been recently thrown upon these long-hidden transactions, to attribute the assassination of Beaton

solely to the fanaticism of certain converts to the new religion, and their desire of avenging the cruelties he had committed upon their persecuted sect; but it now appears very evident that the deed was undertaken and done from baser motives, though some who engaged in the plot at its last stage may have been moved by a desire of destroying the arch-enemy of their faith.

George Wishart, commonly called the Martyr, was a man of obscure or uncertain birth, but of considerable learning. He had been patronized in his youth by John Erskine of Dun, provost of Montrose, one of the first Scotsmen that declared against the Church of Rome. Wishart kept a school at Montrose, where he introduced the teaching of Greek, and made his pupils read the New Testament in the original language. On account of some persecution to which this exposed him, he fled into England, where, in 1538, in the city of Bristol, he preached against the worship paid to the Virgin Mary. In consequence, he was thrown into prison, and he only escaped the penalties of heresy by openly recanting, upon which a fagot was burned instead of himself, and he disappeared from that part of the country. When he next attracted attention it was at Cambridge, where he was admired for his learning, and hated for his zeal and strictness. Some time in 1543, he returned to his native country, where he denounced the Popish doings of Cardinal Beaton, and most closely connected himself with those chiefs who leaned towards the Reformation, namely, the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, the earl-marischal, Sir George Douglas, and the Lairds of Brunston, Ormiston, and Calder. Protected by these great lords and lairds, Wishart preached publicly against the errors of Popery and the wickedness of the monks; and his fiery eloquence inflamed the people in sundry places. At Dundee his converts or audience destroyed the houses of the Black and Gray friars; and when he preached at Edinburgh the religious houses were only saved by the prompt interference of the civil authority. In the ears of the people his denunciations of coming vengeance sounded very like prophecy; and when the Earl of Hertford set the south of Scotland in a blaze, it was remembered how the preacher had predicted that event.

For two years the preacher was left at large, for it was not easy to seize one who seldom moved anywhere without being preceded by a trusty disciple bearing a two-handed sword, and watched by other followers with pikes, halberds, and morions. It is said that Cardinal Beaton was, to a certain degree, aware of the plot laid against his own life, and that, in dread of Wishart, he attempted to anticipate him, and laid plots for murdering Wishart. After a time the

¹ State Papers.

² Tytler, from the originals in the State Paper Office.

preacher's popularity declined. Some of his great friends fell from his side, and he was obliged to take refuge in West Lothian with the Laird of Brunston, Sandilands of Calder, and Cockburn of Ormiston, who concealed him by turns in their houses. One night when he was at Ormiston with his friends, expecting the arrival of the Earl of Cassillis, the house was suddenly surrounded by a party of soldiers led by the Earl of Bothwell, who was then devoted to the cardinal. Upon an assurance that his life would be spared, Wishart surrendered. Bothwell took the preacher to his own house of Hailes; but soon after he sold him to Beaton, who summoned a council of the bishops and abbots at St. Andrews, and brought him to trial as an heretic. The assembled clergy found him guilty, and sentenced him to be burned, and he was burned accordingly at St. Andrews. This execution was impolitic as it was barbarous: the dead Wishart became more formidable than the living preacher; many of his converts, quoting the Old Testament, showed how it would be a virtue to avenge his death, and cut off his wicked persecutor and destroyer; and Cassillis, Glencairn, Sir George Douglas, and their fellow-conspirators, derived great strength from the popular feeling excited against the cardinal, which feeling, however, was confined to certain towns and districts, the vast majority of the nation being as yet attached to the old religion, and seeing nothing very remarkable in the burning of a man who attacked its dogmas.

Being alarmed at the threats of his enemies in Scotland, and rumours of a fresh invasion, Beaton immediately employed masons and carpenters to strengthen his castle of St. Andrews. He also called around him the gentlemen of Fife, to concert means for the defence of the coast. At one of these meetings he had a violent quarrel about a piece of land with Norman Lesly, commonly called the Master of Rothes. After using language not likely to be forgiven, Norman hurried to his uncle, John Lesly, who had already declared that Beaton's blood ought to be shed for the blood of the martyr Wishart. Both uncle and nephew consulted with William Kirkaldy, the Laird of Grange, with James Melville, a religious enthusiast, with Carmichael, and with several others; and at a secret conclave it was determined that the cardinal should die forthwith. On the evening of the 28th of May, Norman Lesly rode into the town of St. Andrews, and in the course of the night he was followed by a whole troop, who stole into the town in small parties, without being perceived, or without exciting any suspicion. At an early hour on the following morning, they surprised the castle by entering with the workmen, and the cardinal was

roused from his sleep to meet his death. John Lesly and Carmichael appear to have been the first to stab him, and then Melville, with great gravity, advanced to execute what he called "the judgment of God," and passed his long sword through the body of the unresisting victim several times. Then, covered with the blood of the cardinal, the conspirators, who had taken care to raise the drawbridge and close the gates, ascended to the battlements to address the people of the town, who now, headed by their provost, crowded in alarm around the castle, and shouted that they must restore the lord-cardinal. Norman Lesly dragged up the body, and suspended it by a sheet over the wall. "There," said he, "there is your god; and now that ye are satisfied, get home to your houses!" Kirkaldy of Grange, Norman Lesly, and others of the conspirators, were at the moment receiving pensions from the English king—were described by Henry as his good friends and supporters; and almost as soon as the murder was finished, they opened communications with the king, offered to hold the castle for his behoof, and received from him assurances of assistance and support.¹

But though the death of Cardinal Beaton was fatal to the Roman church in Scotland, the event was not followed by all that Henry had fondly expected from it. The embarrassments of his government increased daily; and in the month of June he was glad to conclude a treaty of peace with the French king, who insisted that Scotland should be comprehended in it.

The six remaining months of Henry's life were occupied by vile attempts at devising reasons for excluding the Scots from the benefit of the treaty of peace, by the intrigues and struggles of the two great religious factions, and by more executions for treason. The most wretched being, in this most wretched state of things, was the king himself, whose mind and body were alike diseased. In the absence of other pleasures he had given himself up to immoderate eating, and he had grown so enormously fat that he could not pass through an ordinary door, nor could he move about from room to room without the help of machinery, or of numerous attendants. The old issue in his leg had become an inveterate ulcer, which kept him in a constant state of pain and excessive irritability. It was alike offensive to the senses, and dangerous to life and property, to approach this corrupt mass of dying tyranny. The slightest thing displeased him, and his displeasure was a fury and a madness, and nothing on earth could give him a wholesome pleasurable feeling. How his last wife, Catherine Parr, escaped destruction appears almost miraculous; she was more than once in imminent peril.

¹ *Tytler.*

The court, which no longer presented any of the pageantries and gaieties of earlier days, had become a gloomy conventicle, where men, and women too, gave themselves up to polemics. Catherine ventured to read some of the prohibited works put forth by the Reformers, and as the king grew worse and worse, and more and more helpless, she took courage to dispute with him upon faith and doctrine. Henry was greatly exasperated. "A good hearing this," cried he, "when women become such clerks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife." Gardiner, it is said, took advantage of this state of mind, and received orders, with Wriothesley the chancellor, to prepare articles of impeachment against her. But Catherine was warned in time, and adroitly recovered by flattery the ground she had lost by venturing upon polemical controversy. On the following morning, when the Chancellor Wriothesley came with forty men of the guard to take Catherine into custody, the king's majesty called him knave, an arrant knave, a fool, and a beast, and so dismissed him.¹

There had long been a bitter rivalry between the old house of Howard and the new house of Seymour, which owed its sudden exaltation to the king's third marriage and the birth of a son, Prince Edward, by Jane Seymour. The Duke of Norfolk, the head of the Howards, was, as we have repeatedly noticed, a zealous Papist: Lord Hertford, the uncle of Prince Edward, and the real founder of the greatness of the Seymours, almost as a natural consequence, leaned towards the Reformation, though he took good care to conceal this fact from the king. The two names became rallying points to the two rival sects. With the evidence we have before us we may confidently pronounce them both to have been men of a cruel and base character, ready to execute if not to suggest some of the worst actions of the king,

¹ Lord Herbert.

"It would have been pleasing could we have dwelt on this escape made by the queen as one of the last transactions which illustrate the personal character of this monarch. But short and dark as was the period of life now allotted him, it was to be lighted up by the flames of martyrs, and stained by the blood of the noblest and the most accomplished of his victims. About this time Mrs. Anne Askew, a lady of ancient family, remarkable accomplishments, and great beauty, had embraced the Reformed opinions. Her chief offence seems to have been a denial of transubstantiation; upon which point she was repeatedly brought before the council. Of her examinations, on these occasions, she herself has left a pathetic and interesting account, which has been preserved by Fox, and presents a picture of religious persecution which it is impossible to read without horror. On finding her fixed in the resolution to maintain her belief, the next object of the inquisitors was to discover her accomplices, as the king had been informed she could name, if she were willing, a great number of her sect. Strong suspicions were even entertained that she was secretly encouraged by some of the privy council: this, however, she positively denied; upon which, Gardiner and Wriothesley, the lord-chancellor, ordered Knevet, the lieutenant of the Tower, to put her on the rack. She

and to crawl in the dust at his feet at the slightest sign of his displeasure; but the real nature of both has been overlooked by their respective sects. Hertford, in family alliances, connections,



THOMAS HOWARD, Duke of Norfolk.—After Holbein.

and landed property, was far the inferior of Norfolk, but he had the grand advantages of being uncle of the heir to the throne, and of being almost constantly about the court. Favoured by these circumstances, he already aspired to the protectorship of the kingdom during the minority of his nephew; for, though the fact was concealed from the public with all possible care, it was evident that the king was hastening to the grave.²

Hertford felt that the grand obstacle to his promotion would be found in the Duke of Norfolk and his son, the accomplished and poetical Earl of Surrey; and mere self-preservation gave him a strong motive to destroy both father and son while there was yet time. Henry, Earl of

was then let down into the lower dungeon, where she beheld that dreadful instrument, and the jailer standing beside it, his sleeves tucked up, and ready for his office. Still, her courage was unshaken; and the lieutenant, although compelled by his office to obey, was anxious to spare her the extremity of the torture. He commanded the jailer to stretch her on the iron platform, but only to 'pinch' her; after which, being about to take her down, he was reprimanded by Wriothesley and ordered to proceed. This he refused although threatened with the royal displeasure; upon which the other threw off his gown and drew the rack himself, till her bones and joints were almost plucked asunder. She was then untied, and having fainted away from the excess of torture inflicted on her by this legal monster, was removed from the dungeon in a chair or litter. No persuasions, not even the offer of her life, could prevail on her to recant, and she was soon after, with three other Sacramentarians, publicly burned at Smithfield.—Tytler, *Life of King Henry VIII.*, p. 453.

² The first notice of the king's falling health—a subject on which Henry was so jealous that those around him seem to have been afraid of mentioning it in writing to their colleagues—occurs in a letter from Yetsewert to Sir William Paget, dated the 17th of September, 1546. But, in this letter, it is added that his majesty was recovered.—*State Papers*.

Surrey, upon being superseded in a military command in France by the new man Hertford (and Surrey always expressed a great contempt of the new nobility), was excessively irritated; and it is said that he vowed revenge upon Hertford as soon as the king should be dead. Nothing was so easy as to excite the jealousies and fears of Henry—fears probably increased by the reflection that Hertford, who would be in a manner the natural guardian of his son, was without influence among the high nobility, and was at enmity with Norfolk, the most powerful of them all. There were also men in the king's council, who were Protestants in their hearts, and (as such) ready to go great lengths against the champions of the rival faith. The first blow was struck at Bishop Gardiner, but it was warded off by that prelate. A few days after, on the 12th of December, the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey, "upon certain surmises of treason," were sent to the Tower, the one by water, the other by land, and neither aware of the apprehension of the other. From his dungeon, Norfolk, ignorant of the cause of his sudden seizure, wrote to the king. "Undoubtedly," said the duke, "I know not that I have offended any man, or that any man was offended with me, unless it be such as be angry with me for being quick against such as have been accused for sacramentaries." On the 13th day of January, when the king was lying dangerously sick, the gallant and accomplished Surrey, who appears to have been dreaded more than his aged father, was arraigned at Guildhall on a charge of treason, for having borne the royal arms of Edward the Confessor mixed and quartered with the coat of his own family. It may



SURREY'S AUTOGRAPH OF HIS ARMS, quartered with those of the Confessor.—Arundel MS.

seem strange that no more serious charge should be produced; but even this much had been obtained in the most nefarious manner, and in part by means which are not calculated to raise our very low estimate of the domestic virtues of those times. The court, preparatory to the trial, had tampered with and terrified the women of the Howard family. The Duchess of Norfolk had

long been on bad terms with her husband, living separated from him; and one of her daughters, the Duchess of Richmond, bore an unnatural hatred to her brother Surrey. On Sunday night, the 12th of December, immediately after the arrest of the duke and his son, Gate, Southwell, and Carew were despatched with all haste to Kenninghall (seven miles from Thetford), the principal house of the Howards, and they arrived there by break of day on Tuesday, "so that the first news of the Duke of Norfolk and the son came thither by them."¹ After taking care "of all the gates and back-doors," they desired to speak with the Duchess of Richmond and her sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Holland, who were found "at that time newly risen, and not ready." The two ladies, however, appeared in the dining-chamber without delay, and the court agents imparted to them "the case and condition wherein the duke and his son, without the king's great mercy, did stand." "Wherewith," continue these respectable gentlemen, "we found the Duchess of Richmond a woman sore perplexed, trembling, and like to fall down; but, coming unto herself again, she was not, we assure your majesty, forgetful of her duty, and did most humbly and reverently, upon her knees, humble herself in all unto your highness; saying that, although nature constrained her sore to love her father and also to desire the well-doing of his son, her natural brother, whom she noteth to be a rash man, yet for her part she would, nor will, hide or conceal anything from your majesty's knowledge, specially if it be of weight, or otherwise, as it shall fall in her remembrance; which she hath promised, for the better declaration of her integrity, to exhibit in writing unto your highness and your honourable council." They then tell the king, whom they address directly, that they desired sight of the chambers and coffers, and got the keys from the Duchess of Richmond. They go on to express their disappointment at the poorness of the prize; but we suspect that, in all these domiciliary visits, the agents concealed a portion of the spoils, and kept it for themselves. "Her coffers and chambers be so bare as your majesty would hardly think; her jewels, such as she had, sold, or lent to gage (pawn), to pay her debts, as she, her maiden, and the almoner do say. We will, nevertheless, for our duty, make a further and more earnest search." When they had done with the duchess's chambers and coffers, they searched those of Mrs. Elizabeth Holland, her sister, where they found divers girdles, beads, buttons of gold, pearls, and rings set with stones of divers sorts, whereof with all other things, they were, they say, making inventories to be sent to his highness. They also report that, hav-

¹ State Papers.

ing made sure of the house and property at Kenninghall, they with all speed, and at one instant, sent some of their most discreet and trusty servants to all the other houses of the duke in Norfolk and Suffolk, not omitting the house of his daughter, Elizabeth Holland, "newly made in Suffolk, which was thought to be well furnished with stuff." The duke's almoner had engaged to deliver into their hands all, or the greater part, of the family plate, "but money of the duke had none, but supposes that the steward upon his last account had such as did remain." As another important duty, the agents had informed themselves as to the clear value of the duke's possessions, and all other his yearly revenue, as near as they could learn, by his books of account and other his records. The Duchess of Richmond and Mrs. Elizabeth Holland they had taken into custody, and would send on their journey towards London on the morrow; but they represented that there remained unattached in the house the Earl of Surrey's wife and children, with certain women in the nursery attending upon them, and they humbly besought his majesty to signify what they were to do with the servants, seeing that the said earl's wife was near her time, and expecting to lie in at Candlemas.¹

The Duchess of Norfolk was arrested near London, and the three ladies were "travailed with" and examined by some of the council. But though the wife was ready to speak against the husband—the sister against the brother—their depositions amounted to almost nothing. The Duchess of Richmond said that she had heard her brother Surrey speak bitterly against the Earl of Hertford; and these women also stated (what was notorious to all) that Norfolk and his son had quartered the arms of the Duke of Buckingham, a lineal descendant from Edward III.² When the council could get no more from the women, they set forward the evidence of two obscure men, who asserted that the Earl of Surrey had entertained certain Italians who were suspected of being spies; that the Duke of Norfolk had expressed great dissatisfaction at the changes in the church, had spoken about the king's diseases, and greatly abused some of the new nobility.

Before the court at Guildhall, Surrey, who, in the words of Lord Herbert, "was a man of deep understanding, sharp wit, and high courage," made a most spirited and eloquent defence. And the cause he had to plead was most simple. He admitted that he had borne the arms of Edward the Confessor, but he exhibited a decision of the

heralds which allowed him so to do; and he told them (what most of them must have known perfectly) that he had borne those arms for years, even in the king's presence, without giving any offence. Notwithstanding all this, the court pronounced that there was proof sufficient, in the fact of his wearing the arms, that he had aspired to the throne; and the jury, doing their duty as usual, found him guilty. "And so the flower of the English nobility was, on the 19th of January, beheaded, the king being then in extremity, and breathing his *last* in blood."³

Norfolk, from his cell in the Tower, repeatedly requested to be confronted with his accusers, either before his royal majesty, or, if his pleasure should not be to take that pains, then before his council. But it may be questioned whether his letters ever reached the king, who, at the moment (though not aware of it), "was feeling the inevitable necessity of death;" and it had been fully determined by the Seymours and others who surrounded the bed of the expiring tyrant, that no more justice or leniency should be shown to the duke, than *he*, in his days of favour and might, had meted out to others. After several private examinations, the duke, upon some promises tendered to him in the name of the king, consented to write or sign a confession. But even in this document there was nothing that could reasonably be construed into treason; for he only admitted that, during his long and difficult services, he had occasionally communicated to others some of the secrets of the privy council, contrary to his oath; that he had concealed the treasonable act of his son, in assuming the arms of Edward the Confessor; and that he had himself treasonably borne on his shield the arms of England, with the difference of labels of silver, which of right belonged only to Prince Edward. The Seymour party, who had got from Henry a promise that the spoils of Howard should be shared amongst them, and whose promises to the duke were only meant to extract the confession, thought this matter sufficient upon which to proceed to judgment. Norfolk, however, who was well practised in business of this kind, knew perfectly well that, if his estates were divided among many, his family would find a great difficulty in getting them back in case of a reversal of his attainder, and he sent a petition to the king, to implore, as a favour, that all his "good and stately gear" might be settled on Prince

¹ *State Papers.*

² Norfolk had done this in right of his wife, who was daughter of the unfortunate Duke of Buckingham, executed in the early part of this reign.

³ *Godwin.* There were other grounds of suspicion against Surrey which it was thought proper to suppress in public. He was suspected of a design upon the king's daughter, the Princess Mary! In the *State Papers* there is a remarkable document, without title or date, in the hand-writing of Wriothesley, the chancellor, with interlineations written by the king himself, in a tremulous hand. It consists of a set of queries evidently preparatory to the prosecution of the Howards.

Edward. This petition was not likely to disarm the enmity of the rival party. Instead of arraigning him before his peers, they proceeded by the system which Cromwell had introduced, and by which Cromwell had himself suffered. A bill of attainder, founded on the confession, was brought into the House of Lords, and read three times on three successive days. The commons did their work with equal despatch—returning the bill, passed, in three days more. It had been usual, even in these murderous times, to wait till the close of the session for the royal assent to such bills of attainder; but two days after the bill had passed, the king grew so much worse, that Norfolk's enemies saw there was no time to lose; and accordingly, on the 27th of January, Wriothesley, the chancellor, informed the two houses of parliament that his majesty had been pleased to appoint certain lords to signify his assent to the bill. And thereupon the commission, under the sign-manual, was read; the royal assent was given by the lords appointed; and, without losing precious moments, an order was despatched to the lieutenant of the Tower to execute the Duke of Norfolk at an early hour on the following morning.

But by the good fortune of Norfolk, and many a better man, the tyrant died in the palace of Whitehall in the intervening night. His last scene of all has been very differently represented by the opposite sects; but the account usually inserted in our histories is supported by respectable authority, and is—at least in part—very like truth. As several persons had been put to death at various times for saying the king was dying or likely to die, the people about him were afraid to tell him of his true condition; and the Seymour party had strong motives for concealing his danger both from himself and the public as possible. The physicians, on the approach of certain symptoms, wished his courtiers—friends he had none—to warn him of his state; but they all hung back in affright, like unarmed men in the presence of a wounded and dying beast of prey. At last Sir Anthony Denny undertook the task, and, going directly to the bedside of the fainting monarch, told him that the hope of human help was vain, and recommended him to turn his thoughts to heaven,—an advice not very acceptable to him: but finding it was grounded upon the opinion of his

physicians, he submitted to the hard law of necessity, and, reflecting upon the course of his life, which he much condemned, he still professed himself confident that, through Christ, all his sins, though they had been more in number and weight, might be pardoned. He was then asked whether he desired to confer with any divines? “With none other,” said he, “but the Archbishop Cranmer, and not with him yet; I will first repose myself a little, and, as I then find myself, will determine accordingly.” After a sleep, or stupor, of an hour or two, he felt that he was going; and then he commanded that the archbishop should be sent for in all haste. Cranmer, after being present in the House of Lords on the three several days on which the iniquitous bill of attainder against the Duke of Norfolk was read, had retired for quiet to Croydon, where he was on the evening when he received the royal summons. He posted to court with all possible speed, but before he arrived the king was speechless. It is added that, when he bent over the bed, Henry grasped his hand; that then Cranmer exhorted him to hope for God's mercy, through Christ, on which the king grasped his hand as hard as he could, and expired a few moments after, having lived fifty-five years and seven months, and reigned thirty-seven years, nine months, and six days.

It is generally set down, somewhat vaguely, in our annals, that the party which succeeded to power did not think it advisable to begin a new reign by shedding the blood of the first nobleman of England; but, from the character of the majority of those men, we are inclined to believe that they were deterred merely by the dread of consequences to themselves in case of a failure of their schemes. If Henry had lived two or three hours longer the head of Norfolk would have been upon the block; but then it might have been made to pass as the act of a living king. As it was, Norfolk was respited, and the sentence was never carried into effect, although the aged duke remained in confinement till the accession of Queen Mary. If, in the course of this narrative, our views of certain historical characters, and of their motives of action, be found to vary somewhat from those of preceding writers, the reader should bear in mind that those views have been opened to us and illuminated by the unerring light of the STATE PAPERS.

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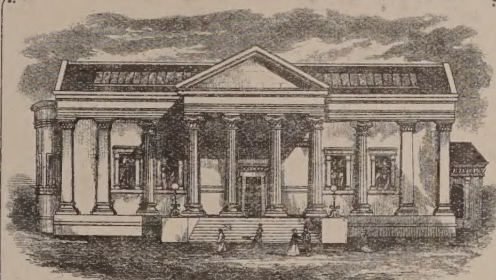
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